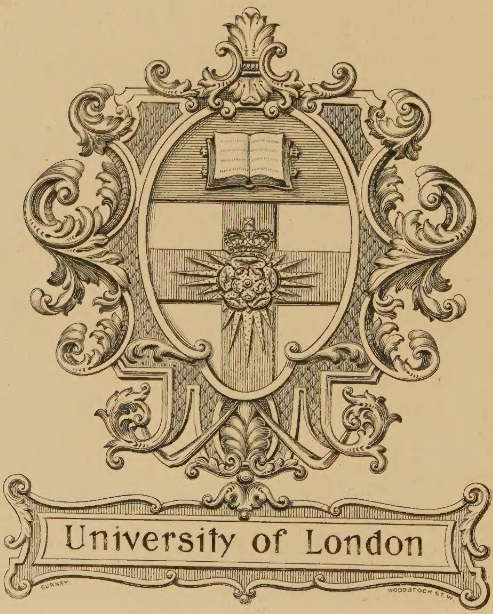
THIS BOOK
MUST NOT BE REMOVED
FROM THE LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON LIBRARY

REFERENCE ONLY

Goldsmiths' Library

PARL. PAPERS
FOR REFERENCE ONLY.


University of London
GURNEY
WOODSTOCK ST. W.

620136

HANSARD'S
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

THIRD SERIES:

COMMENCING WITH THE ACCESSION OF

WILLIAM IV.

45° & 46° VICTORIÆ, 1882.

VOL. CCLXXIII.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DAY OF JULY 1882,

TO

THE EIGHTEENTH DAY OF AUGUST 1882.

EIGHTH VOLUME OF THE SESSION.

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY CORNELIUS BUCK,
AT THE OFFICE FOR "HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,"
22, PATERNOSTER ROW. [E.C.]

1882.

8995

BIBL.
LONDIN.
UNIV.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TO

VOLUME CCLXXIII.

THIRD SERIES.

LORDS, FRIDAY, JULY 28.

Page

Army—The Reserves—Question, The Earl of Longford; Answer, The Earl of Morley 1

Egypt (Military Expedition)—Despatch of Troops from Turkey—Questions, The Duke of Somerset, The Marquess of Salisbury; Answers, Earl Granville 4

Mercantile Marine—Pouring Oil upon the Sea—Question, Observations, The Earl of Carnarvon, The Earl of Aberdeen, Lord Cottesloe; Replies, Lord Sudeley, The Earl of Northbrook 6

Ancient Monuments Bill (No. 197)—

Moved, "That this House do now resolve itself into Committee,"—(*The Lord Chancellor*) 15

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—House in Committee accordingly.

Amendments made; the Report thereof to be received on *Monday* next.

The Channel Tunnel Scheme—Question, Observations, Lord Forbes, Viscount Powerscourt; Reply, Lord Sudeley 16

Cyprus—Arrival of Refugees from Alexandria—Motion for Papers—

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for papers, if any, relating to the arrival in Cyprus of refugees from Alexandria during the recent troubles, and the preparations, if any, for their permanent reception,"—(*The Lord Waveney*) 17

After short debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

Endowed Schools—Dulwich College Scheme—Motion for an Address—

Moved, "That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty praying Her Majesty to withhold Her assent from the scheme of the Charity Commissioners for the administration of Alleyne's College of God's Gift at Dulwich, now on the Table of this House,"—(*The Earl of Milltown*) 26

After short debate, on Question, *resolved* in the *negative.*

Bills of Exchange Bill—

Select Committee *nominated*:—List of the Committee 27

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

COMMONS, FRIDAY, JULY 28.

Page

QUESTIONS.

The Magistracy (Ireland)—Resignations of Resident Magistrates—Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 28

Post Office (Ireland)—The Postmaster of the Cleggan Post Office—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 29

Public Departments—Vacancies at the War Office—Questions, Lord Eustace Cecil, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answers, Mr. Childers 29

Army—Army Hospital Corps—Question, General Feilden; Answer, Mr. Childers 30

Egypt (Military Operations)—Transports—Question, Mr. Baxter; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 31

Egypt (The War)—Newspaper Reports—Question, Colonel Dawnay; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 31

Poor Law (Ireland)—Belfast Board of Guardians—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 32

Law and Justice (India)—Salaries of Indian Judges—Question, Mr. Pugh; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 33

Army—Allowances to Families of Soldiers on Active Service—Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Childers 33

Egypt—The Conference—Intervention of the Porte—Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Bourke, Mr. Onslow, Sir John Hay; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Sir Charles W. Dilke 34

Parliament—Business of the House—A Saturday Sitting—Questions, Mr. Carbutt, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Joseph Cowen; Answers, Mr. Gladstone 39

State of Ireland—Extra Police at Pallas Green—Extra Police Penalty—Question, Mr. Redmond; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 40

Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act, 1882—Michael Wallace—Question, Mr. Synan; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 40

Army—Vacancies in Cavalry Regiments—Question, Sir Baldwyn Leighton; Answer, Mr. Childers 41

Army—Appointments to the Staff—Questions, Mr. Tottenham, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Childers 42

Law and Justice—The Judges and the Assizes—Question, Mr. Hicks; Answer, The Attorney General 43

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Customs and Inland Revenue (*re-committed*) **Bill** [Bill 239]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair"—

Beer—Abolition of the Malt Tax—Resolution—

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "no financial scheme will be satisfactory which does not amend the Law with regard to the use of ingredients other than sugar, malt, and hops, in the brewing of beer for sale,"—(*Mr. Chaplin,*)—instead thereof 43

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 125, Noes 52; Majority 73.—(Div List, No. 300.)

Main Question again proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

Page

Customs and Inland Revenue (*re-committed*) *Bill*—continued.

National Expenditure—Observations, Mr. H. H. Fowler:—Debate thereon 54

Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to*:—Bill *considered* in Committee 83

After short time spent therein, it being ten minutes before Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to report Progress; Committee to sit again *this day*.

Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill [Bill 21]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That the Order for resuming the consideration of this Bill in Committee be discharged,"—(*Mr. Attorney General*) 83

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Order for Committee *discharged*:—Bill *withdrawn*.

The House suspended its Sitting at five minutes to Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—:o:—

Supply—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

Malta—Administrative Reforms—British Rule—Resolution—

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "it is the opinion of this House that the long tried loyalty of the people of Malta to British rule deserves more consideration than it has received; that the several reports of Mr. Rowsell, Sir Penrose Julyan, and Mr. Keenan, as well as the numerously signed Petitions of the people, prove that great changes in the civil administration of the island are urgently required, and that Her Majesty's Government ought to be doing more than they have been doing to carry out the needed reforms, and so to promote the prosperity and secure the contentment of the Maltese people,"—(*Mr. Anderson*,)—instead thereof 84

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*.

Main Question again proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

The Bankruptcy Act, 1869—Observations, Mr. Gregory; Reply, The Solicitor General 94

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to*.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—Civil Service Estimates—

(In the Committee.)

Class II.—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments.

(1.) £29,105, to complete the sum for the House of Lords Offices.
(2.) £36,461, to complete the sum for the House of Commons Offices.
(3.) £35,653, to complete the sum for the Treasury.
(4.) £62,234, to complete the sum for the Home Office.
(5.) £46,847, to complete the sum for the Foreign Office.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 97
(6.) £25,220, to complete the sum for the Colonial Office.
(7.) £20,438, to complete the sum for the Privy Council Office.
(8.) £1,855, to complete the sum for the Privy Seal Office.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—Committee—*continued.*

(9.) £116,270, to complete the sum for the Board of Trade.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 99

(10.) £19,496, to complete the sum for the Charity Commission.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 110

(11.) £18,738, to complete the sum for the Civil Service Commission.

(12.) £10,416, to complete the sum for the Copyhold, Inclosure, and Tithe Commission.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 112

(13.) £4,350, to complete the sum for the Inclosure and Drainage Acts, Imprest Expenses.

(14.) £38,974, to complete the sum for the Exchequer and Audit Department.

(15.) £3,972, to complete the sum for the Friendly Societies Registry.

(16.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £358,145, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Local Government Board, including various Grants in Aid of Local Taxation" 113

After debate, Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £338,145, be granted, &c.,"—(*Colonel Alexander:*)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed 134

After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(17.) £10,571, to complete the sum for the Lunacy Commission, England .. 136

After short debate, *Moved,* "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Biggar:*)—After short debate, Question put, and *negatived:*—Vote *agreed to.*

(18.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £42,357, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Mint, including the Expenses of the Coinage" 141

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £41,607, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor:*)—After short debate, Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question again proposed 143

After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(19.) £9,121, to complete the sum for the National Debt Office 143

Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Biggar:*)—After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 7, Noes 58; Majority 51.—(Div. List, No. 301.)

(20.) £20,849, to complete the sum for the Patent Office, &c.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 144

(21.) £17,626, to complete the sum for the Paymaster General's Office.

(22.) £5,768, to complete the sum for the Public Works Loan Commission.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 144

(23.) £14,466, to complete the sum for the Record Office.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 145

(24.) £43,426, to complete the sum for the Registrar General's Office, England.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 146

Resolutions to be reported upon *Monday* next; Committee to sit again upon *Monday* next.

Bombay Civil Fund Bill [Bill 225]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*The Marquess of Hartington*) 147

After short debate, Motion *agreed to:*—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* next.

LORDS, MONDAY, JULY 31.

RESERVE FORCES—The Queen's Answer to the Address *reported* .. 150

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—CO-OPERATION OF THE SULTAN—Question, Earl De La Warr; Answer, Earl Granville 150

PARLIAMENT—COMMITTEE FOR PRIVILEGES—Sessional Order *amended* .. 150

Arrears of Rent (**Ireland**) **Bill** (No. 205)—

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee,"—(*The Lord Privy Seal*) 150

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—House in Committee accordingly 155

Amendments made; the Report thereof to be received *To-morrow*; and Standing Order No. XXXV. to be considered in order to its being dispensed with; Bill to be *printed* as amended. (No. 213.)

COMMONS, MONDAY, JULY 31.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Dover Harbour Bill (*by Order*)—

Bill *considered* 201

Moved, "That Standing Orders 223 and 243 be suspended, and that the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Sir Charles Forster.*)

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "it is not desirable to confer on the Dover Harbour Board the powers sought for in this Bill, to construct a Harbour in Dover Bay, because this Board, by its constitution, is not suited for supervising or managing a great national work; and, finally, that there are important public rights involved in this objectionable scheme, which will be seriously injured by this Bill being passed,"—(*Sir George Balfour*,)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Queen's *Consent* signified:—Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

QUESTIONS.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—MR. JAMES MURPHY—Question, Mr. O'Kelly; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 206

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CARLOW BOARD OF GUARDIANS—Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 206

EGYPT—MILITARY EXPEDITION—COMPOSITION OF THE FORCE—TROOPS FOR EGYPT—Question, Mr. Schreiber; Answer, Mr. Childers .. 207

CONVICT PRISONS (IRELAND)—UNOFFICIAL INSPECTION—Question, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 208

NAVY—THE ROYAL MARINES—BREVET PROMOTION—Question, Colonel Makins; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 209

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—MR. DENIS MULLIGAN—Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan.. 210

INDIA—CONSULS AT THE NATIVE STATES—THE CASE OF MR. SILBIGER—Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington .. 210

TRADE AND COMMERCE—WINE IMPORTS, 1881—Question, Mr. Norwood; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 211

THE CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSIONERS—SCALE OF FEES ON APPOINTMENTS IN H.M. DOCKYARDS—Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer, Mr. Courtney 212

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) BILL—THE EMIGRATION CLAUSES—GENERAL EMIGRATION FROM IRELAND—Question, Mr. Rathbone; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 212

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. HILL, R.M.—Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 213

Post Office—The Letter Carriers—The New Scale—Question, Mr. Callan; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 213

Army—The Guards' Regulations—Explanation, Mr. Childers .. 214

Metropolitan Improvements — Hyde Park Corner — Questions, Mr. Labouchere, Lord Elcho; Answers, Mr. Shaw Lefevre 214

Scotland—The Medical Grant—Question, Mr. Ramsay; Answer, Mr. Courtney 215

Parliament—Arrangement of Public Business—Questions, Sir John Hay, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answers, Mr. Gladstone 215

Egypt (Political Affairs)—The Conference—Letter of Arabi Pasha, &c.—Questions, Mr. Bourke, Mr. M'Coan, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Gladstone.. 216

Army Reserve Force—Her Majesty's Answer to the Address *reported* .. 218

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—:o:—

Customs and Inland Revenue (*re-committed*) **Bill** [Bill 239]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress* 28*th July*] 218

After long time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Wednesday.*

East India (Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt)—Resolution. [Adjourned Debate]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [27th July],

"That, Her Majesty having directed a Military Expedition of Her Forces charged upon the Revenues of India to be despatched for service in Egypt, this House consents that the Revenues of India shall be applied to defray the expenses of the Military operations which may be carried on by such Forces beyond the external frontiers of Her Majesty's Indian Possessions,"—(*Secretary Sir William Harcourt.*)

Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* 255

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "the whole charges which may be thrown upon the Revenues of India by the Military operations proposed to be undertaken in Egypt should be repaid out of the Revenues of this Country,"—(*Mr. Onslow,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After long debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, after the word "shall," to insert the words "subject to any future decision of Parliament,"—(*Mr. Secretary Childers:*) —Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Main Question, as amended, put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 140, Noes 23; Majority 117.—(Div. List, No. 303.)

Resolved, That, Her Majesty having directed a Military Expedition of Her Forces charged upon the Revenues of India to be despatched for service in Egypt, this House consents that the Revenues of India shall, subject to any future decision of Parliament, be applied to defray the expenses of the Military operations which may be carried on by such Forces beyond the external frontiers of Her Majesty's Indian Possessions.

Supply—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

Law and Police—The late Mysterious Disappearances at West Ham—Resolution—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "as the population of West Ham and the adjacent parishes has been and is rapidly increasing, it is desirable that the police force should also be increased, so as to maintain its relative proportion to the population,"—(*Colonel Makins,*)—instead thereof 307

[*July* 31.] Page

Supply—Order for Committee read—*continued.*

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—Civil Service Estimates—

(In the Committee.)

Class II.—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments.

(1.) £353,450, to complete the sum for Stationery and Printing.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 311
(2.) £15,187, to complete the sum for the Woods, Forests, &c. Office.
(3.) £30,480, to complete the sum for the Works and Public Buildings Office.
(4.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £13,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for Her Majesty's Foreign and other Secret Services" 311
Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £8,000, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. T. P. O'Connor*:)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*
Original Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 77, Noes 12; Majority 65.—(Div. List, No. 304.)
(5.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £4,171, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of the Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in Exchequer, Scotland, of certain Officers in Scotland, and other Charges formerly on the Hereditary Revenue" 318
Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £3,987, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor*:)—After short debate, Question put, and *negatived.*
Original Question again proposed 320
After short debate, Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £3,953, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Biggar*:)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*
Original Question again proposed 323
Motion made, and Question put, "That a sum, not exceeding £3,973, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Biggar*:)—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 25, Noes 54; Majority 29.—(Div. List, No. 305.)
Original Question put, and *agreed to.*
(6.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £9,807, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Fishery Board in Scotland and for Grants in Aid of Piers and Quays" 323
After short debate, Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £4,807, be granted, &c.,"—(*Colonel Alexander*:)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*
Original Question again proposed 326
After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to.*
(7.) £3,994, to complete the sum for the Lunacy Commission, Scotland.
(8.) £4,737, to complete the sum for the Registrar General's Office, Scotland.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 326
(9.) £23,621, to complete the sum for the Board of Supervision for Relief of the Poor, and for Public Health, Scotland.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 327

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

Supply—Report—Resolutions [28th July] *reported* 328

Resolutions 1 to 7, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Resolution 8 read a second time:—*Moved,* "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution:"—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 43, Noes 19; Majority 24.—(Div. List, No. 306.)

Resolutions 9 to 15, inclusive, *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—REPORT—continued.

Resolution 16 read a second time:—After short debate, Resolution *agreed to.*

Subsequent Resolutions, 17 to 24, inclusive, *agreed to.*

MOTIONS.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY (PAY, &c.)—RESOLUTION—

Moved, "That this House will, To-morrow, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of authorising the increase of pay of certain officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary Force, and of amending the Acts regulating the same,"—(*Mr. Trevelyan*) .. 330

Question put (Queen's *Recommendation* signified):—The House *divided;* Ayes 25, Noes None; Majority 25.—(Div. List, No. 307.)

Mercantile Marine Fund (Charges) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. John Holms*) 331

LORDS, TUESDAY, AUGUST 1.

Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill (No. 213)—

Order of the Day for Report of Amendments; and Standing Order No. XXXV. to be considered in order to its being dispensed with, read 331

After short debate, Report of Amendments *considered* accordingly.

After debate, *Moved,* "That the Bill be now read 3ª,"—(*The Lord Privy Seal*) 347

Motion *agreed to.*

Moved, "That the Bill do pass,"—(*The Lord Privy Seal*) 348

After debate, Bill *passed,* and sent to the Commons.

Settled Land Bill—

Commons Amendments *considered* (according to Order), and *agreed to* .. 360

NAVY (SHIP-BUILDING)—MOTION FOR RETURNS—

Moved, That there be laid before this House Returns of—

"1. Steam ships (ironclad) now building, with the state of forwardness in each case, the thickness of armour proposed; stating also whether the armour-plating is to be carried from end to end of the vessel, the number and weight of guns, whether breech or muzzle loading, and estimated draught of water;

"2. The number of swift cruisers now building, estimated speed in each case and state of forwardness;

"3. The number of vessels of every class which it is intended shall be laid down during the present year,"—(*The Viscount Sidmouth*) 362

After short debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACTS—COLLISION BETWEEN THE "MAYFLY" AND "VALHALLA" OFF DUNGENESS—Question, Lord Colville of Culross; Answer, Lord Sudeley 367

COMMONS, TUESDAY, AUGUST 1.

QUESTIONS.

ARMY—THE NORFOLK REGIMENT—Question, Mr. Birkbeck; Answer, Mr. Childers 368

CRIME (IRELAND)—NOCTURNAL ATTACKS—RETURN—Question, Mr. Bellingham; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 369

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—GOVERNMENT ANNUITIES AND ASSURANCE BILL—Question, Mr. Repton; Answer, Mr. Fawcett .. 369

[*August* 1.]

Page

Egypt (Political Affairs)—The Conference—Meeting of Ulemas, &c. at Cairo—Questions, Mr. Bourke, Mr. J. Lowther, Lord Elcho; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke 369

Egypt (Military Expedition)—Composition of the Forces—Questions, Mr. Gorst, Mr. Joseph Cowen; Answers, Mr. Childers, Sir Charles W. Dilke 370

Merchant Shipping Acts—Collision between the "Mayfly" and "Valhalla" off Dungeness — Question, Mr. Birkbeck; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 371

Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill—The Commissioners—Question, Mr. Henderson; Answer, Mr. Mundella 372

Education Department—Selwyn College, Cambridge—Question, Mr. W. Fowler; Answer, Mr. Mundella 372

The Civil Service Commissioners—Scale of Fees on Appointments in H.M. Dockyards—Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 372

Navy—The Naval Sick Berth Staff—Question, Mr. Gorst; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 373

Egypt—The Suez Canal—M. Ferdinand de Lesseps—Question, The Earl of Bective; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 373

Parliament—Arrangement of Public Business—Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. J. Lowther, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Childers 374

Ireland—The Assistant Under Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 376

Parliament—Business of the House (Putting the Question)—Question, Mr. Ritchie; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 376

India (Bombay)—Reduction of the Export Duty on Opium—Question, Mr. Cropper; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 376

The Royal Irish Constabulary—Removing Placards—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 377

Evictions (Ireland)—Earl of Annesley's Estate at Glan, Co. Cavan —Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 377

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Municipal Corporations Bill [Bill 113]

Bill, as amended, *considered* 378

After debate, *Moved*, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Mr. Hibbert*) 386

Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

Supply—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

Navy—The Naval Reserve—Observations, Mr. Gourley, General Sir George Balfour; Reply, Sir Thomas Brassey; Observations, Captain Price 387

Question put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—Navy Estimates—

(In the Committee.)

(1.) £181,089, Admiralty Office.

(2.) £195,416, Coast Guard Service and Royal Naval Reserves, &c.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 394

(3.) £113,691, Scientific Branch.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 401

(4.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,447,258, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expenses of the Dockyards and Naval

SUPPLY—NAVY ESTIMATES—Committee—*continued.*

Yards at Home and Abroad, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883" 409

After long debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

(5.) £70,787, Victualling Yards at Home and Abroad.

(6.) £64,465, Medical Establishments at Home and Abroad.

(7.) £22,016, Marine Division.

(8.) £1,122,500, Naval Stores for Building and Repairing the Fleet, &c.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 485

(9.) £767,153, Machinery and Ships built by Contract, &c.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 486

(10.) £479,603, New Works, Buildings, Yard Machinery, and Repairs.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 486

(11.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £69,375, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expense of Medicines, Medical Stores, &c., which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883" 488

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £61,475, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Thomasson* :)—After short debate, Question put :—The Committee *divided ;* Ayes 7, Noes 62; Majority 55.—(Div. List, No. 309.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(12.) £9,973, Martial Law, &c.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 490

(13.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceding £118,936, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expense of various Miscellaneous Services, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883" 490

After short debate, *Moved,* "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Callan* :)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(14.) £873,688, Half Pay, &c. to Officers of Navy and Marines.

(15.) £866,127, Military Pensions and Allowances.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 497

(16.) £330,535, Civil Pensions and Allowances.

(17.) £123,700, Extra Estimate for Services not Naval, Freight, &c. on account of the Army Department.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 497

(18.) £155,457, Greenwich Hospital and School.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 498

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow ;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

SUPPLY—REPORT—Resolutions [31st July] *reported* 499

Resolutions 1 to 5, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Resolution 6 :—After short debate, Resolution *agreed to.*

Remaining Resolutions *agreed to.*

Poor Law Amendment Bill [Bill 251]—

Order for Committee read 500

After short debate, Bill *considered* in Committee.

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported,* without Amendment :—Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

Agricultural Holdings, Notices of Removal (Scotland) Bill [Bill 5]—

Bill *considered* in Committee 502

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be *considered* upon *Thursday,* and to be *printed.* [Bill 259.]

MOTIONS.

Revenue, Friendly Societies, and National Debt Bill—

Considered in Committee 503

Moved, "That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill for amending the Laws relating to Customs and Inland Revenue, and Postage and other Stamps, and for making further provision respecting the National Debt, and charges payable out of the Public Revenue, or by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt; and for other purposes,"—(*Lord Richard Grosvenor.*)

Revenue, Friendly Societies, and National Debt Bill—continued.
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Resolution *reported*:—Bill *ordered* (*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Herbert Gladstone*); *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 260.]

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE—
Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" 504
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*.

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 2.

QUESTIONS.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—ALLEGED MISCONDUCT OF A PICKET OF THE 60TH RIFLES—Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answers, Lord Richard Grosvenor, Sir Arthur Hayter 504

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill [Bill 253]—
Order for Consideration, as amended, read 506
Moved, "That the Bill, as amended, be now considered,"—(*Mr. Mundella*:)—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill, as amended, *considered* 508
After debate, *Moved*, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Mr. Mundella*) 536
After further short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read the third time, and *passed*.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY (PAY, &c.)—
Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. Trevelyan*) 547
After debate, Question put, and *agreed to*.
MATTER *considered* in Committee 558
Moved, "That it is expedient to amend the Acts regulating the Pay, Pensions, and Retirement of certain Officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary Force,"—(*Mr. Trevelyan*.)
After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Resolution to be reported *To-morrow*.

Customs and Inland Revenue Bill [Bill 239]—
Bill, as amended, *considered* 559
After short debate, Bill to be read the third time *To-morrow*.

Entail (Scotland) Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 248]—
Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" 560
After short debate, it being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow*.

SUPPLY—REPORT—Resolutions [1st August] *reported* 562
After short debate, Resolutions *agreed to*.
And it being Six of the clock, the House was adjourned without Question first put till *To-morrow*.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

LORDS, THURSDAY, AUGUST 3.

Page

Egypt (Military Operations)—Alleged Misconduct of a Picket of the 60th Rifles—Questions, Viscount Barrington, Lord Vivian; Answers, The Earl of Morley 563

Civil Imprisonment (Scotland) Bill (No. 208)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Earl of Rosebery*) .. 566
Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House *To-morrow*.

Electric Lighting Bill (No. 212)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord Sudeley*) .. 567
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* next.

Egypt—The Riots at Alexandria—Massacre of Europeans—Question, Observations, Earl De La Warr; Reply, Earl Granville .. 577

Army (Auxiliary Forces)—The Militia Act, 1875—Question, The Earl of Galloway; Reply, The Earl of Morley; Observations, The Marquess of Lothian 578

COMMONS, THURSDAY, AUGUST 3.

QUESTIONS.

Brazil—The St. John Del Rey Mining Company—Slave-Holding by English Subjects—Question, Mr. M'Coan; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 581
The Royal Irish Constabulary—False Charge of Attack upon Sub-Constable Finney—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 582
Post Office—Reply Post Cards and Telegrams—Question, Mr. R. H. Paget; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 583
The Magistracy (Ireland)—Orange Meeting at Rossmore—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 583
State of Ireland—Employment of Soldiers and Marines—Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 584
The Magistracy (Ireland)—Mr. W. M. Miller, R.M.—Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 584
The Charity Commissioners—Continuance of the Endowed Schools Commission—Question, Mr. J. G. Talbot; Answer, Mr. Mundella .. 585
Egypt — "Convicts" at Alexandria — Questions, Mr. Healy, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 585
The Royal Irish Constabulary—Sub-Inspector O'Callaghan—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 586
Alkali, &c. Works Regulation Act, 1881—Inspectors—Questions, Mr. Arthur Arnold, Mr. Warton; Answers, Mr. Dodson 586
Adulteration of Food Act—Adulterated Butter and Milk—Question, Lord Eustace Cecil; Answer, Mr. Dodson 587
State of Ireland—Proclamation of County Wicklow—Question, Mr. M'Coan; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 588
Moved, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. M'Coan*:)—after short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.
Poor Law (Ireland)—The Belfast Union—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 591
Army—Army Paymasters—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Childers 591
Protection of Person and Property (Ireland) Act, 1881—Cornelius Doyle—Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 592

[*August* 3.]

Page

Africa (South)—The Transvaal—The Boers and the Native Tribes—Question, Mr. Arthur Pease; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley .. 593
Poor Law (Ireland)—Dissolution of the Carrick-on-Suir Board of Guardians—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 594
Ireland—The Keeper of the Freeman's Roll, Galway—Questions, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, The Attorney General for Ireland .. 594
The Parks (Metropolis) — Sunday Bands — Questions, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Shaw Lefevre 595
Law and Police—Alleged Mormon Riots at Hackney—Question, Mr. Puleston; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 596
Egypt (Military Expedition)—Administration of Military Law—Questions, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. E. Stanhope, Mr. Bourke, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke, The Marquess of Hartington 596
Ireland—The Assistant Under Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant—Appointment of Mr. E. G. Jenkinson—Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Gibson, Mr. J. Lowther; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 600
Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act, 1882—Miss Mary Keane—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 601
Merchant Shipping Acts—Emigrant and Passenger Ships—Question, Mr. Moore; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 602
The Ordnance Survey—Cadastral Survey of Warwickshire—Questions, Mr. Newdegate, Mr. Gerard Noel; Answers, Mr. Shaw Lefevre 602
Trade and Commerce—Butter and Butter Substitutes—Question, Viscount Folkestone; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 603
Protection of Person and Property (Ireland) Act, 1881—Mr. John Kavanagh—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 603
The Magistracy (Ireland)—The Bench at Listowel—Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 603
Crime (Ireland) — Robberies in Dublin Castle — Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 604
India (Madras)—Administration of Justice in Chingleput—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 604
Egypt—The Conference—Questions, Mr. O'Donnell, Mr. Bourke; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke 605
India (Finance, &c.)—The Indian Budget—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 606
Gibraltar—The Newspaper Press—Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 606
Portugal—The "City of Mecca"—Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 607
Brazil—Claims of British Subjects—Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 607
Army—Roman Catholic Chaplains—Question, Mr. Moore; Answer, Sir Arthur Hayter 608
The Irish Land Commission (Expenses)—Questions, Mr. Gibson; Answer, Mr. Courtney 608
Vaccination—Alleged Death of Children at Norwich from Effects of Operation—The Report—Question, Mr. P. A. Taylor; Answer, Mr. Dodson 609
Egypt—The Porte and the Revenues of Egypt—Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 609
Criminal Law (Ireland)—Cases of Patrick Reilly and James Young—Questions, Mr. Tottenham; Answers, The Attorney General for Ireland 610
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—The Militia—Question, Mr. Macliver; Answer, Mr. Childers 611
Law and Justice (Ireland)—Dublin Crown Prosecutor—Question, Mr. Warton; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland .. 611

[*August* 3.] *Page*

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—EXAMINATION OF VOLUNTEER OFFICERS—Question, Mr. Moss; Answer, Mr. Childers 611

MALTA—THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL—Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 612

EGYPT (MILITARY EXPEDITION)—MAJOR GENERAL FEILDING, C.B.—Question, Colonel Alexander; Answer, Mr. Childers 612

EGYPT (MILITARY EXPEDITION)—ALLEGED MISCONDUCT OF A PICKET OF THE 60TH RIFLES—Questions, Mr. Tottenham; Answers, Mr. Childers 612

PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC BUSINESS—ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) BILL—Questions, Sir R. Assheton Cross, Mr. J. Lowther, Mr. Gibson, Mr. Macfarlane, Colonel Nolan; Answers, Mr. Gladstone 614

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—THE MILITIA—Question, Colonel Stanley; Answer, Mr. Childers 617

THE CHANNEL TUNNEL SCHEME—Questions, Mr. Bromley Davenport; Answer, Mr. Childers 618

PORTUGAL—NATIVE EMIGRATION FROM MOZAMBIQUE—Question, Mr. Arthur Pease; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 618

EGYPT—LETTER OF ARABI PASHA—Question, Mr. M'Coan; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 619

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

——:o:——

Reserve Forces Acts Consolidation Bill [Bill 124]—

Bill *considered* in Committee 619

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported,* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

Militia Acts Consolidation Bill [Bill 123]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved,* "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. Childers*) 625

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill *considered* in Committee .. 626

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

SOUTH AFRICA (NATAL)—NATIVE SUBJECTS OF THE CROWN—RESOLUTION—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty that She will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before this House, further Papers relating to the policy pursued by the Government of Natal towards the Native subjects of the British Crown,"—(*Sir George Campbell,*)—instead thereof 633

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

Main Question again proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—RELEASE OF PERSONS DETAINED UNDER THE ACT—Observations, Mr. Sexton; Reply, Mr. Trevelyan; short debate thereon 638

LAW AND POLICE (ENGLAND)—INSECURITY OF LIFE AND PROPERTY—Observations, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Reply, Mr. Courtney; Observations, Mr. Arthur O'Connor 646

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—Civil Service Estimates—

(In the Committee.)

Class II.—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £4,587, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries of the Officers and Attendants of the Household of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and other Expenses" 650

After short debate, Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £2,587, be granted, &c.,"—(*Colonel Nolan*:)—After further short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 9, Noes 111; Majority 102.—(Div. List, No. 311.)

Original Question again proposed 663

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £3,025, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Biggar*:)—After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 23, Noes 102; Majority 79.—(Div. List, No. 312.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £26,106, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Offices of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in Dublin and London, and Subordinate Departments" 666

After long debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 94, Noes 4; Majority 90.—(Div. List, No. 313.)

(3.) £1,203, to complete the sum for the Charitable Donations and Bequests Office, Ireland.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 706

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Trevelyan*,)—put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

Government Annuities and Assurance Bill [Bill 190]—

Order for Committee read 707

Bill *considered* in Committee.

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

Parcel Post Bill [Bill 254]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 2nd August*] 707

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

Customs and Inland Revenue Bill [Bill 239]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Mr. Courtney*) .. 709

Amendment proposed, to leave out the words "now read the third time," in order to insert the word "re-committed,"—(*Mr. Warton*,)—instead thereof.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

Bombay Civil Fund Bill [Bill 225]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved,* "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*The Marquess of Hartington*) 710

After short debate, Bill *considered* in Committee 714

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported,* without Amendment; to be read the third time *To-morrow.*

Artizans' Dwellings Bill [Bill 255]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved,* "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre*) 714

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, the cost of carrying out all improvement schemes

Artizans' Dwellings Bill—continued.

in the Metropolis under this Act should be defrayed by the Metropolitan Board of Works, and not charged wholly upon the locality,"—(*Mr. Ritchie,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to:*—Bill *considered* in Committee 718

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

Merchant Shipping (Mercantile Marine Fund) Bill [Bill 256]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Evelyn Ashley*) 723

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow.*

Revenue, Friendly Societies, and National Debt Bill [Bill 260]

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Courtney*) .. 723

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

Allotments (*re-committed*) **Bill** [Bill 227]—

Bill *considered* in Committee 724

After short time spent therein, Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

Royal Irish Constabulary (Pay, &c.) Bill—Resolution [August 2] *reported,* and *agreed to:*—Bill *ordered* (*Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 264] 726

LORDS, FRIDAY, AUGUST 4.

EGYPT—THE RIOTS AT ALEXANDRIA—MASSACRE OF EUROPEANS—Explanation, Earl Granville 727

EGYPT (POLITICAL AFFAIRS)—MOTION FOR PAPERS—

Moved, "That there be laid before this House further papers respecting the Affairs of Egypt,"—(*The Lord Lamington*) 727

After short debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

AFRICA (SOUTH)—CETEWAYO, EX-KING OF ZULULAND—VISIT TO THIS COUNTRY—OFFICIAL RECEPTION—Question, Observations, Lord Norton; Reply, The Earl of Kimberley 734

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACTS—EMIGRANT SHIPS (CANADA)—Question, Observations, Lord Emly; Reply, Lord Sudeley 738

IRELAND—THE LABOURERS' LEAGUE—Question, Earl Fortescue; Answer, Lord Carlingford 740

Wellesley Bridge (Limerick) Bill (No. 207)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a,"—(*The Lord Thurlow*) .. 740

After short debate, Motion *agreed to:*—Bill read 2^a accordingly, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—Question, Observations, The Earl of Milltown; Reply, Lord Carlingford 741

COMMONS, FRIDAY, AUGUST 4.

Page

BRAZIL—THE PROVINCE OF MINAS GERAES—SLAVE-HOLDING BY ENGLISH SUBJECTS—Question, Mr. O'Kelly; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke .. 744

STATE OF IRELAND—ORANGE DEMONSTRATION AT LURGAN—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 744

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—MR. GEOFFREY POWER—Questions, Mr. Redmond; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan .. 745

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—THE AFFRAY AT BALLINA—SUB-INSPECTOR BALL OF THE CONSTABULARY—Question, Mr. O'Connor Power; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 745

THE SEED RATE (IRELAND)—SWINFORD UNION—Question, Mr. O'Connor Power; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 746

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT—GUISBOROUGH SPECIAL PETTY SESSIONS—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 747

CRIME (IRELAND)—ALLEGED OUTRAGE IN SLIGO—Questions, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 747

FIJI—THE LAND COMMISSION—Question, Sir Henry Holland; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 748

TURKEY—THE WAR INDEMNITY—Question, Baron Henry De Worms; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 749

NAVY—RE-ENGAGEMENTS—Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 749

CUSTOMS CONSOLIDATION ACT, 1876—"IRISH NATIONAL LAND LEAGUE FLOUR"—SEIZURE AT LIVERPOOL—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Courtney 750

CYPRUS (FINANCE)—Question, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answer, Mr. Courtney 750

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS OF IRELAND—A ROYAL COMMISSION—Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 751

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—A SATURDAY SITTING—Questions, Mr. J. Lowther, Mr. Marjoribanks, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Childers 751

PASSENGER ACTS—ROYAL NETHERLANDS STEAMSHIP COMPANY—ILL TREATMENT OF EMIGRANTS—Question, Mr. Moore; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 752

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES) — CALLING OUT THE FIRST CLASS ARMY RESERVE—Question, Sir Henry Fletcher; Answer, Mr. Childers .. 753

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT—THE ALIEN CLAUSES—Question, Mr. Salt; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 753

EGYPT—COMMUNICATION WITH ARABI PASHA—Question, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 753

FISHERIES (IRELAND)—EMPLOYMENT OF A GUNBOAT—Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 754

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—ALLEGED DISCONTENT—Question, Mr. Callan; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 754

POOR LAW (ENGLAND)—PROSELYTISM IN A WORKHOUSE SCHOOL—Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Dodson 756

CRIME (IRELAND)—ALLEGED AGRARIAN MURDER IN WEST CLARE—Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 757

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—OCCUPATION OF SUEZ—Question, Baron Henry De Worms; Answer, Mr. Childers 757

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

PASSENGER ACTS—EMIGRANT SHIPS—RESOLUTION—

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, the Passenger Acts require revision and reform,"—(*Mr. Moore,*)—instead thereof 758

Page

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read—*continued.*

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

Main Question again proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

SCOTLAND—CROFTERS IN THE ISLAND OF SKYE—A ROYAL COMMISSION—Observations, Mr. Macfarlane; Reply, The Lord Advocate:—Debate thereon 766

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—JUDICIAL RENTS—Observations, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Reply, Mr. Trevelyan:—Short debate thereon .. 784

AFRICA (SOUTH)—THE TRANSVAAL—THE BOERS AND THE NATIVE TRIBES—Observations, Mr. R. N. Fowler, Mr. Cropper; Reply, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 789

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS—VOTING PAPERS—Observations, Mr. Warton 791

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) £85,244, to complete the sum for the Local Government Board, Ireland.—After debate, Vote *agreed to* 792

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £28,031, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Public Works in Ireland" .. 830

After short debate, Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £26,931, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor*:)—After further debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 10, Noes 86; Majority 76.—(Div. List, No. 314.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(3.) £3,170, to complete the sum for the Record Office, Ireland.

(4.) £14,552, to complete the sum for the Registrar General's Office, Ireland.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 853

(5.) £14,388, to complete the sum for the Valuation and Boundary Survey, Ireland.

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

(6.) £46,138, to complete the sum for Law Charges.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 854

(7.) £2,031, to complete the sum for Public Prosecutor's Office.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 857

(8.) £120,436, to complete the sum for Criminal Prosecutions, Sheriffs' Expenses, &c.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 859

(9.) £101,017, to complete the sum for the Chancery Division and Supreme Court generally.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 859

(10.) £76,209, to complete the sum for the Central Office of the Supreme Court of Judicature.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 862

(11.) £56,990, to complete the sum for Probate, &c. Registries of the High Court of Justice.

(12.) £6,162, to complete the sum for the Admiralty Registry of the High Court of Justice.

(13.) £8,971, to complete the sum for the Wreck Commission.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 864

(14.) £20,136, to complete the sum for the London Bankruptcy Court.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 864

(15.) £325,039, to complete the sum for the County Courts.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 864

(16.) £3,442, to complete the sum for the Land Registry.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 865

(17.) £18,690, Revising Barristers, England.

(18.) £8,556, to complete the sum for Police Courts, London and Sheerness.

(19.) £286,858, to complete the sum for Metropolitan Police.

(20.) £935,298, to complete the sum for Police, Counties and Boroughs, Great Britain.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 865

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—Committee—*continued.*

(21.) £284,677, to complete the sum for Convict Establishments in England and the Colonies.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 867

(22.) £406,804, to complete the sum for Prisons, England.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 868

(23.) £130,643, to complete the sum for Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Great Britain.

(24.) £17,142, to complete the sum for Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 869

Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Warton*:)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

(25.) £40,260, to complete the sum for Lord Advocate and Criminal Proceedings, Scotland.

(26.) £41,200, to complete the sum for Courts of Law and Justice, Scotland.

(27.) £80,987, to complete the sum for Prisons, Scotland.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again upon *Monday* next.

Parcel Post Bill [Bill 254]—

Order for Consideration read 871

After short debate, Bill, as amended, *considered;* read the third time, and *passed.*

Government Annuities and Assurance Bill [Bill 190]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress* 3rd *August*] 872

After short time spent therein, Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

MERCHANT SHIPPING (MERCANTILE MARINE FUND) [PAYMENTS TO FUND, &c.]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved,* "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" 881

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to:*—MATTER *considered* in Committee.

Resolved, That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of an annual sum of £40,000 to the Mercantile Marine Fund; and of authorising the repayment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of charges paid out of rates in respect of costs incurred in prosecutions for offences committed at sea, and of expenses connected therewith, which may become payable under the provisions of any Act of the present Session to amend the Law with respect to the charges on and payments to the Mercantile Marine Fund, and to expenses of prosecutions for offences committed at sea.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow.*

Allotments (*re-committed*) **Bill** [Bill 227]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress* 3rd *August*] 883

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

Intermediate Education (Ireland) Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 258]—

Bill *considered* in Committee 887

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

Cruelty to Animals Bill [Bill 206]—

Moved, "That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow,"—(*Mr. Anderson*) 888

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "To-morrow," in order to insert the words "upon Monday next,"—(*Mr. Warton,*)—instead thereof.

Cruelty to Animals Bill—continued.

Question put, "That the word 'To-morrow' stand part of the Question:"—The House *divided;* Ayes 20, Noes 27; Majority 7.—(Div. List, No. 315.)

Words *inserted:*—Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to:*—Bill to be read a second time upon *Monday* next.

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS [ADVANCES, &c.]—

Resolutions *considered* in Committee 889

Resolutions *agreed to;* to be reported *To-morrow.*

REVENUE, FRIENDLY SOCIETIES, AND NATIONAL DEBT [STAMP DUTY, PAYMENTS, AND ADVANCES]—

Resolutions *considered* in Committee.. 890

Resolutions *agreed to;* to be reported *To-morrow.*

MOTIONS.

Expiring Laws Continuance Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Mr. Courtney*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 266] 891

Corrupt Practices (Suspension of Elections) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Attorney General, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 265] .. 891

COMMONS, SATURDAY, AUGUST 5.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Turnpike Roads (South Wales) Bill [Bill 101]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [1st May], "That the Bill be now read the third time."

And which Amendment was, to leave out the words "now read the third time," and add the word "re-committed,"—(*Sir Henry Hussey Vivian,*)—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—Debate *resumed* 892

Question put, and *negatived.*

Word *added:*—Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee, and *reported;* as amended, *considered;* read the third time, and *passed.*

Entail (Scotland) Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 248]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [2nd August], "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* 892

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill *considered* in Committee 895

After some time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

Corrupt Practices (Suspension of Elections) Bill [Bill 265]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Attorney General*) 914

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months,"—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

Main Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

[*August* 5.]

Page

Lunacy Regulation Amendment Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 230]—
Order for Committee read :—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. Hibbert*) 920
After short debate, Question put :—The House *divided;* Ayes 53, Noes 3; Majority 50.—(Div. List, No. 316.)
Bill *considered* in Committee 922
After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Tuesday* next.

SUPPLY—REPORT—Resolutions [4th August] *reported* 926
After short debate, Resolutions *agreed to.*

Royal Irish Constabulary Bill [Bill 264]—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Trevelyan*) .. 926
Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Healy:*)—After short debate, Question put :—The House *divided;* Ayes 8, Noes 53; Majority 45.—(Div. List, No. 317.)
Original Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

Union Officers' Superannuation (Ireland) Bill [Bill 75]—
Moved, "That the Select Committee do consist of Sixteen Members,"—(*Mr. Herbert Gladstone*) 946
After short debate, Motion *agreed to.*
Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND, Mr. HEALY, Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY, nominated Members of the Committee.
Moved, "That Mr. Meldon be one other Member of the Committee :"—After short debate, Question put :—The House *divided;* Ayes 42, Noes 1; Majority 41.—(Div. List, No. 318.)
Mr. GIBSON, Mr. FITZPATRICK, Captain AYLMER, Mr. BIGGAR, Sir PATRICK O'BRIEN, Mr. HERBERT GLADSTONE, Colonel TOTTENHAM nominated other Members of the Committee.
Motion made, and Question, "That Mr. Eugene Collins be one other Member of the Committee,"—(*Mr. Herbert Gladstone,*)—put, and *negatived.*
Mr. MULHOLLAND, Mr. CALLAN, Mr. GREER, Mr. FINDLATER, and Mr. DALY, nominated other Members of the Committee :—Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Five to be the quorum.

GOVERNMENT ANNUITIES AND INSURANCE [ANNUITIES, &C.]—
Resolution *considered* in Committee 947
Resolution *agreed to;* to be reported upon *Monday* next.

Public Works Loans Bill—Resolutions [August 4] *reported*, and *agreed to:*—Bill *ordered* (*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Trevelyan*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 269] .. 947

Prison Charities Bill—*Ordered* (*Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Hibbert*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 270] 947

LORDS, MONDAY, AUGUST 7.

INDIA—SUCHAIT SINGH—MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS—
Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for correspondence with the India Office in June and July last respecting Suchait Singh,"—(*The Lord Stanley of Alderley*) 950
After short debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

Municipal Corporations Bill (No. 214)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a,"—(*The Earl of Rosebery*) .. 951
Motion *agreed to:*—Bill read 2^a accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

COMMONS, MONDAY, AUGUST 7.

Page

QUESTIONS.

THE MAGISTRACY (SCOTLAND)—THE PROVOST OF DINGWALL—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Lord Advocate 952
PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—ALLEGED SEARCHES FOR ARMS—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan.. .. 952
PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—DETENTION OF PERSONS ARRESTED UNDER THE ACT — PATRICK CURLEY AND OTHERS—Questions, Mr. Redmond; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan .. 953
FISHERIES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM—DIGEST OF STATUTES AND REGULATIONS OF FISHERY BOARDS, WITH INDEX—Questions, General Sir George Balfour; Answers, The Lord Advocate 954
COAL MINES—REPORTS OF THE RECENT EXPLOSIONS—Question, Mr. Burt; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 955
STATE OF IRELAND—ALLEGED MOLESTATION AT HILLYON, CO. MEATH—Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 955
PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT — PROSECUTIONS UNDER THE ACT—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 955
NAVY—THE MEDITERRANEAN FLEET — ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGYMEN—Question, Mr. Moore; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. 956
EGYPT (MILITARY EXPEDITION)—SERVICES OF THE MARINES—TURKISH MILITARY INTERVENTION—Questions, Mr. Hopwood, Mr. Gorst, Mr. Arthur Arnold, Mr. Bourke, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. Joseph Cowen; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Charles W. Dilke .. 956
PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT—THE MISSES BUCKLEY—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 959
EGYPT (MILITARY AFFAIRS)—TURKISH MILITARY INTERVENTION—Questions, Baron Henry De Worms, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. Healy; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke 960
LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—THE O'CONNELL STATUE—CIRCULAR TO THE POLICE—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 961
LAW AND JUSTICE—CRIMINAL LUNATICS — REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE—Question, Mr. Ramsay; Answer, Sir William Harcourt.. 962
EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—OCCUPATION OF THE SUEZ CANAL—PROTESTS OF M. DE LESSEPS—Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 962
THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—ALLEGED DISCONTENT — Questions, Sir R. Assheton Cross, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Callan; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 963
THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—SPECIAL GRANT FOR EXTRA SERVICES —Questions, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan.. .. 965
CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT — OUT-DOOR OFFICERS — Question, Mr. Edward Clarke; Answer, Mr. Courtney 965
EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—TREATMENT OF PRISONERS—Questions, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answers, Mr. Childers, Mr. Gladstone .. 966

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—
ARMY (INDIA)—ROMAN CATHOLIC CHAPLAINS—Observations, Mr. Moore, Mr. Blake; Reply, The Marquess of Hartington; short debate thereon 966
ARMY—LONG AND SHORT SERVICE—Observations, Sir George Campbell 973
EGYPT (MILITARY EXPEDITION)—OFFICERS HOLDING STAFF APPOINTMENTS —Observations, Colonel Alexander; Reply, Mr. Childers; short debate thereon 973
Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—ARMY ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

(1.) £562,700, Volunteer Corps.
(2.) £229,500, Army Reserve Force.—After long debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 983
(3.) £394,300, Commissariat, Transport, and Ordnance Store Establishments.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1010
(4.) £734,000, Clothing Establishments, Services, and Supplies.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1019
(5.) £1,289,500, Supply, Manufacture, and Repair of Warlike Stores.—After debate, Vote *agreed to* 1020
(6.) £715,700, Works, Buildings, &c. at Home and Abroad.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1037
(7.) £127,500, Establishments for Military Education.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1037
(8.) £36,400, Miscellaneous Effective Services.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 1038
(9.) £238,200, War Office.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1038
(10.) £26,700, Rewards for Distinguished Services. — After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1041
(11.) £95,000, Half Pay.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1042
(12.) £1,116,100, Retired Pay, &c.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 1042
(13.) £123,200, Widows' Pensions, &c.
(14.) £15,500, Pensions for Wounds.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 1043
(15.) £33,800, Chelsea and Kilmainham Hospitals.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1043
(16.) £1,389,700, Out-Pensions.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1044
(17.) £197,700, Superannuation Allowances.
(18.) £51,800, Militia, Yeomanry Cavalry, and Volunteer Corps.
(19.) £1,100,000, Army (Indian Home Charges).—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1044
(20.) £500,000, Afghan War (Grant in Aid).

CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

(21.) £26,383, to complete the sum for the Register House Department, Edinburgh. —After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1045
(22.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £36,396, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, of Criminal Prosecutions and other Law Charges in Ireland, including certain Allowances under the Act 15 and 16 Vic. c. 83" 1051
After short debate, Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £35,796, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Justin M'Carthy*:)—After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided*; Ayes 11, Noes 86; Majority 75.—(Div. List, No. 319.)
Original Question put, and *agreed to*.
(23.) £59,806, to complete the sum for the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland. —After short debate, Vote *agreed to*] 1066
(24.) £6,670, to complete the sum for the Court of Bankruptcy, Ireland.
(25.) £580, to complete the sum for the Admiralty Court Registry, Ireland.
(26.) £11,976, to complete the sum for the Registry of Deeds, Ireland.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1069
(27.) £1,507, to complete the sum for the Registry of Judgments, Ireland.
Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £52,552, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of the Irish Land Commission" 107
Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Healy*:)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.
Original Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.
(28.) £46,308, to complete the sum for Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Ireland.
(29.) £4,206, to complete the sum for Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum, Ireland.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*; Committee to sit again *To-morrow*.

Royal Irish Constabulary Bill [Bill 264]—
Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. Trevelyan*) 1072
After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Callan*:)—After further short debate, Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 6, Noes 64; Majority 58.—(Div. List, No. 320.)

Royal Irish Constabulary Bill—continued.

Question again proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" 1097
Moved, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor*:)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.
Original Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill *considered* in Committee.
Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow*.

Revenue, Friendly Societies, and National Debt Bill—
Bill *considered* in Committee 1098
After short time spent therein, Bill *reported*; as amended, to be considered *To-morrow*.

Artizans' Dwellings Bill [Bill 255]—
Bill, as amended, *considered* 1101
After short debate, Bill read the third time, and *passed*.

Merchant Shipping (Mercantile Marine Fund) Bill [Bill 256]
Bill *considered* in Committee 1104
Bill *reported*; to be considered *To-morrow*.

NAVY AND ARMY EXPENDITURE, 1880-81—Resolution 1104

LORDS, TUESDAY, AUGUST 8.

PRIVATE BILLS—
Ordered, That Standing Order No. 144. be suspended for the remainder of the Session.

Electric Lighting Bill (No. 212)—
House in Committee (according to order) 1105
Amendments made; the Report thereof to be received on *Thursday* next; and Bill to be *printed* as amended. (No. 229.)

Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill (No. 220)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord Privy Seal*) .. 1110
Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

EGYPT (POLITICAL AFFAIRS)—THE SUEZ CANAL—Question, Observations, Lord Ellenborough; Reply, Earl Granville 1127
EGYPT (MILITARY EXPEDITION)—POSTAL COMMUNICATION WITH THE ARMY—Question, Viscount Monck; Answer, The Earl of Morley .. 1127

Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill—Returned from the Commons with several of the amendments *agreed to*, several *agreed to* with amendments, and with consequential amendments to the Bill, and one amendment *disagreed to*, with reasons for such disagreement: The said amendments and reasons to be *printed*, and to be considered on *Thursday* next. (No. 232.)

COMMONS, TUESDAY, AUGUST 8.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

—∽o∽—

STANDING ORDERS—Resolution, Mr. Sclater-Booth 1129
After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Sir Charles Forster*:)—Motion *agreed to*:—Debate *adjourned* till *Friday*.

[*August* 8.] Page

QUESTIONS.

Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Embodiment of Militia Regiments—Question, Colonel Stanley; Answer, Mr. Childers 1135
Education Department — The Victoria University (Manchester)—Power to Grant Degrees in Medicine—Question, Mr. Agnew; Answer, Mr. Mundella 1136
Friendly Societies Acts—Issue of Contribution Tables—Question, Mr. Stevenson; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1137
Army—Army Chaplains—Question, Mr. Gibson; Answer, Mr. Childers .. 1137
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Issue of Commissions in the Cavalry to Yeomanry Corps Volunteering for Foreign Service—Question, Mr. Salt; Answer, Mr. Childers 1138
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—The Reserve—Fraudulent Enlistments—Question, Sir Henry Fletcher; Answer, The Judge Advocate General 1138
Vaccination—Alleged Death of Children at Norwich from Effects of Operation—Report of Inspectors—Question, Mr. P. A. Taylor; Answer, Mr. Dodson 1139
Egypt (Military Operations)—Newspaper Correspondents—Regulations—Question, Colonel North; Answer, Mr. Childers .. 1139
Burial Boards—Burial Fees—20 & 21 Vic. Cap. 31—Question, Mr. Richard; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 1140
Law and Justice—Criminal Lunatics—The Commission of 1881—Report—Question, Mr. R. H. Paget; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 1140
Poor Law (Ireland)—The Collection of Rates in Manorhamilton Union—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1140
Poor Law (Ireland)—Election of a Guardian for Belhubet, Cavan Union—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1141
The Irish Land Commission—Official Valuators—Mr. James Butler—Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1142
Criminal Law (Ireland)—Case of Mary Keane—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1142
Criminal Law (Ireland)—Case of Michael Larkin—Question, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1142
Egypt (Political Affairs)—Suez Canal, &c.—Questions, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Gladstone 1143
Post Office (Ireland)—The Belfast Letter Carriers—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1144
State of Ireland — Altar Denunciations—The Rev. P. Briody—Question, Sir Henry Tyler; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1145
Egypt—The Egyptian Budget—The Chamber of Notables—Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1145
Criminal Law (Ireland)—"The Tuam Herald"—Case of Richard J. Kelly—Questions, Colonel Nolan; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan, The Attorney General for Ireland 1145
Ways and Means—The Financial Statement—Highway Expenditure—The Grant in Aid—Question, Mr. Sclater-Booth; Answer, Mr. Dodson 1146
The Royal Irish Constabulary—Alleged Discontent—Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1147
Metropolis—The Parks—A New Park for Paddington—The Ecclesiastical Commissioners—Question, Mr. Bryce; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1148
Trade and Commerce—The Spanish Tariff—Duty on Cured Fish—Question, Captain Aylmer; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1149
Army—Drunkenness at Aldershot Camp—Question, Mr. Caine; Answer, The Judge Advocate General 1150

[*August* 8.] *Page*

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill—

Order for Consideration of Lords Amendments read 1150

Moved, "That the Lords Amendments to the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill be now taken into Consideration,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*:)—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Lords Amendments *considered* 1166

One *disagreed to*:—Committee *appointed*, "to draw up Reasons to be assigned to The Lords for disagreeing to the Amendment:"—List of the Committee 1197

Reasons for disagreeing to the Lords Amendment *reported*, and *agreed to*:—To be communicated to The Lords.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—Civil Service Estimates—

(In the Committee.)

Class III.—Law and Justice.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £52,552, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of the Irish Land Commission" 1197

Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Sexton*:)—Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question again proposed 1198

After debate, *Moved*, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Courtney*:)—Question put, and *agreed to*.

The Chairman reported Progress; to sit again immediately.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—Civil Service Estimates—

(In the Committee.)

Class III.—Law and Justice.

Question again proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £52,552, be granted, &c." 1224

After debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £63,238, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries, Allowances, and Expenses of various County Court Officers, and of Magistrates in Ireland, and of the Revising Barristers of the City of Dublin" 1242

After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

Royal Irish Constabulary Bill [Bill 264]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 7th August*] 1243

After some time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

Navy and Army Expenditure, 1880-81—Committee—

Matter *considered* in Committee 1263

Resolutions *agreed to;* to be reported *To-morrow.*

Prison Charities Bill [Bill 270]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Secretary Sir William Harcourt*) 1267

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. J. G. Talbot*:)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Prison Charities Bill—continued.

Original Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill *considered* in Committee, and *reported*, without Amendment.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Secretary Sir William Harcourt*,)—put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read the third time, and *passed*.

Expiring Laws Continuance Bill [Bill 266]—

Bill *considered* in Committee 1270

After short debate, Bill *reported*, without Amendment:—Bill to be read the third time *To-morrow*.

Lunacy Regulation Amendment Bill [Bill 230]—

Bill, as amended, *considered* 1271

After short debate, Bill read the third time, and *passed*.

County Courts (Advocates' Costs) Bill [Bill 188]—

Bill, as amended, *considered* 1272

After short debate, Motion made, and Question, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Mr. H. G. Allen*,)—put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read the third time, and *passed*.

Bills of Sale Act (1878) Amendment Bill—

Consideration of Lords Amendments 1272

One *disagreed to*:—Committee *appointed*, "to draw up Reasons to be assigned to The Lords for disagreeing to the Amendment:"—List of the Committee 1277

Reason for disagreeing to The Lords Amendment *reported*, and *agreed to*:—To be communicated to the Lords.

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 9.

QUESTIONS.

EGYPT (MILITARY EXPEDITION)—PROMOTION OF OFFICERS OF THE MARINES—Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. 1277

EGYPT—THE SUEZ CANAL—PASSAGE OF ENGLISH SHIPS—Question, Colonel Barne; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1278

ANCIENT MONUMENTS BILL—Question, Mr. Cavendish Bentinck; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre 1278

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS—REPORT OF THE METROPOLITAN POLICE FOR 1881—WITHDRAWAL OF LICENCES FROM PUBLIC-HOUSES AND BEERHOUSES—Question, Mr. Dick-Peddie; Answer, Sir William Harcourt.. 1279

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

PARLIAMENT—PRIVILEGE—SUSPENSION OF IRISH MEMBERS (JULY 1)—RESOLUTION—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "the record of the suspension of John Dillon, Member for Tipperary, Dr. Commins, Member for Roscommon, Joseph G. Biggar, Member for Cavan, and Frank H. O'Donnell, Member for Dungarvan, be erased from the Minutes of Pro-

[August 9.] Page

Parliament—Privilege—Suspension of Irish Members (July 1)—continued.
ceedings, on the ground that the suspended Members were not in the House during the proceedings for the obstruction of which they were so reported,"—(*Mr. Joseph Cowen,*)—instead thereof 1279
Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After long debate, it being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow.*

Entail (Scotland) Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 248]—
Bill, as amended, *considered* 1326
Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

Ancient Monuments [Purchase, &c.]—
Considered in Committee 1326
Resolution *agreed to;* to be reported *To-morrow.*

Fisheries (Ireland) (No. 2) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Lewis, Captain Aylmer*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 271] 1327

LORDS, THURSDAY, AUGUST 10.

Private Bills—
Standing Orders Nos. 3, 4, 26, 62, 63, 65, 67, 72, and the appendix, *considered* and *amended:* Then it was *moved* after Standing Order 29. to insert Order 29*a.*—*Agreed to* 1327
Then it was *moved* after Standing Order 34. to insert Order 34*a.*—*Agreed to.*
Ordered that the said Orders be declared Standing Orders, and be entered on the Roll of Standing Orders: Ordered that the Standing Orders as amended be *printed.* (No. 238.)

Parliament—Business of the House—
Moved, "That the Orders of the Day be postponed until after the Order relating to the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill,"—(*The Earl Granville:*) —Motion *agreed to.*

Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill—
Commons Amendments to Lords Amendments, and Commons Consequential Amendments, and reasons for disagreeing to one of the Lords Amendments, *considered* (according to order) 1328
After debate, Bill returned to the Commons.

Labourers' Cottages and Allotments (Ireland) Bill (No. 210)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord O'Hagan*) .. 1343
After short debate, Motion *agreed to:*—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House *To-morrow;* and Standing Order No. XXXV. to be considered in order to its being dispensed with.

Parcel Post Bill (No. 223)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord Thurlow*) .. 1346
After short debate, Motion *agreed to:*—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House *To-morrow.*

Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill (No. 220)—
House in Committee (according to order) 1348
Amendments made; the Report thereof to be received *To-morrow;* and Bill to be *printed* as amended. (No. 239.)

COMMONS, THURSDAY, AUGUST 10.

Page

QUESTIONS.

EGYPT (POLITICAL AFFAIRS)—INTERVENTION OF TURKEY—Question, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1358

METROPOLIS—WATER SUPPLY—Question, Mr. Ritchie; Answer, Sir James M'Garel-Hogg 1358

LAW AND JUSTICE (SCOTLAND)—CESSIO FEES IN HAMILTON SHERIFF COURT—Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, The Lord Advocate .. 1359

TRADE AND COMMERCE—TREATY WITH COREA—Question, Mr. Hinde Palmer; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1360

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS—THE SPANISH CONSUL AT SINGAPORE—Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1360

IRISH LIGHTS—STRANGFORD LOUGH—Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1360

ARMY—CAPTAINS OF THE ROYAL ARTILLERY—THE ROYAL WARRANT—Question, Mr. Warton; Answer, Mr. Childers 1361

RELIEF OF DISTRESS (IRELAND) ACT, 1880—LOANS AND GRANTS—Question, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1362

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—SUB-CONSTABLE TESKEY—Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1362

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—ALLOWANCES TO RESIDENT MAGISTRATES—Question, Mr. Lewis; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1363

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—BELFAST BOARD OF GUARDIANS—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1363

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—POLICE BARRACKS IN ARMAGH—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1364

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—THE POLICE IN BELFAST—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1365

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—JUDGE O'HAGAN'S MEMORANDUM—Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan; Question, Mr. Gibson [No reply] 1366

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—THE HON. ROBERT WHITE, J.P.—Questions, Mr. Healy, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland 1367

MINES REGULATION ACT, SEC. 26—IFTON COLLIERY—Question, Mr. Burt; Answer, Mr. Hibbert 1369

INDIA (MADRAS)—THE RANEES OF BARODA—Question, Mr. M'Laren; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1370

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—DROMOD AND DRUMSNA PETTY SESSIONS—MR. RUTHVEN, J.P.—Question, Colonel O'Beirne; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1371

EGYPT (MILITARY EXPEDITION)—EXPENSES OF INDIAN CONTINGENT—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington .. 1372

THE PARKS (METROPOLIS)—THE TREES IN KENSINGTON GARDENS—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre .. 1372

AFRICA (SOUTH)—CETEWAYO, EX-KING OF ZULULAND—CONTEMPLATED RESTORATION—Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley .. 1373

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—RATHDRUM UNION—ELECTION OF A GUARDIAN—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1373

CONVICT LABOUR—REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE—Question, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1374

POST OFFICE—FEMALE CLERKS—Question, Mr. W. S. Allen; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1374

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—THE SUB-COMMISSIONERS—MR. MEEK—Question, Mr. Brodrick; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1374

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (IRELAND)—IMPROVEMENT OF TRAINING OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS—Question, Mr. Mitchell Henry; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1375

[*August* 10.] Page

THE SASINE OFFICE (EDINBURGH)—RESULTS OF THE LORD CLERK REGISTER ACT, 1879—Question, Mr. Dick-Peddie; Answer, Mr. Courtney .. 1375
CYPRUS (FINANCE, &C.)—Question, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1376
LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—THE GALWAY RACES—Question, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1376
LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—THE MARINES—Question, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1377
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—INSTRUCTIONS TO H.M. INSPECTORS OF SCHOOLS—Question, Mr. J. G. Talbot; Answer, Mr. Mundella 1378
POST OFFICE—PROVINCIAL LETTER CARRIERS—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1378
ARMY—ARMY PAY DEPARTMENT—VALUE OF OFFICERS' FORMER COMMISSIONS AND RETIREMENT—Question, Mr. Warton; Answer, Mr. Childers 1378
ARMY—THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE—PROMOTION FROM THE RANKS—Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, Mr. Childers .. 1379
AGRICULTURAL COMMISSION—CORK BUTTER MARKET—Question, Mr. Moore; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1379
POOR LAW (IRELAND)—CARRICK-ON-SUIR UNION—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1380
REPRODUCTIVE LOAN FUND ACT—IRISH SEA FISHERIES—Question, Mr. Blake; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1381
AFRICA (SOUTH)—THE TRANSVAAL—THE BOERS AND THE NATIVE TRIBES—Questions, Mr. R. N. Fowler, Mr. Gorst; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1381
POOR LAW (IRELAND)—THE GUARDIANS OF TUBBERCURRY UNION, CO. SLIGO—REPAYMENT OF INSTALMENTS OF THE SEED RATE—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1381
THE "PRINCESS ALICE" CALAMITY—THE INQUEST—REPORT—Question, Mr. Montagu Scott; Answer, Mr. Hibbert 1382
PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—MR. PATRICK J. DUFFY—Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. O'Donnell, Mr. Healy, Mr. Mitchell Henry; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1383
DOMINION OF CANADA—EMIGRATION FROM IRELAND—Question, Mr. Blake; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1384
EGYPT (POLITICAL AFFAIRS)—Question, Observations, Lord Elcho; Reply, Mr. Gladstone 1384
Moved, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Lord Elcho*:)—After short debate, Question put, and *negatived*.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—COMMITTEE—PARLIAMENT—PRIVILEGE—SUSPENSION OF IRISH MEMBERS (JULY 1)—RESOLUTION—
Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [9th August], "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" (for Committee of Supply):—Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—Debate *resumed* 1400
Question put, and *agreed to*.
Main Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—
THE PATENT MUSEUM (SOUTH KENSINGTON)—Observations, Mr. Hinde Palmer; Reply, Mr. Chamberlain:—Short debate thereon .. 1401
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—THE HALL OF SCIENCE, OLD STREET, E. C.—Observations, Sir Henry Tyler, Mr. Labouchere; Reply, Mr. Mundella 1405
INDIA (BENGAL)—FLOGGING OF PRISONERS—Observations, Mr. O'Donnell; Reply, The Marquess of Hartington:—Short debate thereon .. 1408
Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to*.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—Civil Service Estimates—
(In the Committee.)

Class III.—Law and Justice.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £63,238, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries, Allowances, and Expenses of various County Court Officers, and of Magistrates in Ireland, and of the Revising Barristers of the City of Dublin" 1414
Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £62,238, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Sexton*:)—After debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 24, Noes 81; Majority 57.—(Div. List, No. 326.)
Original Question put, and *agreed to.*
(2.) £75,317, to complete the sum for the Dublin Metropolitan Police.
(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,082,146 (including a Supplementary sum of £300,000), be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Constabulary Force in Ireland" 1450
After debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 86, Noes 14; Majority 72.—(Div. List, No. 327.)
(4.) £100,704, to complete the sum for Prisons, Ireland.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1460

Class IV.—Education, Science, and Art.

(5.) £231,400, to complete the sum for the Science and Art Department.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1470
(6.) £82,375, to complete the sum for the British Museum.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1472
(7.) £25,878 (including a Supplementary sum of £16,000), to complete the sum for the National Gallery.
(8.) £3,462 (including a Supplementary sum of £1,977), to complete the sum for the National Portrait Gallery.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1473
(9.) £16,900 (including a Supplementary sum of £6,500), to complete the sum for Learned Societies and Scientific Investigation.
(10.) £6,631, to complete the sum for the London University.
(11.) £2,000, Aberystwith College, Wales.
(12.) £2,100, to complete the sum for the Deep Sea Exploring Expedition (Report).—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1474
(13.) £9,680, to complete the sum for the Transit of Venus.
(14.) £13,532, to complete the sum for Universities, &c. in Scotland.
(15.) £1,700, to complete the sum for the National Gallery, &c. Scotland.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1474
(16.) £380,461, to complete the sum for Public Education, Ireland.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1476
(17.) £1,098, to complete the sum for Teachers' Pension Office, Ireland.
(18.) £325, to complete the sum for the Endowed Schools Commissioners, Ireland.
(19.) £2,439 (including a Supplementary sum of £1,000), to complete the sum for the National Gallery of Ireland.
(20.) £10,178, to complete the sum for the Queen's Colleges, Ireland.
(21.) £1,200, to complete the sum for the Royal Irish Academy.

Class V.—Foreign and Colonial Services.

(22.) £92,320, to complete the sum for Diplomatic Services.
(23.) £138,100, to complete the sum for Consular Services.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1476
(24.) £3,473, to complete the sum for the Suppression of the Slave Trade.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1477
(25.) £6,296, to complete the sum for Tonnage Bounties, &c. and Liberated African Department.
(26.) £870, to complete the sum for the Suez Canal (British Directors).
(27.) £20,835, to complete the sum for Colonies, Grants in Aid.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1477
(28.) £7,145 (including a Supplementary sum of £2,200), to complete the sum for South Africa and St. Helena.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 1478
(29.) £16,300, to complete the sum for Subsidies to Telegraph Companies.

[*August* 10.] Page

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—Committee—*continued.*

CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES.

Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Sir Henry Holland:*)—After short debate, Question put, and *negatived.*
(30.) £208,582, to complete the sum for Superannuations and Retired Allowances.
(31.) £11,800, to complete the sum for Merchant Seamen's Fund Pensions, &c.
(32.) £18,900, to complete the sum for Relief of Distressed British Seamen Abroad.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1482
(33.) £432,500, to complete the sum for Pauper Lunatics, England.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1483
(34.) £40,000, to complete the sum for Pauper Lunatics, Scotland.
(35.) £5,000, to complete the sum for Pauper Lunatics, Ireland.
(36.) £8,925, to complete the sum for Hospitals and Infirmaries, Ireland.
(37.) £49,326, to complete the sum for Friendly Societies Deficiency.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1484
(38.) £1,529, to complete the sum for Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances, Great Britain.
(39.) £2,808, to complete the sum for Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances, Ireland.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

Royal Irish Constabulary Bill [Bill 264]—
Bill, as amended, *considered* 1484
After short debate, Bill to be read the third time *To-morrow.*

Citation Amendment (Scotland) Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 267]—
Bill *considered* in Committee 1485
After short time spent therein, Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

Allotments Bill [Bill 227]—
Bill, as amended, *considered* 1488
After short debate, Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

EAST INDIA (HOME EFFECTIVE CHARGES OF TROOPS) [SETTLEMENT OF ARREARS]—
Considered in Committee 1488
Resolution *agreed to;* to be reported *To-morrow.*

LORDS, FRIDAY, AUGUST 11.

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—ALLEGED DISCONTENT—Question, Lord Ellenborough; Answer, Lord Carlingford 1489

Artizans' Dwellings Bill (No. 231)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Earl of Rosebery*) .. 1489
Motion *agreed to:*—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Monday* next.

Entail (Scotland) Bill—
Moved, "That the Commons Amendments be now considered,"—(*The Earl of Rosebery*) 1490
After short debate, Motion *agreed to:*—Several of the Amendments *agreed to,* with Amendments; *Moved* to agree to one other of the Amendments; objected to; and, on question, *resolved* in the *affirmative.* The rest of the Amendments *agreed to;* and Bill returned to the Commons.

Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill (No. 239)—
Moved, "That the Report of Amendments to the Bill be received,"—(*The Lord Privy Seal*) 1495
After short debate, Motion *agreed to:*—Amendments *reported* (according to order); and Bill to be read 3ª on *Monday* next.

COMMONS, FRIDAY, AUGUST 11.

Page

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Standing Orders—Resolution—

Order read for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [8th August] on New Standing Order, to follow Standing Order 173:—Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* 1498

Amendment proposed, after the words "Bill presented by," to insert the words "or conferring powers on,"—(*Mr. Lyon Playfair*:)—Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to*.

Amendment proposed, in Section (a), after "conflict with," to insert the words "deviation from,"—(*Mr. Lyon Playfair*:)—Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to*.

Amendment proposed, at end, to add, "And the Report of the Committee shall be printed and shall be circulated with the Votes,"—(*Mr. Lyon Playfair*:)—Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to*.

Moved, "That the said Order be a Standing Order of the House:"—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*.

Standing Order 3 read, and amended.

Standing Order 13 read, and amended.

New Standing Order, to follow Standing Order 29:—Question, "That the said Order be a Standing Order of the House," put, and *agreed to*.

Standing Order 33 read, and amended.

New Standing Order, to follow Standing Order 60.

Ordered, That the said Order be a Standing Order of the House.

Standing Order 63 read, and amended.

Standing Order 65 read, and amended.

Standing Order 84 read, and amended.

New Standing Order, to follow Standing Order 158:—Question proposed, "That the said Order be a Standing Order of the House:"—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*.

Appendix (A) to Standing Orders read, and amended.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill—

Moved, "That the Lords Amendments to the Commons Amendments to the Amendments made by the Lords to the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill be considered forthwith,"—(*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland*) 1510

After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Sexton*:)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Question again proposed:—Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

QUESTIONS.

Relief of Distress (Ireland) Act—Seed Loans—Question, Colonel O'Beirne; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland 1514

The Royal Irish Constabulary—Armagh Police Barracks—Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland 1515

The Royal Irish Constabulary—Moville, Co. Donegal—Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland .. 1516

Egypt (Military Expedition)—The Indian Contingent—Roman Catholic Chaplains—Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1517

[*August* 11.] Page

ENGLAND AND FRANCE—THE ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC—TREATY OF 1847—Question, Mr. Salt; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1517

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—JAMES AND THOMAS COEN AND J. E. HAZEL—Questions, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland 1518

NAVY—VALUATION STATEMENTS—Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1519

ARMY—THE GARRISON AT MALTA—MARRIED SOLDIERS' FAMILIES—Question, Colonel O'Beirne; Answer, Mr. Childers 1519

POST OFFICE (IRELAND) — MAIL SERVICE IN WATERFORD CO. — Question, Mr. Leamy; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1520

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—PROSELYTIZING IN WORKHOUSE SCHOOLS—Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Dodson 1520

PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—ROSSLARE HARBOUR—Question, Mr. Beresford; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland 1521

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—THE LEASES CLAUSES—MR. JUSTICE O'HAGAN—Question, Mr. Gibson; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland 1521

EMIGRANT SHIPS—THE WRECK OF THE "MOSELLE"—Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1521

THE CHANNEL TUNNEL SCHEME—Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1522

EGYPT (POLITICAL AFFAIRS)—THE EGYPTIAN BUDGET, &c.—Questions, Mr. Molloy, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1522

EGYPT—THE CHAMBER OF NOTABLES—VOTING THE BUDGET—Question, Mr. Molloy; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1524

EGYPT (POLITICAL AFFAIRS)—PROCLAMATION BY THE CONFERENCE OF ARABI AS A REBEL—Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1524

NAVY—DOCKYARD EMPLOYES—Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1525

FISHERY BOARD (SCOTLAND)—THE REPORT—Questions, Mr. R. N. Fowler, Mr. Healy; Answers, The Lord Advocate.. 1525

RAILWAYS—THIRD CLASS PASSENGER DUTY—Question, Mr. Buxton; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1525

PARLIAMENT—THE AUTUMN SITTING—Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Healy, Mr. Warton; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1526

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—ALLEGED DISCONTENT—Question, Mr. Tottenham; Answers, Mr. Gladstone 1528

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT—Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1528

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT—RE-ARREST OF MR. GEORGE—Questions, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. O'Donnell, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Healy; Answers, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Gladstone .. 1529

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

WOOLMER FOREST—RECENT FIRES—Observations, Mr. Sclater-Booth, Mr. Arthur Arnold, Mr. H. G. Allen; Reply, Sir Arthur Hayter .. 1531

Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

(1.) £14,941, to complete the sum for Temporary Commissions.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1533

(2.) £3,711, to complete the sum for Miscellaneous Expenses.

REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

(3.) £793,155, to complete the sum for Customs.

(4.) £1,557,822, to complete the sum for Inland Revenue.

(5.) £3,043,300, to complete the sum for Post Office.

(6.) £490,514, to complete the sum for Post Office Packet Service.—After debate, Vote *agreed to* 1536

(7.) £835,298, to complete the sum for Post Office Telegraphs.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1552

CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS.

(8.) £3,000, Supplementary sum for Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1562

(9.) £25,000, Supplementary sum for Natural History Museum.

(10.) £3,645, Supplementary sum for Public Buildings, Ireland.

(11.) £27,000, Royal University, Ireland, Buildings.

(12.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £6,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for Diplomatic and Consular Buildings, including Rents and Furniture, and for the maintenance of certain Cemeteries abroad" 1567

After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 49, Noes 25; Majority 24.—(Div. List, No. 328.)

(13.) £250,000, Disturnpiked Roads.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 1575

CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES.

(14.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £90,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, as a Grant in Aid of the Revenue of the Island of Cyprus" 1586

After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 59, Noes 21; Majority 38.—(Div. List, No. 329.)

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Ancient Monuments Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 263]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre*) 1598

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months,"—(*Mr. Warton.*)

[The Amendment, not being seconded, could not be put.]

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

Corrupt Practices (Suspension of Elections) Bill [Bill 265]—

Order for Committee read 1601

After short debate, Bill *considered* in Committee.

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported,* without Amendment; read the third time, and *passed.*

Married Women's Property Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 191]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved,* "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. Osborne Morgan*) 1603

Amendment proposed, to leave out from the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House will, upon this day three months, resolve itself into the said Committee,"—(*Sir George Campbell,*)—instead thereof.

[*August* 11.] Page

Married Women's Property Bill [*Lords*]—continued.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to*:—Bill *considered* in Committee 1607

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported*, with Amendments; as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

Supreme Court of Judicature (Ireland) Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 250]—

Bill *considered* in Committee 1612

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported*, without Amendment; read the third time, and *passed*, without Amendment.

Fishery Board (Scotland) Bill [Bill 240]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*The Lord Advocate*) 1613

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow.*

Citation Amendment (Scotland) Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 267]—

Bill *considered* in Committee 1617

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported*, with Amendments; as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

Merchant Shipping (Colonial Inquiries) Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 235]—

Bill *considered* in Committee 1621

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported*, with Amendments; as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall) Bill—

Moved, "That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow,"—(*Mr. Pendarves Vivian*) 1622

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "To-morrow," in order to insert the words "upon Monday next,"—(*Mr. Warton*,)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the word 'To-morrow' stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 44, Noes 8; Majority 36.—(Div. List, No. 331.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill to be read a second time *To-morrow.*

Cruelty to Animals Bill [Bill 206]—

Moved, "That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow,"—(*Mr. Anderson*) 1623

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "To-morrow," in order to insert the words "upon Monday next,"—(*Mr. Warton*,)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the word 'To-morrow' stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill to be read a second time *To-morrow.*

Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill—

Moved, "That the Lords Amendments to the Commons Amendments to the Amendments made by the Lords to the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill be considered forthwith,"—(*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland*) .. 1624

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Amendments *considered*, and *agreed to.*

[*August* 11.] Page

WAYS AND MEANS—

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, the sum of £34,357,774 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.
Resolution *agreed to ;* to be reported *To-morrow.*

India (Home Charges Arrears) Bill—Resolution [August 10] *reported*, and *agreed to :* —Bill *ordered* (*Mr. Courtney, The Marquess of Hartington*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 272] 1625

EAST INDIA REVENUE ACCOUNTS—

Ordered, That the several Accounts and Papers which have been presented to the House in this Session of Parliament relating to the Revenues of India be referred to the Consideration of a Committee of the whole House.
Committee thereupon upon *Monday* next.—(*The Marquess of Hartington.*)

COMMONS, SATURDAY, AUGUST 12.

QUESTIONS.

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—ALLEGED DISCONTENT—Question, Mr. Tottenham; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland .. 1626
ANCIENT MONUMENTS BILL—Question, Mr. Cavendish Bentinck; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre 1627

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—REPORT—Resolutions [11th August] *reported* 1627
Resolutions 1 to 4, inclusive, *agreed to.*
Resolution 5.

"That a sum, not exceeding £3,043,300, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Post Office Services, the Expenses of Post Office Savings Banks, and Government Annuities and Insurances, and the collection of the Post Office Revenue."

After short debate, Resolution *agreed to.*
Resolutions 6 and 7 *agreed to.*
Resolution 8.

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £3,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens .. 1637

After short debate, Resolution *agreed to.*
Remaining Resolutions *agreed to.*

WAYS AND MEANS—
Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill
Resolution [August 11] *reported :*—Bill *ordered* (*Mr. Playfair, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Courtney*); *presented*, and read the first time 1647

Fishery Board (Scotland) Bill [Bill 240]—
Order for Committee read :—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*The Lord Advocate*) 1648
After short debate, Motion *agreed to :*—Bill *considered* in Committee.
Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

[*August* 12.] *Page*

India (Home Charges Arrears) Bill [Bill 272]—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Courtney*) 1649
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall) Bill—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Pendarves Vivian*) 1650
After debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 41, Noes 8; Majority 33.—(Div. List, No. 332.)
Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

Cruelty to Animals Bill [Bill 206]—
Order for Second Reading read 1667
[House counted out.]

LORDS, MONDAY, AUGUST 14.

Allotments Bill (No. 248)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord Carrington*) .. 1668
After short debate, on Question? their Lordships *divided;* Contents 13, Not-Contents 7; Majority 6.
Resolved in the *affirmative*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House *To-morrow*.

PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC BUSINESS—THE AUTUMN SITTING—MOTION—
Moved, "That this House adjourn during pleasure,"—(*The Lord Privy Seal*) 1673
After short debate, Motion *agreed to.*

COMMONS, MONDAY, AUGUST 14.

QUESTIONS.

PARLIAMENT—SCOTCH BUSINESS—Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, The Lord Advocate 1674
POOR LAW (SCOTLAND)—ALLEGED ILLEGAL REMOVAL OF A PAUPER FROM GLASGOW TO LONDONDERRY—Question, Mr. Daly; Answer, The Lord Advocate 1674
NAVY—ARMAMENTS FOR MERCHANT STEAMERS—Question, Sir Edward Watkin; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1675
POOR LAW (IRELAND)—OLDCASTLE UNION, CO. MEATH—CONSTITUTION OF THE BOARD OF GUARDIANS—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland 1676
RAILWAYS—PRINTING FARES ON RAILWAY TICKETS—Question, Mr. George Russell; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1676
LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—DUBLIN METROPOLITAN POLICE—Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland .. 1677
THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—THE SUB-COMMISSIONERS—MR. JOHN GEORGE M'CARTHY—Question, Mr. Warton; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland 1678
EGYPT—REFUGEES AT MALTA—Question, Sir Henry Fletcher; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1679
EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—THE ROYAL MARINES—Question, Sir Henry Fletcher; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. 1679

[*August* 14.] Page

Protection of Person and Property (Ireland) Act, 1881—Mr. Lawrence Daly—Question, Mr. T. D. Sullivan; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland 1680

Post Office—Female Clerks—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1680

India (Madras)—Mining Concessions in Mysore—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1681

Post Office—Mail Carts (Metropolis)—Question, Mr. Alderman W. Lawrence; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1682

Egypt—The Law of Liquidation—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1683

Africa (South)—Zululand—Reported Collection of Taxes by John Dunn—Question, Mr. R. N. Fowler; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley .. 1684

The Magistracy (Ireland)—Mr. Garnett-Tatlow—Question, Mr. Molloy; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland 1685

Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1881—Search for Arms—Question, Mr. Molloy; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland .. 1685

Army—The Ordnance Department—The Moncreiff Battery at Alexandria—Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Mr. Childers .. 1686

New Zealand—Case of Roderick Mannion—Question, Mr. Molloy; Answer, Mr. Childers 1686

Egypt (Military Expedition)—Officers of Royal Marine Artillery and Light Infantry—Promotion—Observation, Mr. Dixon-Hartland 1687

The Magistracy (Ireland)—Legal Appointments—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland 1687

Burmah—Mission to the Viceroy of India—Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1687

The Danube Commission—Navigation of the Danube—Question, Mr. Charles Palmer; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1688

Egyptian Loans, 1862 & 1864—Questions, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Goschen 1688

India—Mortality in Indian Gaols—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1690

Egypt—The European Control—Question, Mr. Molloy; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1691

Trade and Commerce—Spanish Duties on British Goods—British Duties on Spanish Wines—Questions, Mr. O'Donnell, Mr. Monk; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1692

Army (Auxiliary Forces)—The Reserve—Fraudulent Enlistments—Question, Sir Henry Fletcher; Answer, The Judge Advocate General 1695

Parliament—Business of the House—The New Rules of Procedure—Ministerial Statement, Mr. Gladstone:—Short debate thereon .. 1695

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—:o:—

India (Finance, &c.)—East India Revenue Accounts—The Annual Financial Statement—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved,* "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" 1701

After long debate, Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to*:—Matter *considered* in Committee .. 1778

Moved, "That it appears by the Accounts laid before this House, that the Ordinary Revenue of India for the year ending the 31st day of March 1881, was £63,178,192; the Revenue from Productive Public Works, including the Net Traffic Receipts from Guaranteed Companies, was £9,381,786, making the total Revenue of India for that year £72,559,978; that the Ordinary Expenditure in India and in England, including Charges for the Collection of the Revenue, for Ordinary Public Works, and for Interest on Debt, exclusive of that for Productive Public Works, was

[*August* 14.] *Page*

India (Finance, &c.)—East India Revenue Accounts—continued.

£67,344,896; the Expenditure on Productive Public Works (Working Expenses and Interest), including the payments to Guaranteed Companies for Interest and Surplus Profits, was £9,259,437, making a total Charge for that year of £76,604,333; that there was an excess of Expenditure over Income in that year of £2,044,355; that the Capital Expenditure on Productive Public Works in the same year was £3,238,070; and that there was also an outlay on the East Indian Railway of £418,435,"—(*The Marquess of Hartington.*)

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Resolution to be reported *To-morrow.*

Electric Lighting Bill—

Lords Amendments *considered* 1779

After short debate, Amendments *agreed to.*

Lunacy Regulation Amendment Bill [*Lords*]—

Moved, "That the Lords Amendment to the Commons Amendments made in this Bill be now considered" 1783

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Lords Amendment to Commons Amendments *considered,* and *agreed to.*

Revenue, Friendly Societies, and National Debt Bill—

Moved, "That the Bill, as amended, be now considered," — (*Mr. Courtney*) 1783

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill, as amended, *considered.*

Moved, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Mr. Courtney*:) —Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

Fishery Board (Scotland) [Salaries and Expenses]—

Matter *considered* in Committee 1789

Resolution *agreed to*; to be reported *To-morrow.*

Fishery Board (Scotland) Bill [Bill 240]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 12th August*] 1789

After short time spent therein, Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

County Courts (Costs and Salaries) Bill—

Lords Amendments *considered,* and *agreed to* 1795

Purchase of Railways (Ireland) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Callan, Mr. Cowen, Mr. Daly, Mr. Thomas Dickson, Mr. O'Sullivan, Colonel Nolan, Mr. Beresford*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 278] 1795

LORDS, TUESDAY, AUGUST 15.

Parliament—Business of the House—The Adjournment—Ministerial Statement, Earl Granville; Observations, The Marquess of Salisbury 1795

Passenger Vessels Licences (Scotland) Bill (No. 252)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Earl of Rosebery*) .. 1797

Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly:—Committee *negatived*; and Bill to be read 3ª *To-morrow.*

Royal Irish Constabulary Bill (No. 255)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord Privy Seal*) .. 1797

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly:—Committee *negatived*; and Bill to be read 3ª *To-morrow.*

Page

Metropolitan Improvements—Hyde Park Corner—Question, Observations, The Marquess of Ailesbury; Reply, Lord Sudeley:—Short debate thereon 1798

Tripoli—Safety of British Subjects—Motion for Papers—
Moved, "That Papers relating to the protection of British subjects in Tripoli be presented to the House,"—(*The Earl De La Warr*) .. 1800
After short debate, Motion *agreed to.*

Africa (South)—Cetewayo, Ex-King of Zululand—Probable Restoration—Question, Observations, The Earl of Milltown; Reply, The Earl of Kimberley:—Short debate thereon 1803

National Gallery (Loan) Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Earl Granville*); read 1ª (No. 261) 1807

COMMONS, TUESDAY, AUGUST 15.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Regent's Canal, City, and Docks Railway Bill (*by Order*)—
Moved, "That the Lords Amendments be now considered" .. 1808
After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to:*—Lords Amendments *considered* and *agreed to.* [Special Entries.]

Channel Tunnel Railway Bill (*by Order*)—
Moved, "That the Order for Second Reading be discharged,"—(*Mr. Chamberlain*) 1816
After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to:*—Order *discharged;* Bill *withdrawn.*

QUESTIONS.

Post Office (Savings Bank Department)—Female Clerks—Question, Mr. J. G. Talbot; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1826
Peru—Murder of Mr. Rose—Question, Colonel Alexander; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1826
Post Office (Ireland)—Postmasters at Ballyfarnon, Co. Roscommon, and Cleggan, Co. Galway—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1827
Fisheries (Ireland)—Ballyshannon Board of Fishery Conservators—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland 1828
Ejectments (Ireland)—The Lissonure Estate—Question, Mr. Molloy; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland 1829
Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1881—Arms Licence—Question, Mr. Molloy; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland .. 1829
Suez Canal—The Administrative Council—M. De Lesseps—Question, Mr. Buxton; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1829
Merchant Shipping—The Wreck of the "Mosel"—Question, Mr. Dillwyn; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1830
Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act—Proclamation of Ematris, Co. Monaghan—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland 1830
Law and Police (Ireland)—Police Station at Mullaghmore—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland .. 1831
Army (India)—Conductor Bennett—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1831

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—ALLEGED DISCONTENT—THE LORD LIEUTENANT'S CIRCULAR—Question, Mr. Tottenham; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland 1832

THE PARKS (METROPOLIS)—THE ENCLOSURE IN REGENT'S PARK—Question, Mr. D. Grant; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1832

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—SUPPLY OF RUSSIAN CATTLE—PRECAUTIONS AGAINST RINDERPEST—Question, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answer, Mr. Childers 1833

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—THE MILITARY CONVENTION WITH TURKEY—Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1833

POST OFFICE (SAVINGS BANK DEPARTMENT)—PROMOTIONS—Question, Mr. Molloy; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1833

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—CONTEMPT OF COURT—"THE QUEEN v. HYNES"—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland 1834

EGYPTIAN LOANS, 1862 AND 1864—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1834

PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC BUSINESS—BALLOT ACT CONTINUANCE AND AMENDMENT BILL—Question, Mr. Craig; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke .. 1835

EGYPT—RIGHT OF VOTING THE BUDGET—Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1835

AFRICA (SOUTH)—CETEWAYO, EX-KING OF ZULULAND—PROBABLE RESTORATION—Question, Mr. J. G. Hubbard; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1836

CRIMINAL LAW—JUVENILE DEPRAVITY—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 1837

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—CONTEMPT OF COURT—"THE QUEEN v. HYNES"—Question, Mr. Callan; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland 1837

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. Callan*:)—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 2, Noes 88; Majority 86.—(Div. List, No. 333.)

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—:o:—

Married Women's Property Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 191]—

Bill, as amended, *considered* 1844

After short debate, Bill read the third time, and *passed*, with Amendments.

Ancient Monuments Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 263]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre*) 1847

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill *considered* in Committee.

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, *considered.*

Moved, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre*:)—Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read the third time, and *passed*, with Amendments.

Citation Amendment (Scotland) Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 267]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now taken into Consideration,"—(*The Lord Advocate*) 1852

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months,"—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 78, Noes 6; Majority 72.—(Div. List, No. 335.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill, as amended, *considered.*

After short debate, Bill read the third time, and *passed*, with Amendments.

[*August* 15.] Page

Fishery Board (Scotland) Bill [Bill 240]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress* 14*th August*] 1857

After short time spent therein, *Moved*, "That the Bill, as amended, be reported to the House:"—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill *reported*; as amended, *considered*; read the third time, and *passed*.

Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill—

Lords Amendment *considered* 1859

After debate, Amendments *agreed to*.

Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. Lyon Playfair*) 1875

Egypt (Political Affairs)—Policy of Her Majesty's Government—Resolution—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House condemns Her Majesty's Government for their neglect and mistakes which have brought about the War in Egypt, and especially for the Bombardment of Alexandria without a landing force sufficient to have saved life and property, and considers that the Foreign Policy of the Government has alienated the Allies, and weakened the influence and power of the Country,"—(*Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett*,)—instead thereof 1875

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand par of the Question:"—After debate, Question put, and *agreed to*.

Main Question again proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

Turkey and Egypt—Action of H.M. Consuls—Observations, Mr. O'Donnell; Reply, Sir Charles W. Dilke:—Short debate thereon .. 1896

Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill *considered* in Committee .. 1904

Mr. Callan, Member for the County of Louth, having been Named by the Chairman for having disregarded the authority of the Chair:—

Motion made, and Question put, "That Mr. Callan be suspended from the service of the House during the remainder of this day's sitting,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*:)—The Committee *divided*; Ayes 58, Noes 3.

Whereupon the Chairman left the Chair in order to report the said Resolution to the House.

Mr. Speaker resumed the Chair, and Mr. Playfair reported to Mr. Speaker that Mr. Callan had been Named by him to the Committee as disregarding the authority of the Chair, and that the Committee had resolved that Mr. Callan be suspended from the service of the House during the remainder of this day's sitting.

Mr. Speaker thereupon forthwith put the Question, "That Mr. Callan be suspended from the service of the House for the remainder of this day's sitting,"—The House *divided*; Ayes 60, Noes 3.

Mr. Callan withdrew accordingly.

Then the House again resolved itself into the Committee on the Bill:—After short time spent therein, Bill *reported*, without Amendment; to be read the third time *To-morrow*.

India (Finance, &c.)—East India Revenue Accounts—Report—

Resolution [August 14] *reported* 1918

After short debate, Resolution *agreed to*.

Cathedral Statutes Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 232]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Beresford Hope*) 1918

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Dillwyn*:)—Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 21, Noes 31; Majority 10.—(Div. List, No. 339.)

Question again proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

[House counted out.]

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

LORDS, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 16. *Page*

Fishery Board (Scotland) Bill (No. 264)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a,"—(*The Earl of Rosebery*) .. 1921

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2^a accordingly.

Moved, "That the Bill be committed,"—(*The Earl of Rosebery*:)—After short debate, on Question? *Resolved* in the *affirmative*; Bill *committed* accordingly to a Committee of the Whole House *To-morrow*; and Standing Order No. XXXV. to be considered in order to its being dispensed with.

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 16.

PROVISIONAL ORDERS AND CERTIFICATES—

Ordered, That Standing Order 39 be suspended, and that the time for depositing duplicates of any Documents relating to any Bill to confirm any Provisional Order, or Provisional Certificate, be extended to Tuesday 24th October,—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

MOTION.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—MOTION—

Moved, "That the Standing Orders of the House respecting Wednesday's sittings be suspended this day,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) 1929

Motion *agreed to.*

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Mr. Lyon Playfair*) 1929

EGYPTIAN BUDGET—POLICY OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT—RESOLUTION—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House, before sanctioning the Appropriation of the Supplies for the year, requests an assurance from Her Majesty's Government that they will take immediate steps to ascertain from the 'de facto' Egyptian Military Authorities, whether they will lay down their arms on being guaranteed the right of voting their own Budget, which they demanded last January,"—(*Sir Wilfrid Lawson,*)—instead thereof 1929

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

Main Question again proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time:"—

FOREIGN AFFAIRS—POLICY OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT—Observations, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Reply, Sir Charles W. Dilke .. 1959

PARLIAMENT—PRIVILEGE—MR. GRAY (COMMITMENT OF A MEMBER OF THIS HOUSE)—Question, Observations, Colonel Nolan, Mr. Speaker .. 1962

Main Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 57, Noes 4; Majority 53. —(Div. List, No. 340:)—Bill *passed.*

Imprisonment for Contumacy Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 208]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. J. G. Talbot*) 1962

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Dillwyn*:)—After short debate, [House counted out.]

LORDS, THURSDAY, AUGUST 17.

Page

Fishery Board (Scotland) Bill (No. 264)—
House in Committee (according to Order) 1968
Bill *reported*, without Amendment.
After short debate, Standing Order No. XXXV. *considered* (according to Order), and *dispensed with:* Bill read 3ª, and *passed.*

National Gallery (Loan) Bill (No. 261)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Earl Granville*) .. 1975
After short debate, Motion *agreed to:*—Bill read 2ª accordingly.

ARMY—OFFICERS IN CYPRUS—Question, Lord Waveney; Answer, The Earl of Kimberley 1977

COMMONS, THURSDAY, AUGUST 17.

PARLIAMENT—PRIVILEGE—MR. GRAY (COMMITMENT OF A MEMBER OF THIS HOUSE)—
Mr. Speaker acquainted the House that he had received a Letter from the Right Hon. James Lawson, which Letter Mr. Speaker read to the House 1978
Moved, "That the Letter of Mr. Justice Lawson do lie upon the Table," (*Mr. Gladstone:*)—After long debate, it being ten minutes before Seven of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *this day*.

QUESTIONS.

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—ARMS LICENCE—MR. JAMES BIGLEN—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland 2042
THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—PROCEEDINGS IN CO. SLIGO—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland 2042
RAILWAYS—IMPROVED COUPLINGS FOR ROLLING STOCK—Question, Sir Edward Reed; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 2043
ARMY—ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT—SURGEON M'GANN AND OTHERS—Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Childers 2044
RUSSIA—THE POSTAL CONVENTION—DELIVERY OF NEWSPAPERS—Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 2044
EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—THE NAVAL ARMOURED TRAIN—Question, Mr. Warton; Answer, Sir Thomas Brassey 2044
LAW AND JUSTICE (SCOTLAND)—THE GROUND GAME ACT, 1879—CASE OF "FRAZER *v.* LAWSON"—Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, The Lord Advocate 2045
ARMY (INDIA)—GRIEVANCES OF CAVALRY OFFICERS—Question, Mr. Tottenham; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 2046
POST OFFICE (SAVINGS BANK DEPARTMENT)—FEMALE CLERKS—Question, Mr. J. G. Talbot; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 2047
POST OFFICE—THE LETTER CARRIERS—INCREASED PAY—Question, Mr. Broadhurst; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 2048
VACCINATION—ALLEGED DEATHS OF CHILDREN AT NORWICH FROM EFFECTS OF OPERATION—REPORT OF THE MEDICAL INSPECTOR—Question, Mr. Hopwood; Answer, Mr. Dodson 2048

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE—Motion, Mr. Gladstone .. 2049

The House suspended its Sitting at Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE—

Resolved, That this House will, at the rising of the House To-morrow, adjourn till Tuesday the 24th day of October next,—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

PARLIAMENT—PRIVILEGE—MR. GRAY (COMMITMENT OF A MEMBER OF THIS HOUSE)—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [17th August], "That the Letter of Mr. Justice Lawson do lie upon the Table,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*:)—Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* .. 2049
Question put, and *agreed to.*

Payment of Wages in Public Houses Prohibition Bill [*Lords*]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Broadhurst*) .. 2049
Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months,"—(*Mr. Warton.*)

[The Amendment, not being seconded, could not be put.]

Original Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Tuesday* 24th October. [House counted out.]

LORDS, FRIDAY, AUGUST 18.

Their Lordships met;—And the ROYAL ASSENT having been given, by Commission, to several Bills,
[House adjourned to Tuesday the 24th October.]

COMMONS, FRIDAY, AUGUST 18.

The House met at a quarter after Two of the clock.

Message to attend the LORDS COMMISSIONERS.

The House went;—and being returned;—

Mr. SPEAKER *reported* the *Royal Assent* to several Bills.

QUESTION.

ARMY—THE GRENADIER GUARDS—CASE OF LIEUTENANT FARRER—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Childers 2051

Moved, "That the House do adjourn till Tuesday 24th October,"—(*The Marquess of Hartington*:)—Motion *agreed to.*

COMMONS.

NEW WRITS ISSUED.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 11.

For *Haddington Burghs*, *v.* Sir David Wedderburn, baronet, Manor of Northstead.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 15.

For *Halifax Borough*, *v.* John Dyson Hutchinson, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds.

THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT, 1882.

The Right Hon. the CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER *having issued a revised Edition of his Speech on moving the First Resolution in Committee of Ways and Means (Monday, April* 24), *it has been thought desirable to reprint this authorized version for* "HANSARD."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GLADSTONE): Mr. Lyon Playfair—I think that my first duty on this occasion is to tender my acknowledgments to hon. Gentlemen opposite, and especially to the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. A. O'Connor), for the courteous announcement which he has just made to the House. I believe, however, that I may say, without offence, that the Motion of the hon. Member for Queen's County would have been an innovation, and that it would have been in my power to have counteracted it by another innovation quite within the limits of the Orders of this House—namely, by making the Financial Statement with the Speaker in the Chair. I think, however, that the Committee will feel that it is much better that these two innovations should pass into the usual place of unfulfilled resolutions, and that the Financial Statement should be made in the usual manner, by which perfect freedom of remark is allowed to all hon. Members who may see occasion to enter into the subject.

With respect to the general financial condition of the country, I will only say that essentially the position of the Expenditure is that of a somewhat growing Expenditure, and that with respect to the Revenue, it is a sluggish Revenue. It is much as it has been during the last two years—this being the third occasion during the existence of the present Government on which I have had cast upon me duty of making the Financial Statement to the House. It is very remarkable that although employment is generally active, and although the condition of trade cannot be said to be generally unsatisfactory, yet the recovery of the country from the point of extreme depression has been a slow and a languid recovery, especially as far as regards the action of that recovery upon the Revenue of the country. No doubt, there is a natural explanation of the circumstance in the extreme excitement—the unnatural and the unhealthy excitement—of prices which existed during the period of prosperity which preceded the time of depression; and it is to that cause that we must look for the slackness of the recovery to which I have referred, and not to any diminution whatsoever in the resources of the country, or any deterioration of its industrial prospects.

I go on at once to lay before the Committee the particulars which it is customary for them to receive on this occasion. I shall have to deal in the first instance with the financial year 1881-2, which reached its close on the 31st of March. The Expenditure of that year was estimated at £86,190,000; the actual Expenditure was £85,472,000, showing that the Expenditure fell short of the Estimate by £718,000. The comparison of the Expenditure with the Expenditure of the preceding year is a more serious matter. Of course, the actual Expenditure in 1881-2 was well within the Estimate; but, when compared with that of the preceding year, it requires a little closer investigation. The Expenditure of 1880-1 was £83,108,000; the Expenditure of 1881-2 was £85,473,000, showing an augmentation of £2,365,000. But, in order that the House may understand the position of these two years relatively to other years, and of the second year relatively to the first, it is right that I should mention to them what was the amount of special War Charges connected with various subjects of policy which have been repeatedly before the House, and which came upon both of these years. I will give the particulars for the two years—first, for the year 1880-1; and, secondly, for the year 1881-2. In 1880-1 the Charge on account of the Transvaal was £656,000 in connection with warlike operations in that country; £446,000 of that sum was on account of the Army, and £210,000 on account of the Navy. There was a charge imposed upon that year by an arrangement made shortly before we came into Office, for the purpose of getting rid, in a small number of years, of the debt of £6,000,000, contracted a few years ago for purposes connected with the War between Russia and Turkey. That Charge—namely, the charge of the Annuity by which the debt is to be extinguished—was in 1880-1 £1,129,000. There was also a Loan of £2,000,000 contracted by my Predecessor in

Office, and advanced without interest to India. The Charge in respect of that Loan in 1880-1 was £62,000. Besides, there was a Vote of £500,000 asked by the present Government from the House in aid of Indian Finance, and voted before the expiration of the financial year to which I am referring. The whole of these special Charges for the year 1880-1 was £2,347,000. In the year 1881-2 those Charges underwent a considerable increase. The Transvaal Army Charge was £1,066,000; the Transvaal Navy Charge was £303,000; and the Transvaal Civil Charge, for expenses which it was necessary to contract in connection with the re-transfer of the Civil Government, was £400,000; or in all, on account of the Transvaal, £1,769,000. The Charge in respect of the £6,000,000 Vote of 1878 was, for the year 1881-2, £1,350,000. The Charge for the Indian Loan was £88,000; and the Charge for the Grant in Aid of Indian Finance on account of the Afghan War was, as before, £500,000. There was also a small special Vote of £135,000 in respect of the Zulu War; making the total amount of the special War Charges for the year 1881-2, £3,842,000, instead of £2,347,000. There was thus an excess of the War Charges for that year over those of 1880-1 of £1,495,000. That, however, still leaves an increase of Expenditure of between £800,000 and £900,000. I will not attempt minutely to explain that excess. The House is aware that some classes of increase in our Expenditure may be called normal, and that some classes of increase even represent a corresponding profit. Among what are commonly called normal augmentations are such augmentations as those in the Education Vote, and among those which are usually attended by a corresponding increase of profit are the very heavy and large augmentations of expenditure for the cost of establishments and buildings in connection with the Postal and Telegraph Services. In the particular case I refer to, the increase in the Postal and Telegraph Services for 1881-2 over the former year was £317,000. The cost of the Census was £140,000; the cost of the increased Education Estimates was £140,000; and the special Expenditure connected with the state of Ireland, partly for the increase of Constabulary and partly otherwise, was £190,000. These sums account for nearly £800,000 of the augmentation which I have pointed out to the House. It is not necessary to pursue the matter into more detail.

Well, then, Sir, having compared the Expenditure with the Estimate, and having compared it with the Expenditure of the previous year, I have next to compare it with the Revenue of the year. That account will not be found to offer a very brilliant result; but, at the same time, it is so far a satisfactory result that the balance is on the right side. The Income for the year was £85,822,000, and the Expenditure £85,472,000; so that there is a small Surplus of Income over Expenditure amounting to £350,000. It is a matter of interest to compare the actual Revenue of the year with the Estimate, because it tends to throw light on a subject to which I have referred—namely, the languid manner in which the Revenue is at present recovering from a state of depression. The subject, however, in one of its branches leads into discussions of very great moral and social interest, although they are discussions impossible at the present moment to lead to anything like a demonstrative result. Comparing the Revenue with the Estimates of the year, I find that the Customs, which were estimated to yield £19,180,000, yielded £19,287,000; the Excise, estimated to yield £27,440,000, yielded £27,240,000; Stamps, estimated at £12,290,000, yielded £12,260,000; the Taxes, estimated at £2,760,000, yielded £2,725,000; and the Income Tax, estimated at £9,540,000, yielded the unexpectedly large amount of £9,945,000. I take all these items together, adhering to the practice—the convenient practice which has now been established for some years—of distinguishing between the Tax Revenue of the country and the non-Tax Revenue—between that which is derived directly and that which is derived indirectly from taxes. I find that the Tax Revenue, estimated at £71,210,000, yielded £71,457,000; an excess, although a very small excess, which I wish to bring under the notice of the House in connection with the present state of our relations with trade and industry on the one hand and the Exchequer on the other. Coming to those portions of the Revenue not derived from taxes, they stand more favourably on the whole. The Post Office, estimated to yield £6,800,000, yielded £7,000,000; Telegraphs, estimated to yield £1,600,000, yielded £1,630,000; the Crown Lands, estimated at £390,000, owing to difficulties connected with agricultural depression on a limited scale, yielded £380,000; the interest on Advances and other moneys included under the same head, estimated at £1,200,000, yielded £1,219,000; and the Miscellaneous Items, estimated at £3,900,000, yielded £4,136,000. Upon the whole, the non-Tax Revenue, estimated at £13,890,000, yielded £14,365,000; and the total Revenue of the country, estimated at £85,100,000, yielded £85,822,000; or an excess of £722,000 over the amount at which it had been taken at the commencement of the financial year.

It has been my practice for a good many years to give the House what is necessarily a rough Estimate, but still an Estimate, on a matter of great importance—namely, an Estimate of the real increase, or the real augmentation, of the Revenue, because the accounts of the Revenue, as published, are not sufficiently clear, and those who are conversant with the subject are well aware that they are not always a safe guide to the rapid conclusions which some writers and observers are apt to arrive at from a rough inspection of them. I want, then, but not at any great length, to compare the Tax Revenue of 1880-1 with the Tax Revenue of 1881-2; but, of course, in order to make that comparison just, I must introduce certain rectifications to insure that I am dealing with exactly the same elements. The Tax Revenue of 1880-1 stood at £69,814,000. But then there was a sum of no less than £1,320,000, which was arrested on its way to the Exchequer, being part of the receipt of the Malt Tax Duty, which in due and regular course was employed to discharge the claim of the maltsters for drawback. Therefore, adding that sum, which I suppose to have been arrested, for the purpose of comparison, to the Revenue of 1881, the addition gives a total of £71,134,000. But now I have to make a deduction, for the purposes of comparison, because in that year we received a very large sum from the imposition of an additional 1*d.* on the Income Tax, a sum estimated at £1,460,000. I do not, however, take the whole of that sum, because about £400,000 of the produce of that 1*d.* may be considered to have been also enjoyed by the year just expired. I, therefore, deduct £1,060,000, which leaves the Revenue for 1880-1, for the purposes of comparison, at £70,074,000. The Tax Revenue of 1881-2 stands at £71,457,000 ; but then it was augmented by two sums, one connected with the change in the Spirit Duties, and another connected with the change in the Probate and Legacy Duties, which were estimated to add to the Revenue £570,000, although they did not add quite so much. Therefore, deducting that sum for the purpose of comparison, it leaves the Tax Revenue of 1881-2 at £70,887,000. Deducting therefrom the Tax Revenue of 1880-1—£70,074,000—I have a residue of £813,000, which, as nearly as I am able to estimate, indicates to the House the true increase in the Revenue of the country from the same sources in the two years respectively. It is rather remarkable how closely that increase corresponds with the increase of population. The increase of the population is something over 1 per cent. This augmentation in the Tax Revenue is also something over 1 per cent. This is not the represenattion of a very bad year, neither is it the representation of a very good year, because in a fat year we ought to be able to do something more than merely keep pace with the increase of population, in order to make up for the deficit of the lean years in former times. The sum of £813,000 may be said to exhibit the true increase of the Revenue from the same sources and under the same supposed conditions of law.

But I must not pass from this portion of the subject without adverting to those points in which changes have been introduced into the law, although there is only one of them upon which I shall have occasion to dwell. I shall however first mention a subject on which no change has been introduced into the law, although I have been exceedingly desirous to introduce a change. That is the Duty on Silver Plate. There are two reasons that would recommend the abolition of that duty. The first and the special reason is the very great anxiety entertained by the Indian Government that that duty should, if possible, be removed, they being under the belief admitted by all the authorities of this country, who, of course, speak with considerable weight, that a large trade would probably take place in the introduction of silver goods from India if the duty were abolished. But a more general reason, undoubtedly, recommends the abolition of this duty—namely, that it perplexes the market, it places transactions in new and in old plate on an embarrassed footing relatively, it inflicts much mischief in the limitation of industry, and it possibly tends to lower the standard of our manufactured silver goods, while obstructing the progress of taste in design; these being objections which cannot at all correspond with any benefit derived from that source by the Revenue. When it is said, "Why not abolish the duty?"—the abolition of the duty raises the formidable question of drawback; and the question of drawback is far more formidable, and far more difficult, and I will even say, in my opinion, far more questionable than it is in regard to any other Excise commodity whatever. Whenever this duty is abolished, if no drawback is given, at least the producers of silver goods in this country must be heard and their arguments considered. I am not prepared to make any proposal in this direction at the present time. As the House is aware, I have no Revenue to give away. The sum is not large enough, and, therefore, is not worth considering in that way. But I am not prepared to propose a drawback on silver goods; and, on the other hand, I doubt whether the trade is sufficiently lively and progressive to enable it to meet the change, or, at any rate, to make it content to meet the change without a drawback. The House will understand that, in this case, the drawback is extreme; I conceive it in principle to be disputable. Our rule is this. We give drawbacks upon Exciseable commodities, but not on every commodity that has not yet reached the hands of the consumer, and only upon Excisable commodities, so far as we can get at them, in the hands of the wholesale dealer, where we have distinct cognizance of those commodities, and where we can know what we are about. But there is no such cognizance in the case of silver goods. When the duties are once paid on the goods they are distributed over the whole country, and the claim to drawback is a claim which, in this instance alone, is made on behalf of the retail dealer. The amount of that drawback would not be a large sum in itself; but still it is extremely large with reference to the Revenue in question—from £50,000 to £60,000 a-year—and the drawback, if it were given, would not be less than three or four times that revenue. That forms a very awkward combination of circumstances on which to give it consideration. I do not myself, upon the whole, incline to believe that the consideration of drawback is applicable to the subject at all. It may be necessary to wait for a more favourable opinion before a change can be made; but it cannot be made now. I do not in the least degree grudge parting with the revenue, and I have adverted to the question now in order that it may be well understood in India that we are really desirous of making progress. But I am not prepared, as at present advised, to face the question of drawback, beset as it is with difficulty formidable relatively to the Revenue; while, in my opinion, there is no sound reason for making an exception in this case.

A subject of change last year, on which I need not dwell, was a rectification of a small differential charge made upon foreign spirits. It was demonstrated that that charge was in excess, and would operate as a protective duty. It required re-adjustment, and the re-adjustment was made. It was estimated to produce about £180,000 a-year, and it has produced, as far as I can judge, about that amount.

A more important change was made in relation to the Legacy and Probate Duty. It did not dispose of the whole of the Legacy and Probate Duty, but it circumscribed and simplified that subject. It got rid of most of the collateral points relating to it; but it left for the consideration of the House the very grave and serious question which, no doubt, will some day come under consideration—namely, whether what is known as the "consanguinity scale," which makes the State distribute the tax upon succession and legacies according to the degree of proximity to the testator, is a sound system, or whether it is the business of the State to take an equal tax and leave it to the testators themselves to regulate their own proceedings under their own wills, and distribute their property with the full knowledge of what the law requires of them? But the change made last year failed to produce the whole revenue that was expected from it. It was estimated to produce £390,000; it has produced only £305,000. The Committee is aware that these duties are extremely variable; and, although it seems paradoxical to say it, they are greatly affected by the accident of seasons. One year there may be enormous fortunes falling in, and in another year there may be comparatively small sums. Indeed, the Revenue Department, when I called upon them to explain why we had not got the whole return that we expected, gave me a variety of causes, among them being the extremely mild character of the season, in consequence of which the grim monster, Death, had had but an indifferent harvest, and the Probate and Legacy Duty suffered in proportion. There was another cause —namely, this, that there was some rush to pay Probate Duty last year before the change came into effect.

With regard to the changes introduced into the law, I can report very favourably indeed. According to the old practice, as the Committee knows, estates were admitted to probate without any deduction for debts. The duty was levied at once without that deduction. After the debts had all been paid and settled by a difficult process, which, no doubt, yielded abundant pickings to the Legal Profession, the duty, as far as regarded the debts, was returned. That system was a bad one, and is now entirely got rid of. The debts are deducted at once, without introducing any confusion into the operation of the law. I can give a curious instance of the effect of this. Not long ago a gentleman died with an estate of £900,000; but he was not so rich as he seemed, because his debts were £900,000. Under the old law, £21,250 would have been paid and held for a certain time by an ingenious title in respect of that estate. As it was, nothing was paid whatever, and the parties were saved from a great deal of expense, as well as from the burden of a large and heavy payment. Another important change, which I endeavoured to explain fully at the time, was the change by which we not only imposed a low duty upon small estates, but undertook to manage the whole transaction by the officers of the Revenue, upon the payment of 30*s*. Every person having to deal with an estate under £300 in value may now put the matter in the hands of a Revenue officer, and receive the whole proceeds of the estate without any further charge whatever. It was a very common thing for persons in that predicament to have to pay £10, £20, £30, and even more, for the necessary expenses connected with the settlement of the estate; and I think I am justified in saying that the change we have introduced has been found to be a very great boon indeed. There is another small matter which tells the other way, inasmuch as I am afraid the gains will be insignificant; but they will be undoubtedly just. We abolished absolutely the absurdity of the law in exempting legacies under £20, from which there has grown up a practice of making a multitude of bequests of 19 guineas. These bequests, be it known to all and sundry whom it may concern, will not pass in future without paying duty. One of these bequests was left by a man whose estate reached several hundred thousand pounds to one of the wealthiest men in the country. There was no reason why that man should not be called upon to submit to the ordinary deduction without making a wry face.

There is another point in regard to which some apprehension was not unnaturally felt. The Committee will remember there was some fear that by lightening the Legacy Duty, by taking off 1 per cent in case of direct descent, and making a corresponding increase in the Probate Duty, embarrassment would be caused to executors owing to the earlier payment of the Probate Duty. I am assured that no difficulty whatever has been experienced upon that subject, and that the working of the measure has been in all respects satisfactory.

But a larger question, and one which deserves consideration, partly as being of much importance to a very extended trade, and partly as of great social and moral interest, was the change in the Beer Duty. I will first state how the proceeds of that change stand, only premising that, as regards all the difficulties which at one time used to be considered insuperable with respect to the levying of a Beer Duty, they have entirely vanished. Great credit, in my opinion, is due to the skilful Department which conducts the business on the part of the State; but the very highest credit is also due to the members of the trade, who, so far from opposing themselves through a blind adherence to past traditions to an exceedingly important and drastic change, entered into the spirit of it, and gave every assistance to the officers of the Revenue. The consequence is that the Beer Duty is universally levied with certainty and with facility, and, I believe, with general satisfaction to the trade, so far as the mere levying of the duty is concerned. Let me say a word on the subject of the amount. The Estimate which I gave last year for the Beer Duty was £8,800,000, and the Committee will be good enough to bear in mind that this is the first complete year in which we have had to deal with the Beer Duty. The year 1880-1 was a mixed year, and, therefore, is not available for purposes of comparison, because it consisted of half Malt Tax and half Beer Duty. This is a year of Beer Duty, and of nothing but Beer Duty. I mentioned that the levying of the tax had been perfectly satisfactory. I ought to have said, also—for it is a matter which may, undoubtedly, be looked at from different points of view—that the change has worked favourably and well in regard to the practice of private brewing. It has not extinguished the practice. The number of licences taken out is very large; no less than £46,000 has been received from those licences, the enormous majority of which are taken at only 6*s.* a-piece, so that the Committee will see what a large number of persons avail themselves of the facilities afforded for private brewing. I was certainly wrong in estimating the Revenue which I anticipated would be derived from the change. We estimated, as I have said, the total produce of the Beer Duty for the year at £8,800,000. That Estimate was taken rather high, in partial deference to the estimates made by gentlemen connected with the trade. They felt so great a confidence in the view they presented as to the mode in which we had tried to extend the law for the benefit of the Exchequer, and the weight due to their knowledge and experience was so considerable, that a small addition was made to the Estimate merely out of deference to them, there being some uncertainty as to the results of the change. The Estimate had been taken at £8,800,000; the actual yield has been £8,580,000.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Does that include the licence?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Gladstone): Yes; the licence, which amounted to £46,000, is included, and the actual yield is £220,000 short of the Estimate. The Estimate of the Revenue Department would have been very close indeed, but for the circumstances which I have mentioned.

The Committee will be anxious to compare the proceeds of the Beer Duty with those of the old Malt Duty. If we compare the yield of the Beer Duty of the year just expired with the Malt Duty, then, indeed, we appear to have made marked progress, because the last complete year of the Malt Duty, and the last year of the finance of the late Administration, was the year

1879-80, when the product of brewing, in all its forms, malt, sugar, and licences, yielded £7,737,000, so that we appear to have gained £843,000. But that is entirely fallacious, because the barley harvest in 1879 was so bad, and the depression of trade was so great, that there is no fair standard of comparison. I have taken, therefore, for the purpose of comparison, the six preceding years of the Malt Duty; and I find that the average revenue from the Malt Duty, together with the sugar used in brewing, and the licences for the six preceding years, from 1873 to 1879, was £8,672,000—that is, that the Malt Duty, upon an average of years, produced £92,000 a-year more than we have got out of the Beer Duty on the first full year of the duty. Effectively there is, in point of fact, for the time, a small diminution.

Now, we do not allege that that diminution is in any degree due to having pitched the Beer Duty too low, in comparison with what the Malt Duty had been; but I will advert to that question in a moment or two. We look for an explanation to other circumstances, some of them circumstances of great interest. But I must meet the allegation which is made on the other side. It is still stated with confidence by the other side—namely, by the great brewers of the country, who represent and speak for the entire trade—that we have pitched the Beer Duty too high, and that we have received fully 2*s.* a-quarter more in the shape of Beer Duty upon the quarter of barley used in brewing than we received formerly from the Malt Duty. Happily it is always a very great advantage when there is no serious dispute upon the fact. Upon the whole, we do not deny that statement. We plead guilty to the soft impeachment so far—that, to an amount, at any rate, closely approaching to 2*s.*, we received that profit; but we contend that we are entitled to that profit, and upon that subject there is a friendly argument being carried on in the best possible humour between the members of the trade and ourselves. We point out, what is a known fact, that under the Malt Duty, the peculiar method in which the duty was levied—and this is an allegation admitted on both sides—gave the brewer a certain advantage, and enabled him to contract his debt with perfect honour, and without the slightest reproach to him, but simply from the mode in which the law had been worked; and it enabled him to pay a duty somewhat less than the duty was, on the face of it, intended to be—that is to say, in consequence of the quantity of malt which he made out of a given quantity of barley, and of the mode in which the duty was levied, which was mainly on the barley, and not on the malt. I take it that the advantage which he got in that way was about 8*d.* in a quarter, and that is a moderate estimate of the advantage which he gained, and which we contend—although it is no reproach to him that he has enjoyed it—Parliament was entitled to, and even bound in duty, to withdraw. Of course, as long as the Malt Duty existed, the maltster, who had to pay the duty, was compelled to take a profit upon the duty, just as he was compelled to take a profit on the short price that he paid for malt. The abolition of the Malt Duty relieved the trade of the charge of 10*d.* a-quarter, and that accounts for 1*s.* 6*d.* out of the 2*s.* that are in contest between us. Besides that, we always say that as we were relieving the trade from the compulsory regulations of the old law, which instructed every maltster, and which compelled every maltster, to build his malt kilns, and to shape the details of his premises in a particular way—not allowing him to choose what was best for his trade, but compelling him to raise his buildings according to what was deemed necessary for our security in levying the duty—we say that an advantage is derived from the abolition of these restrictions, and of other restrictions which were imposed by the law for the purpose of Excise. Those restrictions, now that they are gone, are estimated very lightly; but it is a matter of historical interest to go back to the period when the maltsters had to make good their case, not for a protective duty, but for an equivalent duty, and a compensating duty against foreign malt; and in those days, now perhaps forgotten, they steadily maintained, and were supposed to have proved to the satisfaction of the Government, that the tax imposed by these restrictions of Excise was a burden upon them to the extent of 1*s.* 9½*d.* a-quarter. That 1*s.* 9½*d.* has now almost wholly—I believe I might say has wholly—disappeared. One of the differences to which I have previously referred has been a gain, which we distinctly say we are entitled to. I do not know what effect time may have had in disposing our friends—if I may be permitted to call them so, and I do not know why they should not be our friends—to recede from the claim which they made to this difference of nearly 2*s.* a-quarter in the Beer Duty, as compared with the Malt Duty.

The other subject is a subject of a very wide and general interest, and the detail of it is, I should say, really a very curious detail. Obviously, as I have admitted, we get nearly 2*s.* a-quarter in the Beer Duty, as compared with the old Malt Duty; and as I have also shown that, notwithstanding the increase of population, our receipt from Beer Duty is less by £90,000 than the average receipt from the old Malt Duty in the years between 1873 and 1879, I represent the state of facts in which there is some collapse somewhere. Is that collapse due to any alteration in the habits and practices of the people? According to the Board of Inland Revenue and their officers, whom I consider to be good authorities on the subject, they do not exclude that supposition; but they do not look to it as the main cause. They say that although employment in the country is general, yet wages have not yet reached the full average level, and, undoubtedly, have not reached anything like the level which they reached in the years of prosperity between 1873 and 1879, although they fell at the close of that period. They also observe —and I have no doubt there is something in this—that last year in the cider counties there was a very great abundance of fruit, and a very large consumption of cider. Then comes another fact —the great increase of coffee-houses and clubs, which lead to the supposition that the more temperate habits of the people are the cause of this deficiency in the Revenue.

I think the House will deem it quite worth their while to spend a few minutes in endeavouring to get as accurate information as we can upon this subject, and to put ourselves in a position to estimate fairly the influences which are at work. We have a group of simultaneous facts which, taken together, are curious, and which do not all run quite in the same direction. In the first place, there is a very decided decline of the drink revenues proper. I hope my hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) approves of that term "drink revenues." It is something disparaging, and that, I am sure, will be agreeable to his feelings. I have got here a statement of the revenue derived from spirits, wine, malt, and beer, with the attendant Licence Duties and so forth, at three separate periods. I have taken 1867-8, which was before the great rise of prices; 1874-5, when that rise of prices and wages was still, on the whole, in operation; and 1881-2, the last financial year. The entire revenue from these sources in 1867-8 was £23,001,000. In 1874-5 the revenue had sprung to £31,029,000. In 1881-2 it had gone back to £28,440,000. The most curious circumstance in this is the history of the Wine Duties. The wine revenue advanced from the time of the important change in the duties in 1860 in a very steady manner for a great number of years, and in 1874-5 it was £1,719,000; so that with our duties on wine, varying from 1*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* a-gallon, we were deriving about the same revenue as we had been accustomed to receive with a uniform duty of 5*s.* 10*d.* a-gallon. But ever since that time the duty upon wine has been receding in a much greater proportion than other revenues from alcoholic liquors. The total of these revenues fell from £31,029,000 to about £28,500,000, or, roundly, they fell by about one-eighth; but the duty on wine fell from £1,719,000 to £1,366,000, or by more than one-fifth. However, there is the fact that there is a great diminution, notwithstanding the large increase of population between 1867 and 1881—an increase in the population which could not be less than 4,000,000 people. The gross revenue from these sources, which had risen to £31,029,000 in 1874, fell by more than £2,500,000, with an increase of population between 1874-5 and 1881-2 of considerably over 2,000,000 people.

It is also rather curious to take the proportion in which we have been dependent on this source of the Revenue of the country; and I have compared the liquor taxation of the country, as I would call it, with the non-liquor taxation—meaning by the non-liquor taxation all the Tax Revenue of the country except the Income Tax, which I do not include on account of its frequent variation; but I put on one side the taxation derived from alcoholic liquors, and on the other side the taxes derived from all other sources except the Income Tax. Taking the percentage on that basis, they stand as follows. In the six years from 1859 to 1865 we levied 37½ per cent of our taxation from alcoholic drinks, and 62 per cent from non-alcoholic drinks. In the three years from 1866 to 1868 we levied 42 per cent from alcoholic drinks, and 57½ per cent from all other sources. In the five years from 1869 to 1873 we levied 46½ per cent from alcoholic drinks—the Committee will, perhaps, observe that the percentage is continually mounting—and 53½ per cent from all other sources. From 1874-5 to 1879-80 we levied 51 per cent of our whole taxation, except Income Tax, from alcoholic drinks, and 49 per cent from all other sources. That is a very curious state of facts. Since the last period I have named there has been some re-action.

I have carried the comparison up to 1879-80; but during the last three years re-action has begun, and the alcoholic revenue has gone down to 46½ per cent, and the non-alcoholic revenue has risen to 53½ per cent, showing a real and serious diminution in the consumption of alcohol. Then you will say—"If that diminution is going on, which you have shown to be so considerable, and if the main cause of it is to be found in those useful and valuable institutions"—to be met with, I believe, in most of our great towns and in many country places, and known all over the country as coffee and cocoa houses—"we ought to see a large increase of Revenue from the other sources." But, Sir, that increase we do not find. It is a very curious fact, and therefore I mention it to the Committee. The Committee will perceive the effect of this upon tea; but I will not include that now, because tea is not much used in these public institutions. The revenue derived in 1867-8, jointly—I will not give all the details—from chicory, cocoa, and coffee, was £523,000. The revenue derived from the same sources in 1874-5 had fallen to £310,000. But, in the first place, the movement adverse to alcoholic liquors had not then commenced; and, in the second place, a large reduction had been made in the Coffee Duty, which, in 1867, yielded £390,000—it was reduced in 1872 from *3d.* to 1½*d.* per lb.—and which, in 1874, only yielded £207,000. It is worthy of remark that, whereas this great movement, adverse to alcohol and so eminently favourable to coffee and cocoa, has been at work since 1874-5, it has not produced the slightest rally in the revenue from coffee; but, on the contrary, during the last seven years, there has been a further diminution in the coffee revenue. In 1874 the Coffee Duty was £207,000; in 1881 it was only £189,000; and although the Chicory Duty slightly increased, it only increased by £8,000, and did not make up the whole difference. The Cocoa Duty increased from £40,000 to £46,000; but the joint yield of these three articles, which in 1874 was £310,000, was only £306,000 in 1881. When we turn to tea the case is indeed different. My own opinion is that not a very great deal of tea is consumed in the tea houses; yet its domestic use is advancing at such a rate that there undoubtedly is a powerful champion able to encounter alcoholic drink in a fair field, and contest the ground in fair fight. The revenue from tea, which in 1867 was £3,350,000, had risen in 1874 to £3,878,000, and in 1881 to £4,280,000. The increase of the population during that period of 14 years was no less than 4,900,000; but there is no corresponding augmentation in the revenue from coffee and chicory.

I am bound to say that there is a peculiar state of the law to which, I think, we ought to ask the House to apply a remedy, and I shall lay a Resolution on the Table of the House this very evening with that view. At present, every description of admixture with coffee is permitted; and we have long proceeded on the principle that the admixture of chicory with coffee was not adulteration—that it was an admixture so rooted in the estimation of many countries, that many people—those of France and Belgium for instance—would not drink their coffee without it. But of late a practice has grown up of producing all kinds of substitutes, under the name of coffee—roots and berries—and that I cannot but think must account for the strange and singular state of the figures I have laid before the Committee. We shall not attempt to interfere with the admixture of chicory with coffee; but we propose that it should not be allowed to introduce other miscellaneous admixtures with coffee.

There is one other circumstance in connection with this state of facts and this great diminution in alcoholic drinks which I am anxious to lay before the Committee; for certainly I do not hesitate to say that I think the Committee will agree with me that we can trace the operation of this diminution in the use of alcoholic drinks precisely where we should wish to trace it—that is, in the augmented savings of the people. Now, Sir, I will show what those savings are so far as they come under the cognizance of Her Majesty's Government. Of course, what does come under the direct cognizance of the Government is, I hope, a very small portion of those savings; but, at the same time, for the purpose of comparison, that small portion is perfectly effective. I look first to the Old Savings Banks, and I find these have fluctuated a good deal. In 1846 the deposits amounted to £31,750,000; in 1861 they had risen to £41,500,000; in 1867, perhaps owing to the competition of the Post Office Savings Banks, which paid a considerably lower rate of interest, they had fallen to £36,500,000. Since that time they have been advancing not rapidly, but to this extent. In 1874 the deposits were £41,500,000; and in 1881 they were £44,175,000, showing an annual increment of about £350,000. The Post Office Savings Banks, as the Committee is aware, were founded in 1861. They have advanced, on the whole, with very great regularity. Even the most unfavourable state of circumstances amongst the labouring classes has never done more than reduce—not inconsiderably, but still not vitally—not the amount of deposits, but the increment upon the yearly amount of deposits. The ordinary increment in the Post Office Savings Banks' deposits has been from £1,600,000 to £1,800,000. The lowest amount for any year in the first decade of their existence was £1,533,000, and the highest was £1,926,000. The lowest year in the second decade was 1879, when there was great distress and want of employment, and even in that year the deposits amounted to £1,600,000. In the highest of the prosperity years—1872—the savings rose to £2,293,000; but there is no doubt that the wages of the labouring classes are much lower at this moment than they were in that year. And yet, although wages are now lower than in 1872, the deposits made in the Post Office Savings Banks have risen even higher than they were then, and I take them thus. The deposits made there, and remaining there, are now £2,449,000, or nearly £2,500,000. Besides that, we have invested for depositors £750,000; so that the whole sum placed in our hands by the depositors—although a portion has passed into the Funds—in the year 1881-2, with a great diminution of means on the part of the labouring population, has risen to £3,189,000. I think this shows that, whatever other effects this diminution of the duty on spirits is producing, it is clearly associated with the gradual extension of more saving habits amongst the people.

I pass now from these subjects altogether; and I have only to state, in a very few words, what it has now become customary to lay before the Committee—namely, the aggregate operations upon the National Debt in the course of the year; and I do so now, because if they look at the figures that should be presented in a Parliamentary Return they might possibly fail to grasp the exact state of the case. The Debt was returned on the 31st of March, 1881, at £768,703,000. But there was an item existing at that time which had never been valued or reduced to figures —that was the deficiency in the funds of the Savings Banks, which we are bound, notwithstanding, to make good. Since the 31st of March, 1881, that deficiency has been ascertained, and an Annuity adequate to gradually extinguish it has been created. We now, therefore, value that Annuity as part of the Debt, just like any other Annuity; and, of course, we must add it to the Debt existing on the 31st of March, 1881, for the purpose of comparison with the amount of the Debt on the 31st of March, 1882. The value of that Annuity is £1,622,000. Adding that sum to the Debt as it stood in March, 1881, the total effective Debt was £770,325,000. The total on the 31st of March, 1882, was £763,166,000, so that the reduction of Debt in the year when the liquidation took place is £7,159,000. [Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Is that Debt of all kinds?] That is Debt of all kinds.

There still remains a small subject which has not been dealt with, but which will have to be dealt with this year or next—namely, the small deficiency on the Friendly Societies' Account. I need not, however, refer to that in detail. I may say, also, that last year I proposed to make a conversion of Capital Debt into Annuities for the purpose of preparing for the year 1885, when a large portion of Annuities would lapse. I intend again to bring in that Bill during the present Session, if the state of Public Business should be favourable to it. But it is not a matter of extreme urgency, and it might be introduced next year without any essential difference. Therefore, I shall proceed with it this Session only if the state of affairs renders it advisable to introduce the Bill.

I come now to the year 1882-3, which is no longer retrospective, but prospective, and relates to the practical portion of the subject with which we have to deal. The Committee will not, I think, expect me to offer them any very brilliant or alluring prospect, after what I have already said. I am now going, as is usual, to estimate the Expenditure for the year 1882-3. The total Charge of the Debt, including Interest on Local Loans and Charges on the Consolidated Fund, will be £31,415,000. The Charge for the Army is £15,458,000 ; Indian Home Charges amount to £1,100,000 ; and the Charges on account of the Navy to £10,484,000. We shall again ask the House to vote a Grant to India, as last year, which will entail a further Charge of £500,000. The expenses of the Civil Service will be £16,503,000 —I am now going on the Estimates which are already in the possession of the House—the Customs and Inland Revenue charges of collection will be £2,901,000 ; which, with £5,889,000 for the Post Office, Telegraph, and Packet Services, makes a total of £84,250,000.

But I am sorry to say that does not entirely close the account, because there are three or four items remaining, of which I must mention three of a serious character. The Committee will understand that in Ireland, owing to the circumstances of the last two or three years, the extra duties cast upon the Irish Constabulary have been extremely heavy. I cannot refer to this subject without stating my belief that the experience of that period has tended to raise even the high character of that Force. I am aware there are opinions entertained by some on the subject of having another description of Constabulary Force in Ireland ; but into those opinions I do not now enter. As to the conduct of that Force, its fidelity and efficiency upon the footing of its present organization, I believe it is impossible to commend it too highly. However, Sir, it is a fact, according to the examination which we have made, that with the great amount of extra duty entailed upon them, the extra allowances have been decidedly insufficient ; and it will, therefore, be an obligation on us to ask Parliament, besides the sum named in the Constabulary Estimates, which are already on the Table of the House, to vote a further sum in order to make good the deficiencies in those allowances. I do not now say in what form that will be voted ; but the amount has been pretty closely investigated by the representatives of the Irish Government, together with able representatives of the Treasury, and they have agreed that it must be a sum of about £180,000. This sum it will be necessary to ask Parliament to accord.

Then, Sir, we have, unfortunately, to ask for a Vote of £100,000 in connection with the Prisons Act of a few years ago. I believe that when this Act was passed it was intended that the cost of conveying prisoners should be charged upon the counties; but, unhappily, it appears, according to the view of the Courts of Justice, that the Act does not give effect to that intention; and the consequence is we are called upon to pay the sum of arrears for the three years which have elapsed since the Act came into operation. Of course, there may be a question, which I do not enter into, whether the original intention of Parliament ought not to be fulfilled? Still, we have these arrears to deal with, and it will be our duty to ask Parliament, in the course of the present year, for the sum I have specified, representing the three years' arrears for the conveyance of prisoners.

Well, Sir, the third subject of serious difficulty to which I have referred is one that will not sound over-musical in the ears of the Committee. It is the Vote for the Civil Government of Cyprus. The Civil Government of Cyprus has never been settled. A large sum was taken for this purpose last year—I think more than £90,000—but the season has been an extremely bad one, and the Committee will be aware that in Cyprus, just as it used to be in Corfu, if there came a bad olive year, the Revenue of the year was ruined. Consequently, the deficiency of this year in Cyprus is even greater than usual. We have thought it our duty to have the matter carefully examined, and to provide for squaring the account, more especially as my noble Friend the Secretary of State for the Colonies has been engaged in organizing a scheme of government for Cyprus, which will introduce local influences into the Government, and give it something like regularity and efficiency. We shall be obliged to ask the House to vote, during the present Session, £90,000 for that purpose. Out of that sum £12,000 is due to the former year; but between £70,000 and £80,000 is the charge which we find actually existing. I think about £30,000 of that sum is due to the circumstance I have named—that is to say, the peculiarly unfavourable character of the season. The Committee will naturally ask whether they are to be called upon for a corresponding sum year after year. Well, Sir, my noble Friend has made the closest investigation of this subject in his power, and has ordered what, so far as he can judge, is a most stringent system of economy and retrenchment in the administration of affairs in Cyprus, and what he hopes to do—I am not going beyond our real expectation of the effect—is next year to get the Vote down to £40,000. That may not be pleasant; but it is my duty to tell an unvarnished tale, and let the Committee know how the case stands. Therefore, together with minor charges, this makes an increase of £380,000, and raises the total estimated Expenditure to £84,630,000.

I think it is an essential part of my duty briefly to compare this, as well as I can, with the Expenditure of last year. As I have said, £84,630,000 is the total charge before us. The Expenditure of last year, according to the Estimates, was £86,190,000; so there is an apparent reduction of charge to the extent of £1,560,000. But a large proportion of that reduction is only apparent, because the Military and Naval Estimates of this year are presented in a form in which credit is at once taken for extra receipts, instead of having them presented without that reduction, and bringing the extra receipts to account on the other side. The disturbance which is thus introduced into the Account represents a sum of £809,000, and the real reduction in the Estimates is, in consequence, reduced to £750,000. But the relief from War Charges has been much larger than that. The War Charges are still very considerable. We have still £1,350,000 on account of the five years' Annuity for the Vote of £6,000,000. We have £500,000 for the Afghan Vote, and I think about £120,000 this year on account of the Indian Loan. Still, after making allowance for £400,000 to be repaid on account of South African Wars, the year is relieved in respect of War Charges, upon the whole, to the extent of £2,250,000, or, more exactly, £2,272,000, against which I am only able to state a reduction upon the Estimates of £751,000; and, therefore, I must tell the Committee what becomes of the difference of £1,500,000 between these two sums. Some part of that represents permanent increase, some part of it represents normal increase; but undoubtedly there are portions of it which I am not able to place under one description or the other. I could not give the Committee a minutely accurate statement; it would be idle to attempt it; but I think I can, with general clearness and accuracy, state the main facts. The augmentation as connected with the Government of Ireland this year will be no less than £430,000. The Constabulary Estimate is £139,000; the Constabulary further Estimate, £180,000; and Resident Magistrates, £12,000. The Land Court, established in Ireland, which we have offered to landlords and tenants, not free of all expense —for I am afraid that legal expense in connection with it cannot be annihilated—but almost entirely free of expense, so far as the Exchequer is concerned, imposes on the taxpayers of the Three Countries the heavy charge for the year of £93,000, which brings up the total of the Irish Votes for this year to the sum I have already stated of £430,000. There is an increase of about £90,000 on the Non-Effective Votes for the Army and Navy, which may be contemplated by the Committee without great dissatisfaction, because, as they are aware, it belongs essentially to the transition period between the old system of general pensions in the Service and the new system based on Reserves. We are, at present, in the unfortunate position of having to pay all the charges connected with the New Reserve system, and of having also approached the maximum connected with the old system of pensions for long service. I believe, in the course of two years, that process will be reversed, and a very considerable although gradual relief will be experienced. The Charge for the Postal and Telegraph Services has largely increased. I will not enter into the causes of that increase; but I think I ought to state, in justice to all parties, that great care appears to have been taken by the late Government in restraining the extension of the Establishment. The pressure since we came into Office has reached a point which is nearly irresistible; and although, I hope, the Post Office will go on increasing, yet the percentage of cost for collection of revenue, I am afraid, will show some increase also. There is an increase of £207,000 in the Post Office Charge for this year; there is the sum to which I have referred for the conveyance of prisoners; and there is a Charge, which may be contemplated with unmixed satisfaction, of £85,000 in the increased payments for the liquidation of the National Debt, of which you have had the fruit in the statement I have made of a reduction of £7,000,000 of Debt in the course of three years. That accounts for £900,000 out of a sum of £1,500,000, which I have represented as the increase to be accounted for. Effectively, the great bulk of the remainder of that increase is Navy Charge, and is represented by demands with which the Committee is familiar. There are the changes of armament, which cause an augmentation of £250,000 in the Vote for Guns. There is another sum of £100,000 in the Vote for Shipbuilding; and, whatever the amount for shipbuilding may be, I must say that we look forward with considerable confidence to economy in matters connected with building, and to the securing of greater results for our money, in consequence of the arrangements which have been sanctioned by the First Lord of the Admiralty for placing a gentleman of the highest skill and character, and well acquainted with the practical details of the Service, on the Board of Admiralty. These changes, with other augmentations, into which I will not enter, amount to £500,000.

I hope I have laid clearly before the Committee the reasons why this £1,500,000 is required. If I am asked whether the Expenditure is deemed satisfactory, I am afraid my notions are too old-fashioned to allow me to view it with as much complacency as that with which it is viewed by others. I wish, however, to state the case impartially, and to point out that a considerable portion of the increase will not, I hope, be permanent. It is not connected with causes of a permanent character, and more than half of it is either in itself good and normal, or of a character purely temporary; but I do not see in the country that great desire for the restriction of expenditure which characterized this country and all Parties 40 or 50 years ago. It is an evil, I think, that public vigilance on this subject should be diminished, and that the attitude of the House of Commons should have been so sensibly changed. I confess I have great doubts—I have not arrived at any conclusion on the subject—as to whether the system under which our Estimates are now framed upon the exclusive responsibility of the Government, and without any responsibility on the part of the House, is a good system. It is a very important subject for consideration. For my own part, although I have not arrived at any absolute conclusion, I am very dissatisfied with the working of the system, especially during the last 20 or 30 years.

Sir, there are three principles, greater than all others, on which, in my opinion, all good finance should be based. The first of them is that there should always be a certainty that whatever the charge may be it can be paid. That, I believe, is of vital importance. The second is that, in times of peace and prosperity, the people of the country should reduce their Debt; and the third point is that they should reduce their Expenditure.

With regard to the first point, we are at present fulfilling that condition; with regard to the second, we ought to do more in the direction indicated than we have actually done; but at the same time we are doing a good deal more than was usually done in a long series of years. I do not refer to recent years in particular, but to what has been done on the average during the last 25 years.

With regard to the diminution of Expenditure, I sorrowfully admit that the contagion and sympathy of foreign countries necessarily affects us; and I should arrive at very different conclusions indeed, according to the standard of comparison which I might take. If I am to look to American ideas and institutions, and the extraordinary vigour, determination, and forethought which the people of America show as a Democracy in providing for the future by reducing their Debt, and in resolutely enduring the most painful taxation—I do not speak now of Protective Duties—in order to set free their hands and relieve those who come after them, I say it is impossible to praise them too highly, and that a comparison with them would not redound greatly to our credit.

Perhaps, having said that, and not wishing to take a too saturnine view of the matter, instead of looking westward we may look eastward, and consider what has happened in other countries of Europe. Even though we may somewhat bend to the storm, and may, to a certain extent, follow this fashion of large Expenditure, yet certainly we may derive the materials of comparative congratulation when we see the course which other great countries follow. There is one country in particular which cannot be named in this House without great respect and sympathy; first, on account of its eminence; and, secondly, on account of the close friendship and associations in which she stands with us. I allude to France. I do not believe that country will ever involve itself in any great financial difficulties, because such is the skill, industry, and thrift of her people, that the moment she becomes clearly aware of her difficulty she will surmount it. At the same time, if I take a sketch of the history of France and England during the last half century, we may see that the causes which have brought about a large increase in our own Expenditure have been causes that have not exclusively operated in this country. We have not doubled our gross Expenditure; but it has nearly doubled since the Peace of 1815. Our Tax Expenditure has also largely increased, although I am happy to say it has not nearly doubled. But the increase in the Expenditure of France has been greater and more rapid than our own; and I will put this before the Committee in very few and simple figures. Between 1814 and 1829 the Expenditure of France was £40,000,000 a-year, and she made no addition to her Debt. Between 1830 and 1847 the Expenditure of France rose to £51,000,000 a-year, and there was an average annual deficit of £2,250,000. I do not take the years from 1848 to 1851, because of the then unsatisfactory state of the country; but from 1852 to 1870, under the Empire, the average annual deficit had diminished, and I believe it was something between £2,000,000 and £1,500,000. But the Expenditure had enormously increased; and it is only fair to say that, in my judgment, it was the enlightened policy of an approach to Free Trade that enabled France to bear with willingness the enormous increase of Expenditure then imposed on her. The average Expenditure of France, which under the previous *régime* was £51,000,000, under the Empire reached £83,000,000. But a Budget has been presented to the French Chamber for the year 1833—as the Committee is aware, the French Budgets are presented in anticipation—which, I believe, shows an Expenditure of £120,000,000 sterling. Our Expenditure, therefore, becomes insignificant when we compare it with the portentous scale it has reached in a neighbouring country which is not more wealthy than our own.

Now I pass to the Revenue of the year, and my task will be completed. The Tax Revenue of the year amounts to £69,850,000, and the non-Tax Revenue to £14,595,000, or a total of £84,445,000. The Tax Revenue is made up as follows:—Customs, £19,300,000; Excise, £27,230,000; Stamps, £11,145,000; Land Tax, £1,035,000; House Duty, £1,740,000; Income Tax, £9,400,000. The non-Tax Revenue is made up of the Receipts from Post Office, Telegraphs, Crown Lands, Interest on Advances, and Miscellaneous, and amounts altogether to £14,595,000, making the total Revenue £84,445,000. But as there are certain items of Expenditure which are not yet before the House, so there are some items of Revenue which it has not been in our power to bring to account, but which are so closely in prospect and which stand on such a footing that it is my duty to state them to the House, and to take credit for them, as I have already done, in setting out the general finances of the year. There are two payments from South Africa, both of which I have already reckoned, although I did not specifically mention them to the House when I spoke of the comparative relief from War Charges which the coming year will enjoy. There is a sum of £150,000, which the responsible Government of the Cape will propose on the Estimates for the Cape Colony in liquidation of their liability in respect to the cost of the Transkei War—undoubtedly a small and most moderate Estimate, but an Estimate which will readily be voted by the Cape Parliament. Then there is a sum of £250,000, which has been approved by Natal on account of the Zulu War; and there is a sum of £90,000 which will come to the Exchequer in connection with Cyprus, but with regard to which, lest I should obtain, upon false pretences, cheers from some quarters in which there has recently been some dissatisfaction, I must state that it is not anything in the nature of a Cyprus receipt. We hold certain sums of money on account of Cyprus for the Porte. The Porte owes us and the French the payment of the dividends on the Guaranteed Turkish Loan of 1855. It has not been in the power of the Porte to supply all the money from her own resources; and, consequently, it falls to her to pay that money in the shape of deductions or stoppages from the tribute of Cyprus due to the Porte. We are collectors on behalf of our friends across the Channel not less than for ourselves; and of this £90,000 one-half will pass through our hands, and go across to the Exchequer of France. However, there is a sum of £490,000 available for the balances of the year, which makes the grand total of Revenue for the year £84,935,000, as against a grand total of Expenditure of £84,630,000. There is, therefore, a surplus of £305,000.

That is a very small and modest surplus; but it is a surplus with which, under the circumstances, we might be content to move onwards, provided only that it would be subjected to no deductions. But we have not been unmindful of the pledge given at the commencement of the Session to the hon. Member for the County of Oxford. The hon. Member then proposed to move a Resolution, in guarded and qualified terms, that some relief should be given to the ratepayers of this country in respect to the charge which has been transferred to them through the abolition of turnpikes and the consequent augmentation of the highway rate. I then engaged on the part of the Government, but without pledging myself as to details, to propose something in conformity with the spirit of his Resolution. The hon. Gentleman will have seen that I have not yet presented any proposal in redemption of that pledge. The surplus of £305,000 is a surplus that will not bear diminution. At the time when I gave that pledge undoubtedly it was in my hope—perhaps it was too sanguine a hope—that we should be able to deal with the matter in a distinctive way and as part of a considerable settlement. I no longer am able to cherish that expectation. The prospect which we then thought was good of being able to carry through the House a Bill for the establishment of County Boards, and appending to it an important financial readjustment, has become quite hopeless, and we no longer expect to be able to introduce that measure. But I engaged myself to the hon. Member to endeavour, if possible, to detach this subject from any general scheme of legislation, and it therefore remained to us to find some mode of honourably redeeming that pledge—and at the same time to do nothing to perplex future operations. It remained open to us to resort to some plan which, while partial in itself, and provisional in its general character, would be such as to fit in with any more enlarged scheme which might be considered hereafter when local government and financial re-adjustment should come to receive the definitive consideration of the House. Therefore, what we have thought is, not that this is an occasion on which to enter on the Motion of the hon. Gentleman, or to contract any new engagement, but we have felt it to be our duty to ask the House to place us in funds so far that we may, at the proper time, when my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Dodson) can deal with the subject, be enabled to give a fair interpretation to the promise which was then passed across the Table of the House. We think it necessary for that purpose, for this year, to ask the House to give us a sum of £250,000 to go in relief of the rates in reference to highways; and after considering the various modes in which that money may be raised, we think that, on the whole, considering what is the nature of the grievance, and how it has arisen, and how, in the main, it turns on the very large use of the roads by those who do not contribute to their cost, the best course we can take is to ask the House to authorize a moderate addition to the duty upon carriages. The Licence Duty on carriages is a matter which has been dealt with very tenderly by Parliament. I do not now speak of hired carriages; but, after all, it is a grievance—and there can be no doubt about the facts—that the roads are used and worn by carriages. I am proposing this as a temporary operation. If it were a settlement of the entire question, it might be right to make a larger proposal; it might be right to consider the present total exemption of all wheeled vehicles, except what are called carriages, from taxes of any kind. I do not at all exclude that from prospective consideration, although it is not free from difficulty; but for the present we feel certain that when that question comes to be considered, it will have to be considered in conjunction with some augmentation of the present very moderate Licence Duty on carriages. The rates of Carriage Duties down to 1854, when I had the honour of proposing a change, were these:—Every four-wheeled carriage paid a minimum duty of £6; and in proportion as persons owned more than one carriage, the charge rose till it reached the case of a person with nine carriages, and he was liable to pay £9 1*s.* 6*d.* upon each carriage. It is true that that was qualified, to a considerable extent, by a composition; but the basis of that composition was an augmentation of 10 per cent on the minimum duty. The Committee will therefore see how very high the duty was; yet, at the same time, when in 1839 Lord Northbrook, then Mr. Baring, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, made an addition all round to the Assessed Taxes, it was found that there was hardly any perceptible effect produced so far as the Assessed Taxes were concerned. An addition of 5 per cent on consumable commodities was then made, but of 10 per cent on the Assessed Taxes, and that had no perceptible effect. So stood the duty till 1854, and then, on my proposal, the rates were reduced as follows:—Every four-wheeled carriage with two horses paid £3 10*s.*; every four-wheeled carriage with one horse paid £2; and carriages with two wheels and two horses paid £2, or if they had only one horse they paid 15*s.* and 10*s.* The system was rather anomalous, and when Lord Sherbrooke, then Mr. Lowe, was Chancellor of the Exchequer, in 1869, he further reduced the duties. He reduced them to £2 for four-wheeled carriages, unless they were extremely light, and to 15*s.* for two-wheeled carriages. Perhaps I ought here to say a word as to hired carriages. Hired carriages in that year, or shortly afterwards, were relieved from the very heavy Licence Duty they had formerly paid. I will not say that it is desirable that on hired carriages, such as omnibuses, there should be any duty; but, at the same time, the duty I shall propose is very trifling as regards a trade of that description, and the great relief to them has not been the reduction of the rate they now pay in common with private carriages, but in the abolition of the old Licence and Mileage Duty. What we propose is that the £2 2*s.* now paid by four-wheeled carriages shall be raised to £3 3*s.*, and that the 15*s.* paid on the two-wheeled carriages, or light four-wheeled carriages, shall be raised to 21*s.* The computation made is that 150,000 carriages with four wheels, and over 4 cwt., paying £3 3*s.*, will bring in £157,500; and 300,000 carriages with two wheels or four wheels, if under 4 cwt., paying 21*s.*, will bring in £90,000, or a total increase of £247,500, for which the House is asked in order to give effect to the sentiment contained in the Motion of the hon. Gentleman opposite, and accepted by the Government.

The House will at once see that the account now before us is a very simple one. We have a surplus of £305,000, which we regard as the minimum with which we ought to enter on the operations of the year. The £247,000 which we propose to raise will bring that up to £552,000, which places us in funds to consider, when the proper time comes, any proposal which my right hon. Friend may be able to make, and which it will be his duty to make for the purpose of fulfilling the engagement into which we entered at the beginning of the Session.

I have now only to refer in one word to a very easy and simple question of detail. The House will see that this humble Financial Statement raises but a single point of novelty. The usual Resolution for the renewal of the Income Tax and the Tea Duty will be moved, and there will be, as I have said, a Resolution relating to the adulteration and spurious representations of coffee. The Carriage Duty will also require a Resolution; but the House is aware that these Resolutions for licences are not like the old Resolutions on Customs and Excise, which took effect immediately on being voted. They do not take effect until the Act of Parliament of which they form a part shall have become the law of the land. I would, therefore, submit to the House what I think will be the most convenient course to pursue —namely, that we should be allowed to proceed with the Resolutions and with the preliminary stages of the Bill at once, or from day to day, and that such a day as shall be convenient shall be fixed for the discussion, either on the second reading or on the Motion to go into Committee. That is a matter upon which I shall be very happy to know what will best suit the convenience of the House; but I think there should be no difficulty in bringing the measure before the House in a definite shape, because it is advantageous, especially as to the Income Tax, that there should be no longer delay than is absolutely necessary.

I hope I have made clear to the House, without any attempt at varnishing, or keeping in the shade, or suppressing anything in the Statement it has been my duty to make. I, for my part, am certainly most grateful for the kind and unkroken attention of the House; and I am sure the House will deal with the subject in that spirit of gravity and considerateness which all the important considerations, political, social, and moral, connected with it, and branching out of it, undoubtedly demand.

PROTESTS.

—:o:—

HOUSE OF LORDS, MONDAY, 10TH JULY, 1882.

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

Bill read the third time (according to Order), and *passed.*

" *DISSENTIENT:*

" 1. Because the irregular abolition of the offices of Lord Chief Justice of " the Common Pleas, and Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer has weakened the " constitution of the Court of Appeal, and made it necessary to call in the aid of " retired Lord Chancellors and of Judges, not being members of the Court of " Appeal as appears in sections 2 and 3 of the said Bill.

" 2. Because the notice to address the Crown on 29th day of the sitting of " the House of Lords was erroneously set aside, so that the notice made on 30th " day was too late for an adjournment to the next day.

" 3. Because the precedent of Lord Campbell's resolutions as to the " Church of Scotland had no bearing on such a case as the abolition of important offices.

" 4. Because two of the Judges of the High Court of Justice are still " regarded as barons, and the names of the Common Pleas and Exchequer are " continually prefixed to Queen's Bench Division causes now tried with a misleading number attached to each cause.

" 5. Because the Patronage though now small, and the salary probably not " greater than that of a Lord of Appeal in the House of Lords might be readily " accepted by either a retired Lord Chancellor or any other judge, with the hope " of doing as much good as the late Lord Lyndhurst did as Lord Chief Baron.

" 6. Because there is nothing whatever in England any more than in Ireland " where the titles are newly recognized to prevent a Lord Chief Justice of the " Common Pleas from being useful in any capacity in the Supreme Court of " Judicature.

" 7. Because the designation of Chancellor of the Exchequer need not be " altered.

" 8. Because the Lord Chancellor and the Master of the Rolls are not such " fit dignitaries to appoint secretaries clerks and all ushers and other officers, " where causes are tried by juries, as those who know the fitness of persons " whom they constantly employ.

" 9. Because the entry of causes in three Courts well known (at least as to " the Common Pleas in the United States of America) gives each cause ready for " trial an ascertained position, whilst causes low down in a list are the only ones " which ought to be transferred indiscriminately to other divisions for trial.

" 10. Because the enlarged denomination of Queen's Bench Division gives a " licence to Counsel to take briefs in all Courts, sub-divided as they now are " without that honorable devotion to one Court which distinguished Counsel " before 1873.

[*To follow Text and precede Appendix.*]

"11. Because the equity courts all have distinctive names and lists of causes "(in the first instance) put down for trial by the judges of those Courts beginning "No. 1.

"12. Because the Clerks of Assize ought to appoint their own subordinates "at once without an interim appointment by the Treasury.

"DENMAN."

HOUSE OF LORDS, TUESDAY, 11TH JULY, 1882.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) BILL.

House in Committee (according to Order); Standing Order No. XXXV· dispensed with; Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

"*DISSENTIENT:*

"1. Because the remedial measures already passed are so illusory, that the "rejection of them affords no ground for repressive measures.

"2. Because the protests against the Land Act, 1870, and the Act of 1881, "have never been attended to.

"3. Because the very evils predicted in those protests, viz., long and expen- "sive and unsatisfactory legislation have begun to appear, and, unless landlords "and tenants agree, will increase.

"4. Because substituting valueless 15 and 15 years leases for tenancies at "the will of either party, are against that principle which makes Scotch tenants "wish to get rid of their leases, and to become tenants at will.

"5. Because although this Bill *must* pass, and *necessarily* contains very "stringent provisions, yet as it is agreed by its authors that it would be better "to be unduly restricted, it would cause no greater danger than existed in 1846, "when a Protection of Life and Property Bill carried by the House of Lords, "was rejected by a combination in the House of Commons.

"6. Because if another famine ensues, landlords will, as before, do more "than any foreigner can, to relieve distress.

"7. Because if it be correct that non-obstructives were excluded from the "House of Commons, the legality of the Bill is questionable.

"DENMAN."

HOUSE OF LORDS, FRIDAY, 21ST JULY, 1882.

PUBLIC OFFICES SITE BILL.

Bill read the third time (according to Order), and *passed.*

"*DISSENTIENT:*

"1. Because that which is known as the Parliament and Great George "Street site has long been considered the proper one for the Admiralty and War "Office and a considerable amount of property on it has been purchased by Go- "vernment, and a large extent of public land left unprofitably vacant for many "years, on that account.

"2. Because the adoption of that site secures the widening of Parliament "Street with a continued frontage of public offices as the approach to the Houses "of Parliament and Westminster Abbey, which necessary widening is far from "certain to be obtained in any other way, and certainly not with the same class "of buildings.

"3. Because the adoption of that site will leave the Admiralty undisturbed "as regards the Members of the Board, its business and official documents, until "the new buildings are finished, and allow the Paymaster General also to remain "in his present office.

"4. Because the present Bill only gets possession of the Spring Gardens "property unaccompanied by any plan of the manner in which the buildings to "be erected on it are to be applied to the Admiralty and War Office respectively "or of their architecture and elevation, leaving it uncertain whether the site "will afford sufficient accommodation for those two great offices, or how far the "aspect of the Horse Guards and Parade may be deteriorated by the new buildings.

"5. Because if the Admiralty is transferred to a new site, the present Admiralty buildings will give the means of concentrating in an economical manner "in a most convenient situation a number of small offices now scattered over the "town at a great expense and inconvenience.

"6. Because the Bill is not sanctioned by the inquiry which took place in "1874 or the evidence taken in 1877.

"7. Because, while the scheme has been condemned by the Royal Institute "of Architects, it is unsupported by any similar authority and has been brought "forward in a manner which shows great indifference to the importance of "securing the improvement of our capital in the construction of public buildings "by a careful regard to their architecture and position.

"STRATHEDEN AND CAMPBELL.

"REDESDALE.

"DE L'ISLE AND DUDLEY.

"FORTESCUE."

HOUSE OF LORDS, THURSDAY, 10TH AUGUST, 1882.

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) BILL.

Commons Amendments to Lords Amendments, and Commons consequential Amendments, and reasons for disagreeing to one of the Lords Amendments *considered* (according to Order).

"*DISSENTIENT:*

"1. Because no interval was allowed for notice being given and printed "against any stage of this Bill.

"2. Because a loan, as little likely to be repaid as the million for the arrears "of tithes advanced under the Act of 1833, which sum was excused last year, "would, as well as a gift to Landlord or Tenant, be lost by the State.

"3. Because an agreement between Landlord and Tenant would be far more "beneficial to both than any compulsory one-sided boon.

"4. Because, as in the case of an oath on *nil debet,* this method of proving "inability to pay would be found inexpedient.

"5. Because the Commissioners and Sub-Commissioners and Valuators, "besides having too many duties, cannot ascertain the solvency of Tenants so "well as Landlords and Tenants and Boards of Guardians.

"6. For all the reasons in former Protests against deterioration of land, "expensive and protracted litigation, and need for capital in Tenants.

"7. Because the Government condemned the first Amendment before the "Bill was in Committee, and incorrectly described it as the same as a rejection of "the Bill,

"DENMAN."

HOUSE OF LORDS, WEDNESDAY, 16TH AUGUST, 1882.

FISHERY BOARD (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Bill read the second time (according to Order).

"*DISSENTIENT:*

"1. Because this Bill, though brought into the House of Commons on 18th "July, was not read a second time until after 12 o'clock on Friday, 11th August. "It was committed on the 14th and again on Tuesday the 15th, and was then "amended, reported, considered as amended, and read a third time and passed on "the same day, and was brought to this House after midnight and read a first "time, and ordered to be read a second time on what was really the same day.

"2. Because, when that second reading was moved, I objected to it on "account of the short time allowed for its consideration, and because there were "no prints of the Bill on the Table, but the objection was overruled by the "Government, relying on their official majority at this season of the year.

"3. Because it was generally understood, some time before it was read a "second time in the House of Commons, that it would not be proceeded with and "passed in the present Session, and this opinion was strengthened by the Government "including the Salmon Fisheries (Scotland) Bill, which this Bill was to "replace in the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill, which was introduced into the "Commons on the 5th August, and passed on the 11th August, before the Motion "for reading this Bill a second time was made.

"4. Because the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill, having been brought to "this House on the 14th August, was read a second time, and the Committee "negatived on the 15th, and this day read a third time, when without notice or "reason given by the mover of the Amendment the Salmon Fisheries (Scotland) "Bill was struck out before the second reading of the Fishery Board Bill had "been moved.

"REDESDALE.

"HAWARDEN."

HANSARD'S

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

IN THE

THIRD SESSION OF THE *TWENTY-SECOND PARLIAMENT* OF THE
UNITED KINGDOM OF *GREAT BRITAIN* AND *IRELAND*,
APPOINTED TO MEET 29 APRIL, 1880, IN THE FORTY-THIRD
YEAR OF THE REIGN OF

HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

EIGHTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1882.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 28th July, 1882.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Electric Lighting * (212).

Second Reading — Citation Amendment (Scotland) * (206).

Committee—Ancient Monuments (197).

Select Committee—Bills of Exchange * (183), *nominated.*

Report—Local Government (Gas) Provisional Order * (144).

ARMY—THE RESERVES.

QUESTION.

In answer to the Earl of LONGFORD,

THE EARL OF MORLEY said: My Lords, I do not distinctly understand the meaning of the noble Earl's Question. Does he mean by a battalion efficient for service a battalion at the full strength of 820, and composed exclusively of men who have served at least one year with the Colours, with its equipment, transport, &c.? If he does, I frankly admit that there is no battalion in that condition, and I am not in the least ashamed to make that admission. It is not intended to keep all battalions at their full strength, and I scarcely know what arrangements the noble Earl would propose, so as to have no men serving with the Colours of less than a year's service, unless he stops recruiting altogether. But, my Lords, after the battalions composing the First Army Corps have all left the country, either for field or garrison service, many of the regiments which will be left at home are, at the present moment, at a strength considerably above their Establishments, and they will be much strengthened by an infusion of the Reserve men who have been recently called out. These Reserve men will, as far as possible, be posted to the regiments in which they served formerly; the majority will be for service in the field and Reserve Force to be established in the Mediterranean; but a larger number of the 10,000 will be left to strengthen the regiments which will be left at home. And, if the extremely improbable emergency were to arise, which would require us to prepare for active service the battalions which compose the Second Army Corps, and which have Establishments varying from 550 to 850, it could be done without delay, by calling to the Colours a larger number of Reserve men to replace the men in these battalions who, from age or shortness of service, are disqualified for active service. Under our arrangements, which I have good reason to hope will prove successful, it is possible to send out of this country an Army which, including the Indian Contingent and the battalions for the Mediterranean garrisons, will not fall short of 40,000 men of all arms, without materially weakening the Force in Ireland, and without denuding this country of troops. The noble Earl raised a laugh last night by saying that the Army could not wait for the convenience of the Secretary of State. What I said was this—that last year the new organization was adopted, the main object of which was to have at home 12 battalions at a strength of 950 men, all serving for seven years, and which would at all times be ready to put 820 men into the field without calling up the Reserves. The 16 battalions next on the list would have establishments varying from 550 to 850, and would have to be filled up, if required for active service, by the Reserves. The remaining battalions at home would be at a low strength; and, if required for the field, it could only be for an emergency which would call into operation all the military resources of the country. The Establishments of the Army have been recast on this principle; and, considering the shortness of the time since it has been in force, I venture, without the least fear of contradiction, to say that it has been attended with marked success. But when the noble Earl expects us to manufacture in six months soldiers who have served for 12 months, he asks for an impossibility. An emergency had arisen at a time when these new Establishments are in process of being built up, and if they had had another year to harden, we should have been able to send an Army Corps into the field with greater facility, and with a smaller—if any—demand on the Reserves than we can at present. I take this opportunity of making some explanation as to "Separation Allowances," with the details of which I was not prepared last night. This subject has occupied the attention of my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War for some time, and a considerable improvement has been recently effected. Formerly the Separation Allowances were 6*d.* per day for wives of all soldiers, and 2*d.* for each child up to 14 years of age. The soldier was not required to supplement these allowances out of his pay. Now, the wife of a non-commissioned officer receives 8*d.* a-day from the public and 8*d.* out of her husband's pay allotted to her, and the wife of a private soldier 8*d.* a-day from the public, and 4*d.* a-day from her husband's pay. The allowance for each child (boys under 14, girls under 16) is 2*d.* a-day granted by the State, and in the case of sergeants 1½*d.* a-day, and of rank and file 1*d.* a-day for each girl (up to a certain maximum) is stopped from the soldier's pay. I also wish to correct one point in the report of my remarks last night. I said, or intended to say, that no man under one year's service, or under 20 years of age, would be sent on active service in the field.

EGYPT (MILITARY EXPEDITION)—DESPATCH OF TROOPS FROM TURKEY.—QUESTION.

The Duke of SOMERSET asked the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he could give any information respecting the Military Force proposed to be despatched to Egypt by Turkey?

Earl GRANVILLE: My Lords, I will read to the House the latest communication we have received from the Porte. It is a message from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Turkish Ambassador there, in the following terms:—

"Constantinople, July 26, 1882.

"(Communicated July 27.)

"In continuation of my Circular of the 24th instant, I hasten to inform you that the Sublime Porte, being resolved to exercise, in an efficacious manner, its incontestable Sovereign rights over Egypt, and wishing thereby to secure the restoration of tranquillity, has decided on immediately despatching to the spot a sufficient number of troops. The measures necessary for this object have already been taken, and this military expedition is on the point of taking place. I beg you, consequently, to bring the above as speedily as possible to the knowledge of the Minister for Foreign Affairs."

I shall be prepared to lay this communication on the Table, and perhaps it will be right to read the answer we have sent to the Porte. It is a direction to Lord Dufferin, who is instructed to make to the Conference the following declaration:—

> "The destruction of the forts of Alexandria, necessitated by considerations of self-defence, and under circumstances constituting a case of *force majeure*, has been followed by occurrences which made it incumbent on the commanders of Her Majesty's Forces to take further steps to insure the safety of the Khedive, and to restore peace and order in the town and neighbourhood. The hostile attitude of the rebel forces, and the great importance of protecting the free navigation of the Suez Canal, have necessitated further preparations, which Her Majesty's Government believe will be sufficient of themselves for the restoration of the authority of the Khedive and the establishment of settled order in Egypt. While reserving to themselves the liberty of action which the pressure of events may render expedient and necessary, Her Majesty's Government will be glad to receive the co-operation of any Powers who are ready to afford it. They are accordingly prepared to accept frankly the assistance which the Sultan has now announced his readiness to give in the restoration of order by sending troops to Egypt in accordance with the invitation addressed to His Majesty by the Powers, and subject to the conditions proposed by them. They now desire to learn what number of troops the Sultan intends to send, the date of their probable departure, and the proposed disposition of them. In the meanwhile the delay which has occurred in the adoption of measures by the Porte and the feeling of uncertainty which has unfortunately prevailed as to the real intentions of the Sultan, and which has been strengthened by the action of His Majesty in conferring on Arabi Pasha an important decoration and mark of his favour, make it, in the view of Her Majesty's Government, essential both for the assertion of the Sultan's own authority and of that of the Khedive that His Majesty should at once, and before the despatch of the troops, issue a Proclamation upholding Tewfik Pasha and denouncing Arabi as a rebel."

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I wish to ask the noble Earl one or two Questions. I desire to know, in the first place, whether he will lay upon the Table the "Self-Denying" Protocol, and the other Papers relating to the proceedings of the Conference, as they obviously bear upon the communication he has just read to the House? I would also ask the noble Earl, whether the Turkish offer is in any way limited by any of those restrictions, or conditions, which the Western Powers, and, I believe, the Conference, thought proper, at an earlier date, to impose upon the employment of troops by the Porte? I wish to know, further, whether any terms of a proposed surrender have reached any officer of Her Majesty's Government from Arabi Pasha?

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I will see what Papers I can lay before your Lordships. It will be my duty to give every information, except what is excluded by the conditions of the Conference. With regard to the second Question of the noble Marquess, I have to state that the Sultan's offer is a complete acceptance of the conditions which accompanied the communication of the Conference to the Porte on the subject. With regard to the third Question, I have to state that no formal communication has been received from Arabi Pasha. Informal communications have taken place during the past few days; but nothing of a formal character upon which we can rely, or anything which would justify us in relaxing the preparations now going on.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I am encouraged to ask further, from the noble Earl, whether the acceptance by the Sultan of those conditions is a matter which the noble Earl infers from the language of the communication he has just read, or whether he has received separate information to that effect?

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, the telegram I have read refers to a previous Circular, which explicitly accepted those conditions.

MERCANTILE MARINE—POURING OIL UPON THE SEA.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON, in rising to call attention to the effects said to be produced by pouring oil upon the sea in tempestuous weather; and to inquire, What measures the Board of Trade have adopted to test the value of recent experiments, and to encourage a discovery valuable to life and property at sea? said, that, recently, a number of important experiments in connection with this matter had been carried on in the harbour of Peterhead by a Scotch gentleman named Shield. Familiar as was the phrase of "throwing oil on the troubled waters," it was difficult to say how it came into the language. It was not to be found in the Bible, it was not to be found in Shakespeare, and he was not aware of any great English authorities in whom the phrase was current. Reference had been made to it by Plato, and Pliny had a very curious passage upon it, in which he described the effect of oil poured upon the sea, and there were one or two references to it in Erasmus, who described the process exactly as it was carried out in the present day. The notion was by no means a new one, but had been practised at a very early period in the East. It was unquestionably the fact, the force of waves was greatly allayed by oil being poured upon them, for, although it did not prevent their rolling, it prevented their breaking. In our own country it was constantly practised for various purposes. Among others, the Cornish fishermen were frequently in the habit of throwing oleaginous matter on the waves, and thus produced a glassy surface, through which the shoals of fish could be seen. Certainly oil was used by fishermen in the North Seas, round the Shetland Isles, in the Pacific, and in many other places, and it had turned out to be very useful for the protection of vessels in storms. The oil was used in various ways. Sometimes oil was thrown on the waves; sometimes oil bags were thrown out from the sterns of vessels; and sometimes bladders charged with oil were suspended from the sides of the vessel, and the oil gradually allowed to exude, for the purpose of smoothing the waves, and it thereby acted as a great protection. Occasionally ships in great extremity had been saved by the breaking of an oil cask. He thought it would be a good thing if the Board of Trade would take measures to ascertain the distinct value of the experiments which had recently been made by Mr. Shield at Peterhead, especially as the matter was one which promised to be so valuable in the preservation of life and property at sea. He began by dropping barrels of oil into the deep sea; he then ran some pipes out to sea at Peterhead, and passed oil through them when the sea was rough. The result was that ships were enabled to cross the bar, and to enter the harbour in safety in bad weather, which otherwise would have been quite unable to enter. He then carried his experiment farther. He filled shells with oil, which were to be discharged for the purpose of reducing a high sea, in which a vessel was labouring; he also prepared a life-buoy to act in a similar way. It must be admitted that the experiments had proved that a small quantity of oil was very efficacious in smoothing and reducing the break of the waves; and he thought, therefore, that it would be well if steps were taken to see what kind of oil was the best for the purpose, and it would also be desirable to know how to apply it at the mouths of harbours, especially where there were bars. He was informed that a very small quantity of oil was sufficient to produce the desired effect, for even so small a quantity as one drop became so attenuated that it would spread over a surface of four feet. A few gallons would therefore be quite sufficient for the use of a ship of large size during a heavy gale. If those harbours which had bars could be turned into harbours of refuge, it would be an additional advantage. In conclusion, he must say he felt bound to express his opinion that what he contended for was, that it was the duty of the Board of Trade, the Department which was charged with the consideration of questions like this, to give every encouragement to those who were engaged in the prosecution of experiments, in whatever way that encouragement could be afforded. He did not know whether the Government should grant a sum of money for the purpose of these experiments; but he would repeat that it was the duty of the Board to look into the question, and to assist those who, like Mr. Shield, were carrying on experiments at their own expense in the great hope of saving life and property at sea. Quite sufficient had been proved to warrant the expenditure of a certain sum of public money.

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN said, that the matter had, at all events, reached the stage of practical experiment. For his own part, he thought that it had gone farther, because crews had been enabled to weather danger by pouring oil on the sea near the vessel. There was on record the case of the ship *Kent*, a vessel which found itself in great distress in rounding Cape Horn. The sea was so overpowering that hope was given up, when an American captain, who happened to be on board, asked whether there was any oil on board. There were several casks of oil on board, and these were broached, and their contents poured over the side of the ship. The effect was so marked that, in a short time, the vessel was enabled to proceed in safety. He (the Earl of Aberdeen) thought some credit would be accorded to Scotland in this matter, because of the labours of Mr. Shield, a Scotch gentleman, and others, at Peterhead and elsewhere. He might also mention as a fact that, for many years, this subject had received great attention; and in *Chambers's Journal*, which was a Scotch periodical, many interesting facts connected with the subject might be found. Mr. Shield proposed to undertake still further experiments, not only in the harbours of Aberdeen and Peterhead, but on the Tyne, if the authorities there would guarantee an expenditure of £220, his desire being to conduct the experiments nearer London than Aberdeen, so as, if possible, to induce some Members or officials of the Government to attend them. He hoped that the noble Lord (Lord Sudeley), if he could not give hopes of definite experiments on the part of the Board of Trade, would not give a discouraging reply, and that he would remember that whatever might be the effect of pouring oil upon the water, there could be no doubt of the result of pouring cold water upon the oil.

LORD COTTESLOE said, he also felt bound to commend the subject to the careful and, he hoped, the favourable attention of the Government. With regard to the expense of such a system, it must be borne in mind that shipowners now insured their vessels and cargoes; and, surely, the few pounds of additional outlay which might be entailed by providing this safeguard could not be weighed against the increased security obtained for the lives of passengers and crews, not to speak of the ships themselves and their valuable merchandise. He would also suggest that, in case of shipwreck, if oil were poured over the wrecked vessel, the surf would be made to subside, and lifeboats would be enabled better to rescue those who were on board of her.

LORD SUDELEY said, there was no doubt that the question raised by the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Carnarvon), in his interesting statement, was of considerable importance; and if it could be shown that the so-called discovery was likely to lead as far as he ventured to hope, it would, unquestionably, be one of great advantage in the protection of life and property at sea. The very idea of throwing oil on the troubled waters had a fascination about it which could not fail to insure full consideration being given to the matter. Unfortunately, however, it was one of those questions about which sensational and unpractical views had been largely entertained and published; and although there was no doubt that, to some extent and under certain special circumstances, oil could be effectively used on bars and in landing boats on broken water, it was most difficult to obtain clearly ascertained and undoubted facts; and they must, he feared, divest themselves from the extreme views of those who imagined it was likely to be a complete panacea against all shipwrecks and loss of life at sea, or even that it could be used on any very large scale. The use of oil on water was no new discovery. As the noble Earl himself had stated, the idea was no new one. From the earliest days they found it mentioned; and it was well known that the inhabitants of the Sea Coast of Syria were aware of it in past ages. They knew also that in Pliny's time divers made use of oil to smooth the surface, and have a more steady light at the bottom. In more recent times, in 1757, Franklin's attention was drawn to this subject, and experiments were made by him of various descriptions. In still later years many experiments had been carried on, and papers had been read at different institutions on the subject. It was also well known, as the noble Earl had stated, that seamen engaged in the whale and seal fisheries, and also fishermen in Shetland and on the Coast of Scotland, had more or less employed this method for a great many years. It would, therefore, be seen that he (Lord Sudeley) was justified in stating that that was no new discovery; but, on the contrary, a means of quieting water which had been tried for thousands of years with more or less success. The Board of Trade had, for several years past, been much interested in this question, and had been very desirous of hearing of all actual experiments and results that had been obtained. He feared, however, that it was quite impossible to accede to the noble Earl's proposition, that that Department should, in this experimental stage of the question, spend money upon these experiments, or in any way attempt to become inventors of apparatus for means of using oil to calm the surface of the sea. The Board of Trade felt that their duty in this matter lay in very much the same direction as their duty with regard to the use of continuous brakes or interlocking points on railways—namely, to collect all the information available from time to time, and to encourage, as far as possible, the furtherance of any promising experiments. For this purpose they had given directions for certain of their officers to be present at trials at Peterhead and elsewhere; and they were endeavouring to collect and sift, as well as they could, all authenticated cases in which the oil scheme had been the means of saving life at sea in time of real peril, with a view of publishing the results for the use of seafarers and shipowners. The noble Earl would agree it would be of the greatest advantage that, if this scheme was ever to be of any practical use, the utility of it should, in the first place, be thoroughly impressed upon shipowners, underwriters, and the general seafaring community; for it was clear that if its efficacy was not apparent to those whose lives and property were at stake it was quite impossible to force it upon them. Among the suggestions on the subject—and they were many—that were before the Board of Trade were—first, one for the protection of the entrance to harbours, for which it was proposed that mains or pipes should be laid from the land along the bottom of the sea to the outside of the entrance, and in the time of rough seas should discharge the oil there by means of pumps from the shore. Secondly, that shells fired from mortars, or canisters attached to a rocket, should be filled with oil, and arranged so as to discharge their contents on the water near to the ship in need of assistance. Thirdly, that a special form of projectile filled with oil should be used to throw among the breakers. Fourthly, that every seagoing ship should be compelled by law to carry vessels of oil to throw overboard to still the waters round her in times of danger, and that all boats should also carry a supply in their bows ready for use. Fifthly, that all life-buoys should have a small bag of oil attached to them as part of their equipment. He ventured to think it was perfectly clear that no Government could undertake these experiments, and that it was purely a matter for private enterprize. He was very glad to confirm what the noble Earl had said of the steps that private individuals had for some time past taken in this direction. Great credit was due to Mr. Shield, who, as the noble Earl pointed out, had carried out experiments with this object at Peterhead. He had attempted to lay pipes behind the sea wall at Roanhead, down through a natural gully in the rocks, about 150 yards long and about 50 yards beyond the mouth of the gully into about seven fathoms of water. At this point the iron pipe was joined by a gutta-percha pipe, which extended across the harbour entrance outside the bar, and was perforated at distances of about 12 yards apart; and through this gutta-percha pipe the oil reached the sea. So far, he (Lord Sudeley) believed Mr. Shield was disposed to allow that his experiments had reached a certain point, but were by no means conclusive; and this their Lordships might see by the mere fact that he was now waiting for bad weather to renew them. Whether such a plan could ever be made of practical use remained to be seen. Of one thing there could be no doubt, that a great quantity of oil would have to be used; a considerable expense incurred in laying pipes outside the harbours, and keeping them in good working order; and that when all had been provided, there would arise the great danger that the various currents and tides would draw away the oil film spread upon the waters before it could be of any service. Experiments had also been carried out, and would be probably made during the ensuing winter, by private individuals for firing shells and various other descriptions of projectiles filled with oil. In some of the trials which had been made for using oil to calm the surf, and thus enable boats to land easily, curious and very contradictory evidence had been obtained. In the first place, it was doubted by very competent authorities whether oil could be used with advantage where there was a force of wind amounting to a whole gale, which might be put down at 10—whether, in fact, it could be used with any advantage against a force of wind exceeding 6. The general opinion was that in a heavy gale it would be of no use. Again, in the second place, experiments had been tried with the oil for landing boats through surf; but they had proved entirely unsuccessful, owing to sharp currents and tides setting the film of oil along the shore, and thus preventing it being of any use. Further, it had been found very doubtful if, when the wind set full upon the shore, and a high surf was raised, it was possible to prevent the oil being washed rapidly out to sea. Their Lordships were aware that a rush of water back from a surf was usually supposed to return as an under-current, or, as it was technically called, the "under-tow," in which people were very often swept away. It had been found by experiment that there was also, in most cases, a very strong surface current drawing out; and, in one instance, the oil was swept out so quickly to sea that it was perfectly useless. He mentioned these facts to show to their Lordships the difficulties and uncertainties attending this oil scheme; but, at the same time, some of the experiments seemed to point to the fact that oil could be very well used round a ship to allow boats to approach. There was an idea which seemed well worthy of trial, to the effect that small bags of oil should be attached to life-buoys, which could be pricked at the moment of throwing them overboard, so as to calm the surface of the sea round them. There could be no doubt that cases constantly occurred of all trace of a life-buoy being lost after it was in the water; whereas, if there was a smooth, oily surface round it, the probabilities were that it would be distinctly seen from the ship, and also give the person overboard more chance of seizing it. He was glad to be able to inform their Lordships that the National Lifeboat Institution were carrying out experiments in connection with this subject, and had given directions to their officers at their various stations to attend to and report upon them. The Institution hoped, in the course of a year or so, to publish their officers' Reports, and they would be sure to contain a large amount of information that would be interesting and instructive. Thanks to the courtesy of the Secretary (Mr. Lewis), and also of Admiral Ward, he (Lord Sudeley) had had the opportunity of seeing all their papers on the subject, and could testify to their very interesting character. When the Board of Trade had collected all the authenticated cases, divested of the exaggeration which so often was met with, of actual saving of life from smoothing the surface of the sea with oil, together with the Reports of their officers on the various experiments being made, they proposed to lay them before Parliament, in the hope that they might be of use; and if, in the meantime, the noble Earl would communicate any precise information that he might have obtained, or would advise anybody acquainted with facts to state them to the Board of Trade, it would be a very great assistance in presenting as complete and satisfactory a Report as possible. There was great hope that some of the suggestions might turn out of great use; but it was a matter for private individuals to make experiments. It was quite impossible, as he had already said, for the Board of Trade to take such matters in hand, and attempt a series of the necessary experiments, for it would be manifestly unfair to saddle the taxpayer with their cost, and with the expense of providing large supplies of oil, and the necessary apparatus and men around the Coast to hurl it into the water when requisite. It would also be futile for the Government to call upon Parliament to pass a law requiring all sea-going ships to carry a number of tanks and bags of oil as an absolute part of their equipment. He ventured to think, therefore, it was perfectly clear that this was not a question to be settled by public direction and money, but one well suited for private enterprize. He would only say, in conclusion, that, although the Board of Trade were not sanguine that the results would be anything like so satisfactory as some people imagined, they hoped that some good might be brought about by collecting all available and authenticated information; and he had to thank the noble Earl very much, on behalf of the Board of Trade, for bringing forward this question, which was one of great interest. It was of importance that the matter should be ventilated as much as possible, and that whatever knowledge might exist on the subject should be widely diffused among the seafaring community; and if this were done great good might result from his action in the matter.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: I also wish to assure the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Carnarvon) that my attention has been called to this subject. I have asked my right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) to communicate to the Admiralty any information which he may obtain, so that the attention of the

Board of Admiralty may be given to the matter.

ANCIENT MONUMENTS BILL.

(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

(NO. 197.) COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee read.

Moved, "That this House do now resolve itself into Committee."—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, that, as this Bill interfered very seriously with the rights of property, they ought to have some assurance from the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack that the Schedule had been framed by competent authority after due inquiry, so that no injury would be done to the rights of private owners.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR, in reply, said, that the Bill differed only in one respect — namely, in being voluntary, and therefore not interfering with any rights of property against the will of the owners—from former Bills which had been for several years successively before Parliament, and it had been carefully considered by the Office of Works. He had reason to believe that the Schedule of the Bill contained only those monuments as to the value and importance of which there was an agreement among all persons interested in the preservation of ancient monuments.

LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE thanked the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack for the introduction of the measure, because, although it did not go so far as he could have wished, it would lead to the preservation of a great many most valuable ancient monuments. In his opinion, this country was very much behind other European nations in this respect; and, as regarded the expense incurred in such preservation, he thought the Government very often strained at gnats and swallowed camels. A few years since there was an attempt, which had proved most successful, to extend this law to Ireland. By this means prehistoric monuments, both lay and ecclesiastical, in Ireland had been secured from destruction. The Rock of Cashel he might mention as one of the relics of antiquity which had been preserved.

Motion *agreed to;* House in Committee accordingly.

The Earl of Northbrook

Clauses 1 to 10, inclusive, *agreed to,* with Amendments.

Schedule.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY moved to exclude from the Schedule an ancient monument, the property of his noble Friend (the Duke of Richmond). His noble Friend expressed himself as perfectly willing and able to protect the relic from destruction.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR opposed the Amendment.

Amendment *negatived.*

THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH said, that the Bill appeared to be entirely permissive; and he presumed that as to those monuments which were not in the Schedule, it would be open to the Commissioners of Works to accept them or not.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, that monuments not mentioned in the Schedule would not at present come within the scope of the Bill; but he would consider, against a future stage, whether provision might not be made for adding others, with the concurrence of the owners and the Board of Works.

Schedule *agreed to.*

House *resumed.*

The Report of the Amendments to be received on *Monday* next.

THE CHANNEL TUNNEL SCHEME.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD FORBES asked Her Majesty's Government, Whether the works in connection with the Channel Tunnel scheme have been stopped by authority; and if the Government will pledge themselves that the works shall not be proceeded with until the Report of the Committee and any other Papers connected with the scheme be laid on the Table of the House and the opinion of Parliament taken on the whole subject? He approached the question on national grounds, and thought it most desirable that the views of the House should be expressed upon it. In his opinion, it was most undesirable that this Tunnel should be made; and he thought Her Majesty's Government should give a promise that nothing further should be done in respect to it until the Papers had been laid on the Table. He was opposed to anything which would destroy the insularity that had been the safety of England, and, in some respects, the cause of her glory.

VISCOUNT POWERSCOURT said, he could not understand the extraordinary opposition that had been evinced with regard to this matter. Nothing could be more calculated to cement amicable relations between England and France and the rest of the world than the completion of this scheme; and he hoped Her Majesty's Government would not commit themselves to a permanent opposition to it.

LORD SUDELEY: The works have been stopped by an order of the Court of Chancery, granted on the application of the Board of Trade. As has been already stated in "another place," the Report of the Committee, together with a Memorandum by the military authorities, will be laid before Parliament in a few days, and ample opportunity will be afforded to Parliament to express an opinion on the subject.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON asked, if the noble Lord referred to the Report of the Channel Tunnel Committee?

LORD SUDELEY: Yes.

LORD FORBES inquired whether anything further would be done until the Reports had been laid on the Table?

LORD SUDELEY: Nothing whatever, without leave.

CYPRUS—ARRIVAL OF REFUGEES FROM ALEXANDRIA.

MOTION FOR PAPERS.

LORD WAVENEY rose to call the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the condition of the Island of Cyprus with reference to colonization, and to move for Papers, if any, relating to the arrival of refugees from Alexandria during the recent troubles, and the preparations, if any, for their permanent reception. The noble Lord said that the object he had in view was not to make political capital out of this question for the benefit of the one Party or the other, but to develop the natural resources of the Island. Cyprus had proved of very great importance to us. It had been one of our island fortresses, and might also be made one of our island colonies. It might become an asylum for the industry driven from Egypt, but, in order to secure that, there must be no doubt about our intention of keeping the possession of the Island. He would admit that there had been a great many improvements made in it since it had been in our possession, and that an admirable system of administrative machinery had been introduced into the Island under the direction of Sir Garnet Wolseley as the first High Commissioner. One thing, however, that would be necessary to be brought about, before we could colonize the Island, would be that we should not merely have a temporary possession of it, but that it should become actually a portion of the freehold of the British Empire. Although the Revenue of the Island had merely balanced the Expenditure a year or two ago, it might be confidently anticipated that, under a fair and just Government, the former would be largely increased. It must be remembered that the Island of Cyprus was at one time one of the most beautiful islands in the Eastern part of the Mediterranean, and that it was through the misgovernment of the Turks that its mountains had been denuded of their forests, causing its streams to dry up and its verdure to disappear. With the care and skill of civilization, the beauty and the fertility of the Island might easily be restored. The harbour of Famagusta, which would easily accommodate 14 of our iron-clads, had been allowed to deteriorate through the wasteful neglect of the Turkish Government; but it might be improved so as to give us a most important naval station in those waters, which we did not at present possess. As a military station, also, it would be of the utmost importance, as it lay directly in the path between Egypt and Turkey, and no force dare approach Constantinople without our leave if we held it in strength. He did not propose that the Island should be converted into a second Gibraltar; but he thought we should turn it into an armed fortress for the protection of British commerce. The noble Lord concluded by making the Motion of which he had given Notice.

Moved, That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for papers, if any, relating to the arrival in Cyprus of refugees from Alexandria during the recent troubles, and the preparations, if any, for their permanent reception.—(*The Lord Waveney.*)

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, his noble Friend (Lord Waveney) had made a very interesting statement as to Cyprus, and had gone a little further than he (the Earl of Kimberley) expected from his Notice. He hardly anticipated that their Lordships would expect him to enter into the whole question with respect to Cyprus; but he would rather confine himself to the one of which Notice had been given — namely, the question of colonization. On the subject of the Revenue, he might, in passing, mention one fact which would be of interest to their Lordships. A very careful inquiry which had been made into the finances of Cyprus convinced the Government that, on the average of years, they could not, at all events for some time to come, hope that the Revenue and Expenditure of the Island could be made to meet without a yearly grant of at least £40,000 from the Parliament of this country. He did not say that to depreciate the value of Cyprus; but he thought it was as well that he should state the result of the inquiry. In the present year, he believed, the deficit would be much larger; but, in future years, the Government hoped to be able to reduce it to about £40,000. In this calculation he, of course, took into account the tribute payable to the Porte, but for which the Revenue would be in a perfectly flourishing condition. His noble Friend had referred not only to the colonization of the Island, but to the tenure of land and other questions, as well as to its facility as a place of refuge, and the necessity of improving the harbours. Their Lordships would not forget that we held Cyprus by Treaty with the Porte; and while he (the Earl of Kimberley) admitted that it had some advantages as a military station, and its general bearing upon the politics of the Eastern world, he hardly thought, as he had said, that the House would require him to enter into the whole of the questions raised by the noble Lord. He would, however, say a word in regard to the harbours, which were a matter of considerable interest. There was, in fact, but one harbour in Cyprus, or, rather, there might be one—namely, at Famagusta. That harbour, in its present condition, was not fully available; but from the Reports which had been made on it, he believed it would be possible, at no very great expense, to render it a very useful and, to a certain extent, commodious harbour, even for a certain number of large vessels of war. But the construction of a military harbour necessarily implied fortifications to protect it; and, although the harbour might be improved at an expense probably not very serious, yet the fortifications which, owing to the nature of the ground, it would be necessary to construct for the protection of the harbour, must cost a very large sum indeed. For commercial purposes such a harbour was not likely to be much used, because the tendency was for vessels to go to Limasol and Larnaca. The accommodation at both those places was being improved, and it was hoped it would result in a large increase of commerce at them. Indeed, an extensive improvement in that respect had already taken place at Limasol. As to the question of colonization immediately, alluded to by his noble Friend, he might point out that when England took over this Island it was already occupied by a large Native population, who possessed rights of all kinds over the land, and it was extremely difficult to find places where common rights did not exist; it would, consequently, be very difficult to introduce settlers in any considerable number to cultivate the soil. At the same time, he perfectly recognized the importance of the question, and was at one with his noble Friend in wishing to give every encouragement to settlers in Cyprus. There were a certain number of persons from Asia Minor who had settled in the Island; and as the Island increased in prosperity, which it might be expected to do under English rule, he thought there would be an increased influx of persons who came in search of a secure asylum, which he hoped they would always receive under the Government of the Queen. The present population might appear exceedingly small when compared with the population in ancient times; but they must look to the actual condition of the Island, and to the amount of population which it would support. Much of the land not now under cultivation required to be provided with the means of irrigation, which would be a very expensive process; and it was probable that, as matters stood, any sudden increase of population might be attended with large distress. The present rate of wages in the Island was extremely low, and with the mode of cultivation adopted there was not employment for a large number of hands. The most promising industry was the cultivation of the vine.

That had greatly declined under the pressure of Turkish taxation and misrule; but under our administration it was showing a marked tendency to improve; and it was the intention of the Government, by every means in their power—whether by relief from taxation or otherwise—to encourage that valuable industry. An important market for Cyprus wine existed in France, and it would be interesting to their Lordships to know that they drank Cyprus wine in the shape of French claret, for it was largely imported into France for strengthening the wines of that country.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: Is there no phylloxera in Cyprus?

The Earl of KIMBERLEY said, that at present, happily, there was no phylloxera. He had been told that the great objection to Cyprus wine was the fact that it was brought down in goatskins, which were tarred inside; but that objection might be obviated by the simple expedient of providing good roads. As to the production of Papers asked for, the fact was that there were scarcely any to produce, and most certainly not any worth printing. He might, however, read a despatch he had recently received from the High Commissioner. That despatch was as follows:—

> "Mount Troodos, July 8, 1882. My Lord,—I have the honour to transmit a Return of refugees who have arrived here from Egypt, showing the nationalities of those who have arrived at Larnaca. I continue to receive assurances that most of those who have arrived in Cyprus are fairly well-to-do people. Doubtless they have suffered some losses, and it is possible that after a short time they will come to the end of their resources. I have given passages to their homes in Malta, Smyrna, and Beyrout, for some women who came alone, and who stated that their friends were in those places, and I shall carefully watch for cases of destitution. I have ordered a record to be kept of the nationalities of those relieved, and to make a Report on the same in due course.—I have, &c., Robert Biddulph."

In a later despatch Sir Robert Biddulph said—

> "I have formed sub-committees at Larnaca and Limasol, at both of which places the refugees are congregated, and I have placed a sum of £100 at the disposal of each for the relief of distress."

The total number of refugees who had arrived from Egypt in Cyprus was 3,029, and preparations had been made for the reception of persons at Larnaca and Limasol, and a sum of money had been contributed to provide for any contingencies that might arise. He had no apprehension of any serious inconvenience arising from an influx of these people into Cyprus. On the contrary, he thought they would form a valuable addition to the population. There were many of the refugees who were in tolerable circumstances, and there was every reason to hope that they would find profitable employment. He ought to allude to a matter to which the noble Lord who had made the Motion had made but very slight reference—namely, to the experiment, unfortunately very unsatisfactory as it had turned out, of establishing a Maltese Colony in Cyprus. The plan had been proposed for consideration, during the existence of the late Government, by the High Commissioner; but, in the meantime, it was undertaken by a private gentleman of Malta, as an experiment on his own account, and under it a certain number of Maltese had been sent to that Island. They had arrived under unfavourable conditions, and had been placed in a part of the Island where, it seemed, they had not been usefully employed. They had, therefore, become dissatisfied, many of the Colonists fell ill, some of them died, and, the Colony breaking up, the remainder ultimately returned home, carrying with them very unfavourable ideas of life in Cyprus. It was matter of regret that the experiment had not been tried under more favourable circumstances, because it had had the effect of producing a bad impression in Malta. He had great doubt, indeed, whether the Maltese would succeed in Cyprus, as they spoke a peculiar language, a dialect of Arabic, and the emigrants were not people disposed to agricultural labour, being mostly porters, small traders, and the different classes of persons to be found generally in such places as Alexandria, but for whose services there was no outlet at present in Cyprus. In addition to that, it was also found that they did not agree very well with the Native population. Although it had no reference to the present Motion, he might be allowed to mention that there was a desire in Malta to encourage emigration to Queensland, and there was hope that such a scheme would be carried out, and that that country would suit the Maltese. For himself, however, he was not very sanguine about it, on the ground of the expense. He could assure his noble Friend that the subject was engaging the attention of Her Majesty's Government, and that emigration would be encouraged in every way.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON said, he regretted that the Maltese emigration to Cyprus took place under conditions which led to failure; but he thought that, in some respects, the fact that the Maltese did not get on well with the Cypriote population was a circumstance in their favour. The noble Lord who brought forward this question (Lord Waveney) had travelled over a large space of ground; but he (the Earl of Carnarvon) would only refer to the system of government in Cyprus. He had recently read a very interesting despatch of the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Earl of Kimberley), in which he had revised the Constitution of the Council of Cyprus. He could not say that he had read that despatch with unalloyed satisfaction. He objected to the alterations which would be made in the Council in regard to the official and elected Members—there would be a majority of two to one of the latter, and the elected Members would be divided into nine Christians and three Mahomedans, elected by Christians and Mahomedans respectively. He was the last person in the House to say a word against elective institutions; but they should be applied at a fitting time and to fitting persons. In this case, however, as in the cases of Jamaica and Ceylon, he did not think the new Constitution would work well, and he did not know why the change had been made. The second objection he had to bring against the scheme was that it divided the people distinctly into the classes of Christian and Mahomedan, giving the Christian population, in proportion to their numbers it was true, a majority of two to one. It would have been more satisfactory if the elected Members had been equal in number, as it was very important that there should be no doubt in the minds of any portion of the population that their rights were not completely safeguarded, and that they had complete justice done to them. He hoped that it would not become necessary to interfere to correct any errors which might arise; but he was glad to find from the despatch which he had referred to that there was a power taken to make alterations hereafter, should the present arrangements not prove satisfactory, so that it might be hoped that a suitable opportunity would be taken for retracing any step which had been hastily adopted.

EARL GRANVILLE said, that his noble Friend (the Earl of Kimberley) had paused before rising, in order to give any other noble Lord an opportunity of speaking before he answered his noble Friend (Lord Waveney) who had brought forward this subject. It was, therefore, a little inconvenient that the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Carnarvon) did not take advantage of that opportunity. His noble Friend certainly had not expected that the noble Earl opposite would, on that occasion, have entered into a disquisition on the details of the Constitution of Cyprus; but, if he desired to do so, it would have come better before his noble Friend was, by the Rules of the House, precluded from replying to it. The noble Earl had complained of his noble Friend for having given a Constitution to Cyprus, and referred to those of Ceylon and Jamaica as not having worked well; but the cases were very different. In those Islands there were small numbers of white and large numbers of coloured populations; while in Cyprus it was just the reverse. Another thing which the noble Earl had forgotten was that Crete, which was under the dominion of the Sultan, was not very far from Cyprus, and that the Greeks there had very large powers in regard to representation. He did not pretend now to answer all the details which the noble Earl had sprung upon them; but he would content himself with having pointed out the fallacy which he had indicated, and would only add that, in any case where it might be found necessary, the official Members with the Mahomedans would be in a majority as against the Greeks.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, he did not wish to enter upon a discussion as to the Constitution of Cyprus; but he thought the warning which his noble Friend (the Earl of Carnarvon) had given the Government in connection with Jamaica and Ceylon was a very useful one, and he trusted that they would not overlook it, and that the parallel between the two cases would not hereafter be justified. He did not rise for the purpose of defending Cyprus, as that Island would, no doubt, take care of itself in the future, and justify itself. But there were two points in the speech of the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Earl of Kimberley) with reference to which he wished to make some remarks. The noble Earl had spoken of the Island as costing the country £40,000 a-year. He (the Marquess of Salisbury) might be wrong; but his own impression was that more than this proportion, the £90,000 a-year which was paid to the Sultan by Cyprus, was laid hold of by the Treasury to satisfy the interest on the Guaranteed Debt, which the Sultan owed to this country from 1855. Therefore, he thought that if they put together all that Cyprus brought in, and all that it took away, they would find there was a considerable sum to the credit of Cyprus; and he mentioned it to show that it was not, in a pecuniary sense, a bad bargain—there was, in fact, a considerable surplus. These facts should be known to the public. The noble Earl spoke about the Maltese being diseased and the Colony depressed, and the inference was that Cyprus was an unhealthy island. Now, as a military station—the noble Earl would be able to correct him if he were wrong—Cyprus had been found, he believed, to be the healthiest military station in the British Empire. Four years ago the late Government had had many reproaches levelled at them. Among other evils they were charged with was the commercial crisis, the long frost, and the unhealthiness of Cyprus. He was happy to see that under the auspices of the present Government, Cyprus had become no evil at all; but something quite the reverse, and the unhealthiness of Cyprus had disappeared.

The Earl of KIMBERLEY said, that he was not able to confirm the statement made by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury), that Cyprus was the most healthy station in the British Empire, although he would not assert the contrary, because he had not seen the statistics on the subject. But, at the same time, he felt bound to admit that the Reports which had reached him went to show that the late Government were extremely unfortunate in regard to the first year when they took over Cyprus, because it was an exceptionally unfavourable one. Since that time, although fevers had been common in Cyprus, as in other Mediterranean islands, neither the station nor the island could be called unhealthy.

The Earl of CARNARVON rose for the purpose of explaining that he was not aware that he was expected to rise immediately after the noble Lord (Lord Waveney), or he would have done so.

Lord DUNSANY said, he was glad that the Government were turning the Island to the best account. It was a good station for our ships of war. A harbour might be made, though, no doubt, it would cost something; but the money would be, under the circumstances, well laid out. He thought that the Island would suit the Maltese from Tunis and other places.

Lord WAVENEY said, after the explanation of the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies, he would withdraw his Motion.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

ENDOWED SCHOOLS—DULWICH COLLEGE SCHEME.

MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

The Earl of MILLTOWN rose to move—

"That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty praying Her Majesty to withhold Her assent from the scheme of the Charity Commissioners for the administration of Alleyne's College of God's Gift at Dulwich, now on the Table of this House."

That scheme, he said, was open to objection on several points. It did not carry out the wishes of the founder, and it was proposed to deprive the parish of Camberwell of all right to participate in the increased income of the Charity. He thought the representatives of that parish had not had a fair and patient hearing.

Moved, "That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty praying Her Majesty to withhold Her assent from the scheme of the Charity Commissioners for the administration of Alleyne's College of God's Gift at Dulwich, now on the Table of this House."—(*The Earl of Milltown.*)

Lord CARLINGFORD (Lord Privy Seal) said, he hoped that their Lordships would not agree to the Motion. This was the seventh scheme in recent years for the purpose of dealing with the increasing revenues of this College, and he hoped that it would be the last. The matter had been under the consideration of the Charity Commissioners for the last 10 years; and, therefore, he was at a loss to know what the noble Earl's (the Earl of Milltown's) idea of patience was. The subject had been considered and re-considered, and every possible party concerned had been heard and re-heard, and there had been an enormous amount of thought and labour expended upon it; and now that the scheme had been lying on the Table of the House for two months, and would, in the ordinary course, become law on Monday next, the noble Earl, at the end of all this, came down on that Friday night, with a courage which was worthy of a better cause, and asked their Lordships to reject the scheme. Under the circumstances, it would not be respectful to the House to go into the details of the case. The scheme appeared to him (Lord Carlingford) to be a very fair and proper one. Everybody in authority was satisfied with it, not even excepting those who represented the parties who had found out the noble Earl and asked him to oppose it, for under it Camberwell would be the most liberally endowed parish in the United Kingdom. He hoped their Lordships would not, at such short Notice and without full information, attempt to overthrow a scheme which had been the result of such long deliberation, and which was supported by the large majority of parties interested in the Charity.

Lord COLCHESTER said, he also thought it most undesirable that the scheme should be rejected. He trusted that their Lordships would not assent to the Motion, which, he was convinced, besides amounting to a Vote of Censure upon the Education Department, would have a most unfortunate effect on the well-being of Dulwich College.

On question, *resolved* in the *negative.*

BILLS OF EXCHANGE BILL.

Select Committee on: The Lords following were named of the Committee:

Ld. Chancellor.
E. Cairns.
L. Balfour.
L. Penzance.
L. Wolverton.
L. O'Hagan.
L. Coleridge.
L. Watson.
L. Blackburn.
L. Bramwell.
L. Fitzgerald.

The Committee to meet on *Monday* next, at Twelve o'clock, and to appoint their own Chairman.

House adjourned at a quarter past Seven o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter past Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 28*th July*, 1882.

The House met at Two of the clock.

MINUTES.]—Supply—*considered in Committee* — Civil Service Estimates, Class II.—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments.

Resolutions [July 27] *reported.*

Public Bills—*Second Reading*—Bombay Civil Fund [225].

Committee—Customs and Inland Revenue (*re-comm.*) [239]—R.P.

Third Reading—Electric Lighting * [200], and *passed.*

Withdrawn—Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) [21].

QUESTIONS.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND) — RESIGNATIONS OF RESIDENT MAGISTRATES.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What gentlemen have lately resigned the office of stipendiary magistrate in Ireland, and what reasons they assigned for their resignation?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, the following Resident Magistrates expressed their desire to take advantage of the terms of retirement offered by His Excellency with the sanction of the Treasury; and His Excellency did not think that the interests of the Public Service required that he should refuse to accept their resignation—namely, Sir W. F. Hort, Mr. J. T. Butler, Mr. W. Morris Reade. In addition to these, the following 12 magistrates have been invited to take advantage of the special terms offered—namely, Mr. Miller, Hon. M. J. Ffrench, Mr. Morony, Mr. M'Cullagh, Mr. Montgomery, Mr. O'Hara, Mr. Franks, Captain Coote, Mr. Parkinson, Major Percy, Captain Wynne, and Mr. Dennehy.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can now state at whose request the two resident magistrates from Cork and Clare were brought to Listowel to assist in the trial of the charge against Mr. T. Harrington and others?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, the two Resident Magistrates—Mr. Butler, R.M., and Mr. Considine, R.M. — were sent to Listowel on the occasion referred to, upon the recommendation of Captain Plunkett, the special Resident Magistrate of the district. The local Resident Magistrate, being required as a witness in the case, could not sit on the Bench.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—THE POSTMASTER OF THE CLEGGAN POST OFFICE.

MR. SEXTON asked the Postmaster General, Whether, on the 28th ultimo, the postmaster at Cleggan, county Galway, used abusive and threatening language to one Festy King, and committed an assault upon him; whether, on the 27th ultimo, at the same post office, Mrs. Molloy, of Aughrisbeg, having called for a letter, a letter addressed to her was opened by the postmistress, who took from it a cheque sent to Mrs. Molloy by her husband, and assaulted Mrs. Molloy so seriously that she has since been confined to bed; and, what steps have been taken, or will be taken, with reference to the charge of the Cleggan post office?

MR. FAWCETT, in reply, said, it was true that an assault was committed, but it was not a violent assault. It was also true that the wife of the postmaster committed the very serious impropriety of detaining a money order contained in a letter which she was authorized to open. He had given instructions that she should refund the money, and he had told the postmaster and his wife that if they gave any further grounds for complaint the post office would be at once placed in other hands.

PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS —VACANCIES AT THE WAR OFFICE.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, considering the number of General Officers of high rank in the Army now out of employment, the vacancies at the War Office, caused by the appointment of Sir Garnet Wolseley and Sir John Adye to commands in Egypt, will be filled up, in the one case on the usual conditions of a five years' appointment, and, in the other, by a Member of this House? The noble Lord added that he understood the right hon. Gentleman to say yesterday that the offices had not been vacated, and that the appointments in Egypt had only been made for three months. He wished to ask whether, if the operations went on beyond three months, these appointments would be continued or not; and, further, whilst the appointments are being temporarily filled, pay would be received by these two distinguished officers, both for their appointments at the War Office and in Egypt?

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT asked the right hon. Gentleman whether he considered it desirable that such appointments should be made without the vacancies being filled up?

MR. CHILDERS: I think Notice should be given of such Questions as that last addressed to me. In reply to the noble Lord, I have to say that I fully answered his principal Question in the debate yesterday; and the noble Lord will, therefore, excuse me if I do not repeat what I then said. If the campaign should last longer than three months it will be necessary to reconsider these appointments.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL: How about the pay?

MR. CHILDERS: The pay, of course, of the offices at home will not be drawn while the officers are on duty elsewhere. In one of the cases—that of the Adjutant General—I stated that another officer was to be appointed for the time.

ARMY—ARMY HOSPITAL CORPS.

GENERAL FEILDEN asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he has any objection to state the result of the inquiry, by the Committee presided over by Sir Evelyn Wood, into the charges of inefficiency and misconduct brought against the men of the Army Hospital Corps who served in South Africa; and, whether he intends to take any action in the matter?

MR. CHILDERS: In reply to the gallant General, I think I had better read the two paragraphs in the Report of the Committee which sum up their opinion—

> "The Committee think, as regards the general result of the inquiries, that the more serious allegations against the Army Hospital Corps have not been substantiated; they consider, however, that certain individuals of the Corps have been shown to have been unfit for their duties, but that the proofs have been against individuals who were punished at the time, and that the defects in the treatment of the patients arose principally from the suddenness of the outbreak, which struck down the Army Hospital

Corps as well as the other corps; and from the dimensions it assumed it could not have been foreseen."

I have now, with the concurrence of the Duke of Cambridge, appointed a Committee to inquire into the whole organization of the Corps, and I hope to consider its Report before preparing the Estimates of next year.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—TRANSPORTS.

MR. BAXTER asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, How many of the numerous transports now being taken up to convey troops to Egypt have been supplied by the Peninsular and Oriental Steamship Company, and by the Royal Mail Steamship Company, which receive heavy postal subsidies on the condition of supplying vessels for the service of Government in time of war?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, in reply to the Question of my right hon. Friend, I have to say that two vessels belonging to the Peninsular and Oriental Steamship Company have been taken up in London for the service of the Government—namely, the *Carthage* and the *Nepaul.* The former is a fine vessel of 5,000 tons, which will be employed as a military hospital. I am informed that at Bombay the *Hydaspes*, *Khiva*, and *Zambesi*, all belonging to the same Company, have been taken up, and the *Tanjore* is being used at Alexandria. No vessel belonging to the Royal Mail Company has been offered to the Government.

EGYPT (THE WAR)—NEWSPAPER REPORTS.

COLONEL DAWNAY asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been called to the conduct of yesterday's Evening "Standard" in publishing, with its evening edition, false reports of the defeat of our Troops; and, whether he will take steps to prevent the continuance of a practice which is calculated to cause needless anxiety and alarm to the public, for the purpose of increasing the circulation of newspapers?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, the Home Office has many miscellaneous duties, without adding the duty which the hon. and gallant Member seeks to impose upon it. We cannot undertake to see that newspapers do not make statements which are unfounded in fact. A great many people seem to take for granted that everything they read in a newspaper is necessarily true. My experience does not bear out that belief. It is a mistake altogether. This is light literature which belongs rather to the department of fiction than history. It is intended to be bought and read. It is not intended to be believed. If the public would only understand that they would have really the remedy which the hon. and gallant Member wishes in their own hands. As long as there is a demand for this sensational correspondence, for this imaginary news, it is sure to be supplied. If the demand ceases, in this as in other industries, the supply will fail. The only practical remedy I can suggest to the hon. and gallant Member is one which I offer not at all in an official sense, and it is, that people, when they hear special editions shouted in the streets, should not buy them, and if they cannot resist buying them, at all events they should not believe what they read in them.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—BELFAST BOARD OF GUARDIANS.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been drawn to the Report of the proceedings of the Belfast Board of Guardians of Tuesday last, as it appeared in the "Belfast Northern Whig" newspaper, in which it is stated that Sub-constable M'Mahon reported that he had found three persons lying at the workhouse gate after eleven o'clock at night, who had previously obtained provisional orders for their admission from the relieving officers marked urgent, and whom the workhouse master refused to admit; if it be true that one of the persons is an old man seventy years of age, who, at the time of seeking admission, was suffering from a severe attack of hemorrhage, and, notwithstanding this fact, was kept lying on the roadside all night; if it be true that another of the persons is an infirm old woman sixty-seven years of age, who was also, according to Constable M'Mahon's Report, "kept sitting on the wet, cold, ground, outside the workhouse gate, all night;" if it be true that a majority of the guardians not only refused to inquire, or cause an inquiry to be made, into the circumstances, but actually adopted a Resolution approving of the master's conduct; if it be correct that the master has no legal or discretionary power to refuse admission to persons holding provisional orders for relief; if it be true that, on the preceding week, Sub-constable Burke made a similar complaint against the master for refusing to admit to the workhouse a destitute woman with two young children, and she and her children were kept lying on the roadside from eleven o'clock at night to half-past one on the following morning; and, what steps have the Local Government Board taken to prevent a recurrence of such conduct?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the attention of the Local Government Board has been drawn to the matter referred to in this Question, and they have had before them Reports on the subject made by the constable and by the master and porter of the workhouse. I understand the statements in the constable's Report substantially agree with those in the Question of the hon. Member; but that the workhouse officers' Reports differ from the police Reports, and that further inquiry is therefore necessary, and is now being instituted by the Local Government Board. The Guardians do not meet until Tuesday next; and I cannot answer the Question more fully until I learn the result of the further inquiry.

LAW AND JUSTICE (INDIA)—SALARIES OF INDIAN JUDGES.

MR. PUGH asked the Secretary of State for India, Whether the time has yet arrived when he can lay upon the Table of the House the Correspondence relating to the reduction of the salaries of all the High Court Judges in Bengal and of the Native High Court Judges in the rest of India?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON, in reply, said, that until the Correspondence was complete, he did not think it would be convenient to lay it on the Table.

ARMY — ALLOWANCES TO FAMILIES OF SOLDIERS ON ACTIVE SERVICE.

MR. O'SHEA asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether any improvement has been made in the scale of allowances to the wives and children of soldiers on active service?

MR. CHILDERS: Yes, Sir; I took up this question last year, and I am happy to say that the improvements which we made in the scale of allowances have been found very satisfactory. Formerly the separation allowances in the case of all married soldiers were 6*d.* for the wife and 2*d.* for each of the children up to 14 years, and the soldier was not required to supplement these allowances out of his pay. Now the wife of a non-commissioned officer receives 8*d.* a-day from the public and 8*d.* out of her husband's pay, and the wife of a private 8*d.* from the public and 4*d.* from her husband. Similarly, the allowances for the children are—from the public 2*d.* for each child (the limit for female children being raised to 16 years of age), while in the case of sergeants 1½*d.*, and in the case of rank and file, 1*d.* for each child (up to a certain maximum) is stopped from the soldier's pay.

EGYPT — THE CONFERENCE — INTERVENTION OF THE PORTE.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is a fact that the Conference which was assembled at the instance of Her Majesty's Government on Friday last requested Turkey to send troops to repress the disorder in Egypt; whether Said Pasha on Tuesday intimated to the Conference the willingness of the Sultan to send a force, and has since decided to despatch a force of 20,000 men, in virtue of his sovereign authority, notwithstanding the First Lord of the Treasury's declaration on Monday that "the opportunity for Turkish intervention had passed away;" whether it is true that the Italian Government, on being asked to co-operate in the occupation of Egypt, referred the British ambassador to the Conference; and, whether Her Majesty's Government have any statement to make with regard to their future policy in Egypt?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, as the hon. Gentleman has referred to me in this Question I will answer it. As regards the earlier part of the Question, we are sensible that it relates to a subject on which the House naturally takes extreme interest, and we shall, with respect to it, take the same course that was taken with the original instructions to Lord Dufferin before the Conference—that is to say, we shall lay upon the Table what we have had to say on the subject. Without waiting for that, it may be interesting to the House if I read at once the principal and most important parts of the telegram which has been sent on its coming to our knowledge that the Sultan has, in the first place, declared his acceptance in principle of the proposal to send troops to Egypt; and, in the second place, has declared that he is prepared to send them in the manner indicated by the Conference, but without pointing out or fixing any time when they will be sent. The material part of that Instruction, which will be laid at once upon the Table, is this——

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: What is the date?

Mr. GLADSTONE: It is dated this morning. We received the intelligence yesterday. The Cabinet yesterday evening met to consider the basis of the Instruction, and the Instruction was sent to-day—

> "While reserving to themselves the liberty of action which the pressure of events may render expedient or necessary, Her Majesty's Government will be glad to receive the co-operation of any Powers who are ready to afford it. They are accordingly prepared to accept frankly the assistance which the Sultan has now announced his readiness to give in the restoration of order by sending troops to Egypt in accordance with the invitation addressed to His Majesty by the Powers, and subject to the conditions proposed by them. They now desire to learn what number of troops the Sultan intends to send, the date of their probable departure, and the proposed disposition of them. In the meanwhile, the delay which has occurred in the adoption of measures by the Porte, and the feeling of uncertainty which has unfortunately prevailed as to the real intentions of the Sultan, and which has been strengthened by the action of His Majesty in conferring on Arabi Pasha an important decoration and mark of his favour, make it, in the view of Her Majesty's Government, essential, both for the assertion of the Sultan's own authority and of that of the Khedive, that His Majesty should at once, and before the despatch of the troops, issue a proclamation upholding Tewfik Pasha, and denouncing Arabi Pasha as a rebel."

The hon. Gentleman asks what we have done "notwithstanding the First Lord of the Treasury's declaration on Monday that 'the opportunity for Turkish intervention had passed away.'" I see that the hon. Member is under an entire misapprehension as to what fell from me, and which has been partaken by others, and, therefore, I now repeat that what I stated was, in substance, this—that we looked as long as we were able to look to Turkish intervention as the proper and exclusive means of applying military force, should military force become necessary for composing the disorders and difficulties in Egypt. We continued to look to Turkey for that purpose till after the bombardment, and we were, indeed, of opinion that the bombardment itself had afforded extraordinary facilities and great opportunities to the Sultan. It is certainly within my knowledge that these feelings on our part were made known to the Ottoman Government; but the Sultan, in the exercise of his own discretion, did not avail himself of that opportunity, and it was that opportunity of acting as the exclusive agent in the Egyptian disorder that I stated had passed away. But I stated, I think—I forget whether it was in answer to a Question or otherwise—that the question still remained open whether there would be co-operation with other European Powers, or the Ottoman Porte.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: What Powers?

Mr. GLADSTONE: There was no mention made of any particular Power; we spoke of co-operation in general. That is the state of the case. The opportunity which had passed away was that opportunity of sole and exclusive interference to be exercised by the Sultan in his capacity of Sovereign of the country. I am not making any addition to the statement I made before, but merely reviewing it. Then the third paragraph of the hon. Member's Question is whether the Italian Government, on being asked to co-operate in the occupation of Egypt, referred the British Ambassador to the Conference? I think this Question is based on a misapprehension, owing, probably, to reports in the newspapers. I am not able to say more on the subject than that communications with the Italian Government are in progress. With regard to the hon. Member's last Question, I think that, considering how busily we have during the last four days been making declarations as to our policy in Egypt, it is not necessary to make any further declaration on the fifth day of the week.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I wish to know whether Her Majesty's Government have received any news this morning, either confirmatory or the reverse, of the telegram which has been received with regard to some offer of submission on the part of Arabi Pasha?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, there has been a telegram received this morning from Mr. Cartwright, in which he alludes to indirect communications made by Arabi Pasha, with a view to the surrender of the Military Party; but no direct communication has up to the present been received from Arabi Pasha.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked whether, in view of the fact that the Conference was assembled for the purpose of dealing with the troubles in the East, the Prime Minister thought it right to charge the Ottoman Government with unnecessary delay, seeing that the Conference did not give its mandate to Turkey until Friday last, and they on Tuesday accepted the Identic Note?

MR. GLADSTONE: I beg pardon, Sir. I made no charge whatever; I stated a fact. I said that a delay had occurred, and it is recited in this telegram, and that a decoration of an important character was conferred by the Sultan at a very critical period upon Arabi. I must correct the hon. Gentleman. He is quite wrong about the time when the Identic Note was sent in to the Ottoman Government. It is before the House, and he should have known it. The adoption of the Identic Note by the Representatives assembled at Constantinople was really an essential epoch, and that adoption was a considerable time back—several weeks back. The sending in of the Note was, I think, on the 15th of July.

MR. BOURKE: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman a Question arising out of his Answer? Are we to understand that the conditions proposed to the Porte as to sending troops to Egypt still hold good; whether the Sultan is to send troops to Egypt on the conditions just mentioned by the right hon. Gentleman, or whether those conditions have been in any way altered; and whether, in addition to those conditions which the right hon. Gentleman has referred to, the Sultan's Proclamation of Arabi as a rebel is to be one of the conditions previous to the despatch of the Sultan's troops?

MR. ONSLOW asked what was to be the nature of this Proclamation? Was it to be issued only at Constantinople, or circulated throughout the whole of Egypt, which at present was in a state of rebellion? What was the nature of the indirect communications which the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs said had been received, and from whom did they come?

MR. GLADSTONE: With respect to the Question of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Bourke), as I understand the conditions of the Conference, I believe they have been accepted without question by the Porte. I cannot say anything about what the Conference may hereafter do. With regard to the Proclamation, the conditions were framed some weeks ago, and, therefore, the subject is beyond our control. As to the matter of the Proclamation, we have given in our instructions a sufficient indication of its purport which we think is likely to be concurred in by every other Power; but the precise matter of the Proclamation must be left to the discretion of the Sultan. As to its circulation in Egypt, the suggestion of the hon. Member is a very just one. It would be of little use if it were confined to Constantinople; but it is not in our power to make any condition on this subject.

SIR JOHN HAY asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether it is intended, before the House rises, to move that the thanks of this House be given to Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, Captain Hunt-Grubbe, and the officers, seamen, and marines for their conduct on the 11th July at Alexandria?

MR. GLADSTONE: Her Majesty's Government are deeply sensible of our obligation to the gallant Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour and the officers under his command; but beyond that I cannot go. It is a matter of usage that the initiative in such a case is left to the Government, and they must manifestly reserve to themselves the exercise of their own discretion as to the time and circumstances of such a Motion. It must be borne in mind that the information we have hitherto received from Sir Beauchamp Seymour has been so far telegraphic. It is only this morning that lengthened despatches giving details of his operations have been received, and with their contents it has not been possible for the Government to acquaint themselves. I take the opportunity of making an addition to the Answer I gave just now. Since then a note has been put into my hands, from which I find that a communication has been received this morning from the Turkish Ambassador in London to the effect that the Sultan proposes to send troops immediately.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: What day?

Mr. GLADSTONE: There is no day named; but the word "immediately" is used.

Mr. ONSLOW: Is there anything about the Proclamation?

Mr. GLADSTONE: There is no reference to the Proclamation. It is an entirely independent communication, and has no reference whatever to the steps taken at Constantinople with respect to the Proclamation, and will not in any way delay or interfere with those proceedings. I wish also to say a word with regard to what was said yesterday by an hon. Friend who expressed his belief that the conflagrations in Alexandria were caused by the firing of the British ships. The name of Mr. Easton is, perhaps, as well known in connection with works at Alexandria as the name of Mr. Cornish, who is now there. Mr. Easton writes a letter to me which it is quite fair to quote in competition with an anonymous writer in a newspaper, and he says—

> "It is perfectly clear that the statement that the burning of Alexandria was not caused by the action of the Fleet is correct."

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—A SATURDAY SITTING.

Mr. CARBUTT asked the Prime Minister, Whether there was to be a Saturday Sitting this week — ["No, no!"]—and, if so, whether he would take into consideration that they had already given one day and nearly the whole of another day to Scotch questions, and give facilities for an English Bill which had come down from the Lords —the Married Women's Property Bill?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, that the object of a Saturday Sitting, the progress of the Electric Lighting Bill, would, he understood, be accomplished, and there was, therefore, no intention to propose a Saturday Sitting.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE inquired what would be the arrangement with regard to the second Order of the Day — the East India (Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt) debate. Would it be taken as the first Order on Monday?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, the Tax Bill was the first Order for to-day, after which they intended to take the East India Vote if the Tax Bill were disposed of in the Morning Sitting. If it was not so disposed of, and if the East India Vote could not come on at a reasonable hour after Supply at the Evening Sitting, that Vote would be put down as the first Order for Monday. With respect to the Tax Bill, in deference to the wishes of a body of Gentlemen who were interested in it, it was arranged that it should not be carried beyond the 4th clause to-day.

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN asked whether the Government had absolutely decided to abandon the clause with regard to the Carriage Tax?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Yes, Sir; I have already stated that.

STATE OF IRELAND—EXTRA POLICE AT PALLAS GREEN—EXTRA POLICE PENALTY.

Mr. REDMOND asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether some months since a police hut was erected in the townland of Clorenfield, Pallasgreen, county Limerick, to protect emergency men who had taken possession of a farm from which the tenant had been evicted; whether the evicted tenant has now resumed possession and the emergency men have been withdrawn; and, whether, under these circumstances, the police will also be withdrawn, and the heavy expenses consequent on their presence removed from the townland?

Mr. TREVELYAN: A police hut was erected about three months ago at the place mentioned in this Question in consequence of the murder of the emergency man Roche. His Excellency is at present considering whether or not the extra force may now safely be withdrawn.

Mr. REDMOND: Was it erected under the circumstances mentioned in the Question, and are the facts stated correct?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Quite correct, Sir.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—MICHAEL WALLACE.

Mr. SYNAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. Wallace, a respectable farmer in the parish of Pallas Kenry, in the county of Limerick, was arrested under the Prevention of Crime Act on the 14th July last, and taken a distance of nine miles before Mr. Hatchell, R.M.; whether he was ordered by the said resident magistrate to give bail for his appearance at Petty Sessions, and kept in custody the whole night until he got such bail; whether the case against him was dismissed at the Sessions; and, whether any compensation will be given to Mr. Wallace for the injuries he has been subjected to, and the costs and expenses he has been put to in defending himself?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, Mr. Michael Wallace, the son of a farmer, was arrested under Section 11 of the Prevention of Crime Act and brought before the Resident Magistrate, who admitted him to bail to appear at the next Petty Sessions. The case against him at Petty Sessions was dismissed on the legal defence that the Proclamation applying the provisions of the Prevention of Crime Act to the district had not been posted therein at the time of the arrest. The Government does not contemplate awarding any compensation to Mr. Wallace.

ARMY—VACANCIES IN CAVALRY REGIMENTS.

SIR BALDWYN LEIGHTON asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is true that there are a large number of subaltern vacancies in cavalry regiments at present; if so, whether that arises from any want of candidates for commissions; and, whether he will consider the propriety of advising that the examinations should be made more practical and less scholastic, or what steps will be taken in the matter, seeing that we are on the eve of extensive military operations?

MR. CHILDERS: Yes, Sir; there have been a certain number of vacancies in the Cavalry contemporaneously with a large supernumerary list in the Infantry, the main reason being that the sons of wealthier parents are generally candidates for Cavalry commissions, and do not necessarily take the highest places in the competitions. For the moment we have made arrangements not inconsistent with the present rules as to qualification to meet the immediate exigencies; but the whole subject has been for some time under my consideration and is being discussed by a Committee appointed some short time since.

ARMY—APPOINTMENTS TO THE STAFF.

MR. TOTTENHAM asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is the express function of the Commander-in-Chief to select officers for appointments to the staff of an army about to take the field; and whether, in the case of the expeditionary force to Egypt, the usual practice has been departed from in this respect; whether he will state the reasons which have instigated the selection of an officer charged with such important duties as those of Surveyor-General of Ordnance to proceed on foreign service at a time when the duties and responsibilities of his department must necessarily be largely increased; whether, in view of the numbers of distinguished officers seeking for employment, it is proposed to fill up the vacancies which have been created on the staff at home; and, whether the office of Surveyor-General of Ordnance was revived on the understanding, and with the intention of Parliament, that it should be held when practicable by a member of the Legislature?

MR. CHILDERS: No, Sir; no change has been made on this occasion in the practice under which officers are selected for the Staff of an expedition. The Secretary of State is responsible to Her Majesty and to Parliament for these selections; but he acts, of course, in consultation with the Commander-in-Chief, and, as to the junior appointments, he interferes but slightly. The present Surveyor General of the Ordnance is peculiarly fitted for the duty of Chief of the Staff, in which his experience, second to none, in connection with the administrative departments will be of great assistance to the officer in command of the force in the field. I have answered the third Question of the hon. Member in the debate on the Vote of Credit; but as to the fourth, I may say that the Office of the Surveyor General of the Ordnance was established on the lines of the recommendations of Lord Northbrook's Committee of 1870, from which I will read one paragraph—

"It would, we think, be unfortunate if the appointment came to be considered as one which must, as a matter of course, be conferred on a Member of Parliament. It would be sufficient, in our opinion, that the office should be classed with those of the naval members of the Board of Admiralty who form part of the political administration of the day, eligible to sit in the House of Commons, but need not always necessarily be Members of Parliament."

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the right hon. Gentleman whether it was in accordance with his views of military discipline that a Staff officer should also be the special correspondent of a London newspaper?

MR. CHILDERS: I would rather have Notice of that Question. There are difficulties arising out of the practice in a previous case under a former Government, and I should like to look into the matter before answering the Question.

LAW AND JUSTICE—THE JUDGES AND THE ASSIZES.

MR. HICKS asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether he is now prepared to state what arrangements are to be made with a view of relieving the Judicial Bench and others from some of the burdens consequent on attending at four assizes each year?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES), in reply, said, that he was perfectly well aware of the inconvenience which four Assizes entailed, and the Government were endeavouring to mitigate it to some extent by a further grouping of counties.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

CUSTOMS AND INLAND REVENUE (*re-committed*) BILL.—[BILL 239.]

(*Mr. Playfair, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Frederick Cavendish.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

BEER—ABOLITION OF THE MALT TAX.

RESOLUTION.

MR. CHAPLIN, in rising to move—

> "That this House is of opinion that the repeal of the Malt Tax, by encouraging the use of rice, maize, and other articles, as substitutes for malt in brewing, has proved to be injurious, instead of beneficial, to the farmer; that the manufacture of beer of inferior quality from such articles is contrary to the public welfare, as well as detrimental to the interests of agriculture, and that no financial scheme will be satisfactory which does not amend the Law with regard to the use of ingredients other than sugar, malt, and hops, in the brewing of beer for sale,"

said, he gave Notice that he would raise this question early in the Session. Since the repeal of the Malt Tax many ingredients had been used in the manufacture of beer, and agriculturists had suffered from the consequent lowering of the value of barley. He was not ashamed to admit that he cordially approved of the repeal of the Malt Tax, because it was unjust to the cultivators of the soil that they should be precluded from using the produce of their farms in the most profitable way. The repeal of the tax, as far as it permitted farmers to malt their own barley, had proved very beneficial; but its other effects had, on the whole, outweighed the advantages of the change. His Amendment set forth several propositions, the first of which was that the repeal of the tax had been injurious for certain specified reasons, such as the use of base materials in the manufacture of beer; the second, that the use of those ingredients injured not only the agricultural community, but also the public welfare; and the third, that the repeal of the tax had been detrimental to the farmers by reducing the price of barley. The other part of the Amendment was to the effect—

> "That no financial scheme will be satisfactory which does not amend the Law with regard to the use of ingredients other than sugar, malt, and hops, in the brewing of beer for sale."

But his main object was to induce Her Majesty's Government to entertain the case he submitted to them, and then to amend the proposal as they pleased. At the same time, there were a variety of ways in which it might be amended. A duty, for instance, might be imposed on the spurious ingredients of the same nature as the duty on what were called "imitations of coffee," or the desired object might be attained by making it necessary for persons who sold beer to declare whether it was manufactured from ingredients other than sugar, malt, and hops. If the ingredients used at present in the manufacture of beer—such as maize and rice—were advertised in a placard over the doorway of every beershop in which the spurious liquor was sold, it would very soon be found profitable to revert to the old process of manufacture. Another proposal, which he was inclined to commend, was that of the hon. Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage), who suggested that no liquor not brewed exclusively from sugar, malt, and hops should be allowed to be sold under the name of beer. He hoped that the Government would consider these three proposals, with a view to the adoption of one of them, or of something similar. At one time, he confessed, he had advocated the imposition of a duty on foreign barley, in order to raise in that manner that part of the Revenue which now accrued from beer; but the fact was that at this moment it was not the foreign barley that did the mischief, but the injurious substitutes he had mentioned; and these, undoubtedly, did injure all the agriculturists who depended largely on the growing of barley. It was to be remembered that, owing to the keen competition to which English wheat was exposed, the farmers, who were chiefly interested in barley, were every day increasing in numbers, so that it would probably not be long before a boon that was specially advantageous to them would profit the agricultural community at large. The Commission on British Agriculture had just issued its Report, and would be found to have made, among other beneficial suggestions, a recommendation in this direction. In the long run, the prosperity of agriculture must depend upon good weather and fair prices; and this view was supported by some very remarkable concurrent evidence from three out of the four Sub-Commissioners who pursued their investigations throughout the whole of England. English farmers had contended for a long time with almost unexampled difficulties, and had met them nobly, and had used such rare favourable opportunities as they had had in a way that spoke volumes for their pluck and mettle. He trusted, then, that the right hon. Gentleman—who, he acknowledged, had shown much consideration for the Bills in which the farmers were interested—would show his sympathy with them in a more practical manner. The repeal of the Malt Tax was intended to confer great benefits on them, and was passed at a time when no Government could afford to ignore the agricultural interest; but, from various circumstances, those benefits had been intercepted, or, at least, had been greatly diminished, and all he now asked was that the right hon. Gentleman should entertain an Amendment that would make his measure of relief real and effectual. The Amendment was not placed on the Paper in a spirit of hostility to the financial proposals of the right hon. Gentleman, but to enable him (Mr. Chaplin) to state the views of a great many who were interested in the question, and in order to afford an opportunity for the statement of the views of the Government. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving the Resolution of which he had given Notice.

COLONEL BARNE, in seconding the Amendment, said, that he brought in this Session a Bill which would have the effect of carrying out the object of the Amendment; but it was rejected on the second reading, after a short discussion, by a majority of less than 30. If the Bill could have been discussed at length on a Wednesday, it would have had a very fair chance of passing. No one could dispute that ingredients other than sugar, malt, and hops were put into beer; and he held that persons who drank beer ought to know what they were drinking. When the right hon. Gentleman, two years ago, abolished the Malt Tax, the measure was received by the agricultural community with great favour; but they had since found out that they were mistaken in so regarding it, and that, instead of raising the price of barley, it had greatly reduced it, and they were now suffering seriously in consequence. He had been told by one of the largest maltsters in England that the price of barley must fall and keep low, unless some change was made in the law. The consumption of beer had, to a great extent, been reduced, and the working classes were now drinking instead more spirits, and, to a certain extent, more tea and coffee. He viewed with regret the reduction in the consumption of beer as compared with spirits. It was well known that rice and maize made an inferior kind of beer, and that the many injurious substances put into it—not by brewers, but by publicans—rendered the article very injurious to the community. On behalf, therefore, of the community at large, as well as the agricultural population of this country, he considered that this Resolution deserved the serious consideration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "no financial scheme will be satisfactory which does not amend the Law with regard to the use of ingredients other than sugar, malt, and hops, in the brewing of beer for sale,"—(*Mr. Chaplin,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. GLADSTONE: I am very glad to see that the House has not considered the present a very convenient opportunity for entering at large upon this Amendment. With respect to the hon. and gallant Member who has just sat down (Colonel Barne), I think it is rather hard that he should select this opportunity for the purpose of ventilating the ideas which he entertains on this matter; because at an earlier period the hon. and gallant Gentleman took it in hand as a legislator, and proposed a Bill with the objects he has in view, and the House rejected the Bill. Under the circumstances, I think it is rather severe that, after a Bill has been rejected in his own hands, he should endeavour to revive it in mine.

COLONEL BARNE: The right hon. Gentleman has more influence than I have.

MR. GLADSTONE: No, Sir; I beg to assure the hon. and gallant Member that my influence would unquestionably fail if I were to direct it to those objects. If the hon. and gallant Gentleman only showed a good discretion in selecting the purposes to which he applied his influence, I think he would find that the influence would become very large, and he need not be afraid to compare it with that of anybody else. In respect to this Motion, I must say that the terms of the Motion appear to cast a disagreeable light upon a policy that has been steadily pursued for half-a-century. Because, since the year 1830, the Party with which the hon. Gentleman who moved the Motion is connected have represented the repeal of the Malt Tax as the grand specific for all agricultural woes and grievances. I have had a great deal more experience of these matters than the hon. Gentleman has had; and I can assure him that the uniform strain in which the recommendations for the repeal of the Malt Tax were supported was by invoking the Goddess of Freedom. It was the removal of restraint; it was liberating the hands of the producers; and now that that has been done, the hon. Member says—"Oh, yes; liberate the hands of a particular description of producers, but tie up the hands of another class of producers." But, Sir, it is an extremely painful circumstance to me that the unfortunate farmer of this country should, for 50 years, have been taught by those who unquestionably believed themselves the best friends the farmer had, and who often say they are the only friends, to place his hope and reliance on a remedy of which the hon. Gentleman now deliberately declares that the disadvantages greatly outweighed the advantages.

MR. CHAPLIN: But it is the way in which it was done.

MR. GLADSTONE: It was done by setting the trade free, and leaving everybody to judge what kind of beer they would like. I will not dwell upon that; but when I recollect that whenever a Tory Government was in power—with the exception of 1835, when Lord Chandos was in Office—the question of the Malt Tax was allowed to sleep. A change came over the views of the agricultural interest, and the Malt Tax was of small importance; but when a Liberal Government were in Office, the Malt Tax has always swelled into portentous dimensions. It was invariably exhibited to the country as the means by which the agricultural interest was to be restored to a state of vigour and prosperity; and it is, indeed, a most lamentable fact that this long-continued series of operations should now be admitted, from the mouth of those who were its chief champions, to have been an entire delusion practised on the British Parliament. That is a sad fact. Experience teaches many lessons which we would do well to take to heart. But with regard to this Motion, allow me to point out to the hon. Gentleman what appears to me to dispose of it very briefly. As far as it is true that a mischievous article is produced by the use of certain ingredients in the making of beer, that is not a matter of finance at all, but is a matter belonging to the question of adulteration. It has to do with the health of the public, and I must say that it is not a financial subject, or a subject which the Financial Department should entertain. As far as I recognize the views of the hon. Gentleman, he is aiming at raising the price of a particular article by shutting out from competition a number of other articles.

MR. CHAPLIN: Spurious articles.

MR. GLADSTONE: No; I beg pardon. The hon. Gentleman by that theory leads us into a maze of confusion. I have said that as far as it is injurious we get rid of it by dealing with it as adulteration. I do not think the hon. Gentleman could expect the House of Commons to proscribe the use of articles other than malt, hops, and sugar in the making of beer, because the introduction of them tends to reduce the price of barley. The Motion, on that point of view, strikes at the very root of all progress and advance in the industry of the country. My firm belief is, that the admission of all these articles will be beneficial to the public, because this is a trade that depends upon the use of bulky commodities; and the more free we are to purchase these bulky commodities, the larger will be the use of them. To give an absolute free choice of material, setting aside the question of adulteration, to the producers of this country, is absolutely the first and most necessary condition of progress in industry and manufactures. If you do not do that, you will undo the whole legislation of the last century, which has tended to set British industry free, and begin again to manufacture the fetters which formerly bound up the energies, the industry, the skill, and the capital of this country, and carry it back as far as you can to the condition of comparative poverty and disgrace in which it lay before those operations began. I could not with honesty pretend to be prepared to entertain in any way the question of restricting the use of any materials in the production of beer which are not obnoxious, on the ground of their sanitary effects. This is no question of finance. I wish the hon. Member every kind of success in an operation of this kind; but I think it is rather hard when we come forward with our Tax Bill to supply the absolute wants of the country, at a period when the House is much exhausted with the labours of a lengthened Session, to bring upon the Tax Bill a question of that kind.

MR. CHAPLIN reminded the right hon. Gentleman that he had put his Notice on the Paper months ago.

MR. GLADSTONE: That is quite true; but the result of the action of the hon. Member is that this important subject is brought to our notice in the last days of July, when the Government has been obliged to give up the very last of their legislative measures for the Session. I am sure that, under these circumstances, the hon. Member will feel that it is not desirable that the Government should enter at large into questions of elementary principle, or make admissions which, if made at all, must strike at the very root of the legislation which has done so much to render this country content and prosperous.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he did not suppose that ever in the history of this House had the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill been brought on in the last week of July. He knew that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not responsible for this, and the House had no control over it. It was unfortunate, but there it was, and he would not hinder for more than a minute or two the discussion on that Bill. But as the hon. Member for Mid-Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) had put this Motion on the Paper, he would say a word or two upon it. The right hon. Gentleman, in the remarks he had just made, must have forgotten the year 1852, when the late lamented Lord Beaconsfield moved to reduce the Malt Tax by one-half. A Conservative Government being then in power did attempt to deal with the Malt Tax. His next remark would be that he did not know how the agriculturists of this country were to grow in any large quantities rice and maize, which the right hon. Gentleman told them they were at liberty to do, and which, he stated, might be part of the produce of farms hereafter. He (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) had yet to learn that the climate of this country would admit of the growth of rice. He would admit to the full that after the right hon. Gentleman had abolished the Malt Tax, it was very difficult to restrict the ingredients of which beer was composed; but he would point out that the repeal of the Malt Tax had had this effect, which no one would deny—that it had materially decreased the present price of barley, and enabled many brewers who were not so particular of what their beer was composed to brew beer from articles which were not for the general benefit of the public health. One thing, however, had been very useful—namely, that a much larger number of people, much larger than the right hon. Gentleman anticipated, did now brew at home. The more that was done the better it was for the home brewers and their families. He regretted that for the sake merely of the principle of Free Trade, and the absolute abolition of Protection, the duty of 1*s.* on corn was abolished. In his opinion, that was a great and grave mistake. That duty produced a large revenue, and during the last two years would have produced a larger revenue than before. It hurt nobody, and it was throwing away a large amount of revenue. The right hon. Gentleman would admit that they had much to complain of in the agricultural interest from causes over which they had no control. Their losses had been borne with such a spirit as Englishmen generally showed, with a full determination to meet them to the best of their ability. If the right hon. Gentleman could see his way to alleviate those misfortunes by the reduction of taxation in some way or other, he would be conferring a great benefit upon an important interest. He had met them to some extent with regard to highways and main roads; and he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) ventured to hope that the local taxation which would come before the House and the country next year in a far better shape than would have been possible this year would afford in the future some of that relief which was so very much needed.

Mr. JAMES HOWARD said, that he had listened attentively to the speeches of hon. Members opposite, in the expectation of hearing reasons in support of the Motion, but he had listened in vain. The hon. Member for Mid-Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) ought to have been able to show, but had not shown, by an elaborate analytical report, that the ingredients used in the brewing of beer which he complained of were distinctly injurious to the public health. Neither had any attempt been made to prove that the repeal of the Malt Tax had an unfavourable effect upon the price of barley. He (Mr. James Howard) contended that the hon. Member was bound to prove the three points he had referred to; happily a large number of analytical chemists existed in the country, and it would therefore have been easy to submit an analysis showing the composition of the articles complained of. With respect to the effect of the repeal upon the price of barley, he had prepared a Return of the average price of malting barley from *The Mark Lane Express* for 21 years past, and he had taken the price on the first Monday in December in each year, a period when the malting trade was at its highest activity. The average price in 1860 was 34*s.* per quarter; in 1865 it was 34*s.*; in 1870, 38*s.* 6*d.*; in 1875, 38*s.*; in 1880, 38*s.* 6*d.*; while in 1881 it was 44*s.*, or 10*s.* a-quarter higher than in 1860. It was true that immediately after the repeal of the Malt Tax there was a considerable decline in the price of barley. He was somewhat astonished and puzzled at that result, and on inquiring the cause of one of the largest maltsters, he was told that it was due solely to the fact that there existed at the time large stocks of malt which had been left over from the previous season, that owing to the depressing effect upon industries of all kinds through the disturbing policy of the late Government the demand for beer had declined, and he also made the remark that, owing to the depression, it was difficult to give malt away. He (Mr. James Howard) then went to one of the largest brewers in England, and asked whether he could corroborate the views of the maltster? He replied that he could to this extent—that brewers could buy malt almost upon their own terms. It appeared to be the fashion of hon. Gentlemen opposite to decry whatever measures the Liberal Government passed for the relief of agriculture, even though they had clamoured for such measures for many years; they had attempted to ridicule the Ground Game Act, and with respect to the Malt Tax, although he could not, as the Prime Minister had done, go back so far as 1830, he could corroborate the statement of the Prime Minister as to the attitude of the Tory Party during later years; whenever a Liberal Government had been in power they had demanded the repeal of the Malt Duty. The Central Chamber of Agriculture, up to 1874, kept alive the agitation year after year; but during the succeeding six years there was a period of quiescence; as soon, however, as the Liberal Party acceded to power the question was revived. He could quote many speeches of hon. Members opposite to show that they had advocated precisely what the Government had done—the transference of the tax from malt to beer. But he would quote one only—a speech by the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Chaplin). In addressing the Lincolnshire Chamber of Agriculture in the Spring of 1880 the hon. Gentleman, after dwelling upon the importance of local taxation reform, referred to the Malt Tax in the following terms:—

> "Then there was that still more indefensible tax which pressed them heavily, and which was such a burden and hindrance to agriculture in many parts of the country—the Malt Tax. It was sufficient to recount the injurious effects of this tax on agriculture to show the enormous injustice which it imposed on the farmer and the producer of barley in England. He had never yet heard any valid reason why half the Malt Tax should not be placed on beer."

He (Mr. James Howard) submitted that no case had been made out for the acceptance of the Amendment; the Proposer had neither proved its necessity, nor, indeed, had he made any attempt to prove it.

SIR BALDWYN LEIGHTON suggested that the Prime Minister should, if not now, at some early period consider the advisability of extending his exemptions in the direction of free brewing. He believed that the present exemption in favour of £10 and £15 houses might be simplified and extended to £20 with but slight loss to the Revenue and great gain to the farmer. The principle of such exemptions in favour of agriculture had already been conceded in the matter of farmers' horses and dogs; and he hoped that, as the farmers were at present very heavily handicapped in the way of taxation, the Prime Minister would carefully consider the proposals of his hon. Friend on the possibility of making the change he had referred to.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, that a great inequality in licences was occasioned to parties holding licences for the sale of spirits by the mode in which the rent of the premises was fixed. Until lately the old valuation was still in force in Scotland, under which the licences of persons selling spirits were charged upon the value of the portion of the premises used for the sale of spirits. But within the last three years the change was made by which the licence was levied upon the value of the whole house, founded on the idea that as the Inhabited House Duty should be upon the whole building under one roof, then that the licence should also follow the charge for the House Duty. No doubt, in most cases, the whole house was often licensed for the sale of spirits; and the duty on the house was the then guide for the Excise to levy the licence duty. In Scotland, in many of the small localities, portions of the house were alone licensed by the magistrates, and kept separate from the inhabited portion; and as the licence was given for the shop, distinct from the dwelling-house, he hoped the Prime Minister would favourably consider a proposal he would bring before the Treasury in the course of a few days, and make the licences applicable to the shop only He merely mentioned this now in order that it should receive attention from the Treasury when he submitted it to them.

Question put.

The House *divided:* — Ayes 125; Noes 52: Majority 73. — (Div. List, No. 300.)

Main Question again proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

NATIONAL EXPENDITURE

OBSERVATIONS.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, he rose to call attention to the expenditure of the country. The expenditure of the current year would be between £84,000,000 and £85,000,000, showing a slight decrease on the preceding year. There were two questions to consider—first, how the present expenditure contrasted with that of the late Government, of which the Liberal Party were always complaining, and on the faith of which they attacked the late Administration; and, next, how much of the present heavy expenditure was necessary for the efficient government of the country? Nothing, in his opinion, contributed so largely to the success of the Liberal cause at the last General Election as the extravagance of the Conservative Government and the constant preaching of economy by the Liberals. They were, therefore, bound in fairness to their opponents and to themselves to justify their position, and they were also bound to ask whether, irrespective of all contrasts with the previous or other Governments, an expenditure of between £84,000,000 and £85,000,000 was absolutely necessary in order to carry on efficiently the Public Business of the State. With reference to the expenditure of the late Government, since the present Session opened, the late Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Stafford Northcote), at a meeting at Liverpool, stated that the expenditure of the year 1882 was higher than the highest sum which had ever been reached by the previous Administration, which was in 1879. He (Mr. H. H. Fowler) ventured shortly afterwards to express some doubts as to the substantial accuracy of the contrast, and the right hon. Gentleman wrote a letter in which he very severely censured the remarks he (Mr. H. H. Fowler) made. That letter having been published in his constituency, he felt it his duty to justify the remarks he made. The statement on which they joined issue was this. The expenditure of 1882 was £85,472,000, and that of 1879 was £85,407,000; therefore, there was an absolute increase of £65,000 for 1882. But a mere statement of these figures was not a statement of the whole case. They had to look into the points which made up the figures, and, in contrasting them, see whether there was or was not a real increase. The expenditure of the country was divided into three branches—expenditure for the Debt, expenditure for carrying on the Public Services, and expenditure for certain Departments of Public Business carried on by the State for the advantage of the State. In 1879, the amount appropriated for Debt was £28,000,000, and in 1882 the amount was £28,900,000. Three weeks before the late Government left Office in 1880, the right hon. Gentleman proposed, and the House adopted, a means for paying off the deficit which had been accumulated during previous years, and which amounted to something like £6,000,000, by the creation of Terminable Annuities, which were to expire in 1885. Therefore the expenditure for Debt in 1879 was £28,000,000, and the expenditure of 1882 included £800,000 additional expenditure for Debt incurred during the Administration of the right hon. Gentleman, and for which the present Administration was in no way responsible. In addition to the £800,000, there was a grant to India of a loan of £2,000,000, which was afterwards made a gift. This made up a total of £990,000 charged as against 1882, but which was not expenditure in 1882, and for which the Administration of that year was in no way responsible. The next item of expenditure of 1882 contained £500,000 voted for the Afghan War. There might be a question whether it was right to put that burden upon the British taxpayers; but there could be no doubt that the extra charge was a direct consequence of the policy of the late Government. This made an extra expenditure in 1882 of £1,500,000, which was chargeable to the Conservative Administration. If the postal and telegraph business carried on by the Government for the benefit of the public was bringing in a larger revenue to the State, it was obvious that there must be a larger cost incurred in the administration of those Departments. Between the years 1879 and 1882 the difference in the cost in the administration of those two Departments was nearly £600,000. His argument was that in the year 1882 there was an expenditure in the aggregate of £2,100,000, for which the present Government were in no way responsible, and on which it was not just to charge them with the increasing expenditure of the country, one portion of it representing expenditure previously incurred, and the other representing business which was a substantial benefit to the country. The result was entirely to refute the assertion made by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) in his usual epigrammatic rhetoric, that the economy of the Liberal Government was more extravagant than the extravagance of the Conservative. Then, with regard to military expenditure, he found that in 1879 the amount was £32,300,000, and in 1882 £28,700,000, being a decrease of £3,500,000. [An hon. MEMBER: That was in time of war.] Yes; but in 1882 the Government had considerable expenditure on account of the Transvaal War. Whether they were right or wrong in the present expenditure they were incurring, he maintained that the Government had done their utmost to reduce the expenditure since they acceded to power, and that there had been a substantial and effective reduction. If they took the gross total irrespective of the Post Office and Telegraphs, it would be found that the gross total was £77,500,000 in 1879, and between £76,000,000 and £77,000,000 in 1882. Coming to the real expenditure of the country, he maintained that the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government had carried out his principle of making the Revenue of the year defray the expenditure of the year. If they contrasted the finance of this country with that of America, which was the popular comparison among the people, he believed we were doing, proportionately, quite as much to decrease Debt in Great Britain as the Americans were in their own country, for though the Americans were raising no less than £13,000,000 yearly, they were raising it by heavy protective duties, which were a present charge on the future productiveness of the industries of the country. Since 1857, the reduction of Debt in this country amounted to £70,000,000, and during the last six years we had paid off £33,000,000 by Terminable Annuities—a large and substantial reduction of Debt, which, having regard to the generally depressed state of trade, he thought that was a result which they were entitled to regard as particularly satisfactory. To be able to make a reduction of between £6,000,000 and £7,000,000 showed undoubtedly a substantial improvement in the financial state of the country. With regard to the general subject of the reduction of expenditure, he wished to point out that it was a thing that was not in the hands of the House, but in those of the Executive Government. Whenever a Member raised a question having in view the reduction of expenditure, it was always seen that the matter was in the hands of the Government; for it ended by being taken to a division, in which it was settled by Government voting. He felt confident of this—that if they were to hope for any considerable reduction of the National Expenditure proposals for the purpose must come from the Executive of the day, who alone could master the Departments, instead of allowing the Departments to master them.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I wish to assure the hon. Member that nothing was further from my intention than to cast any reflection upon him in the expressions which I used, and which I cannot withdraw. The statement which the hon. Member addressed to his constituents appeared to me to be most misleading and inaccurate. I do not intend to impute to him that he intentionally misled; but I do maintain that it was the case with him, as with others, that they have imperfectly examined the facts. The point which I brought forward in my speech at Liverpool I do not apologize for referring to here; because it is part of a great question which has been, and which is, at issue between the two Parties in the country, and which is raised as a burning question—I mean the comparison between the expenditure of the late Government and the expenditure of the present Government. I wish to distinguish, in the first place, between the two different charges made against the late Government in regard to what is called their extravagant expenditure. No doubt, their policy involved a considerable expenditure for certain military services which were undertaken for what were considered adequate objects. It is a question always open for discussion whether those objects were or were not worth the cost incurred. But there is a further charge made against the late Government and one that is made an entirely separate charge; that is, that not only have they involved the country in considerable expenditure by the outlay they made for the purpose of carrying out a particular policy, but that they were an extravagant Government, *per se*, and that in the management of all the expenditure of the country, for which they were responsible, they were extravagant, and spent a great deal more than they need have expended or than a Liberal Government would. That is entirely an inaccurate and a misleading statement. No doubt we had to make provision for very heavy war expenditure in certain quarters. In 1878-9, for instance, we had very large calls upon us in consequence of the preparations we thought it right to make for strengthening the Military and Naval Forces of the Crown; and, of course, when that was at an end, and when you compare a year of peace with a year which was one of great disturbance, and which involved not only those preparations, but involved war in South Africa, of course the comparison must be unfavourable to the year in which the heavier expenditure took place. What I wish to point out is, if you deduct, as the hon. Gentleman proposes to do, from the year 1881-2 all the expenditure which belongs to the policy of the late Administration and all the war charges which devolve upon the present Administration in consequence of the action of their Predecessors, you must, in order to get a fair comparison, make a similar deduction from the year you compare with it, the year 1878-9. If you do that, you will arrive at these results: — The total expenditure of 1877-8 was £82,400,000, of which £3,500,000 was for the Vote of Credit, leaving £78,900,000 as representing the ordinary expenditure of that year. In 1878-9 the expenditure was a little over £85,400,000, of that £4,770,000 was stated at the time to be extraordinary expenditure, which belonged to the war service of the year. Of course, we did not provide for the whole war service of that year, because we threw a part upon Exchequer Bonds, which ultimately were converted into the Annuities to which the hon. Gentleman referred. If you deduct that sum, you will find that the ordinary expenditure for 1878-9 was only £80,630,000. Now, let me compare that with 1881-2. Then the total expenditure was £85,472,000, and of that we were informed, the other day, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the sum for war charges, including the Annuities, the charges for the Transvaal War, and everything of that sort was £3,842,000. If you deduct that from the actual expenditure you find that the ordinary expenditure of 1881-2 was £81,630,000, as against £80,630,000 in 1878-9, showing that the ordinary expenditure, irrespective of the special war charges, had increased by the sum of £1,000,000. If that is the case it disposes of the charge that we were, irrespective of special policy, a more extravagant Government than our Successors have been. I am not now desirous of making any charge against the present Government for the increase of expenditure—there may be a great deal to be said as to the causes for it—but I say it is utterly unfair and misleading to put them forward as though they were a rebuke and a reproach to us, when, in fact, their ordinary expenditure has increased to the extent it has done. I will illustrate this by going a little more into detail. Take the Civil Services, in which we keep clear of war expenditure. The Appropriation Accounts show that in 1878-9 the Civil Services cost £14,886,000; in 1879-80, £15,148,000; and in 1880-1, £15,436,000. These were the three years for which we were responsible. In 1881-2 they spring to £16,087,000; and in the present year, I think, they are estimated at £16,502,000, and a Supplementary Estimate is already announced of £500,000. All this, irrespective of the expenditure which will be caused by the Egyptian troubles, or anything else of that sort. Take the Revenue Services. In 1878-9 the charge was £8,000,000; in 1879-80 it was £8,116,000; in 1880-1 it was £8,158,000. In 1881-2, the first year of our Successors, it was £8,392,000; and in the present year it is £8,790,000. But it is said by the hon. Gentleman that this increase is incurred by the process of carrying on a profitable business, and that if you increase the business you carry on by the Postal and Telegraph Services, you must expect an increase of expenditure to carry them on. But I meet the hon. Gentleman even on that point. It is quite correct that there has been an increase of Revenue, and that that may be, to a certain extent, set-off against an increase of expenditure; but the fact is that the excess of Revenue from the Postal and Telegraph Services over the expenditure upon the Services has not been increasing, but has been falling off of late. While the Government have had an increasing expenditure, they have been receiving a less proportionate income from those sources. In 1880-1, the charge for the Post Office and Packet Services was £4,130,000, and the receipts were £6,700,000. In 1881-2, the charge was £4,247,000, and the receipts were only £7,000,000. The surplus in the first of these years was £2,570,000; in the next £2,753,000; and now it is but £2,697,000. In respect of the Telegraph Service the surplus of receipts over expenditure was in 1880-1 £390,000; in 1881-2 £344,000; and this year it will be £215,000. Therefore, if we take the trouble to look at the figures, it is seen to be fallacious to regard the increase of expenditure as accounted for by the growth of Departments and accompanied by increase of Revenue. There was a glimpse of the truth in the Budget speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer when he remarked upon the increasing expenditure upon the Revenue Departments. He said, with a sigh, that his Predecessors did contrive somehow to keep down these charges upon the Post Office and other Services, and that the present Government did not find the means of doing the same thing. It is a very difficult thing, no doubt; and my right hon. Friend who sits near me (Mr. W. H. Smith), as Secretary to the Treasury, and others who followed him in that Office, have the credit of what was done; and I will appeal to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to say whether their administration of those Departments was not as sound and economical as, and even more successful than, his own? I have gone into these particulars because I think it is not right that the country should be under an extremely false impression with regard to the relative economy of the two Governments, when you are dealing with matters that are *in pari materiâ*, and the country should be made aware that, to a great extent, increase of expenditure is unavoidable, and is the natural growth of circumstances. The present Government is ready to call attention to circumstances which cause increase of expenditure, like the taking of the Census; but when we are in a similar position, we are always told that if there is an increase in one direction, we ought to cut down in another. I do not know how far it is always possible; but it is not what is done by the present Government. I have shown that the ordinary expenditure, which in 1878-9 was £80,630,000, had grown last year to £81,630,000; but what is it to be this year? The hon. Gentleman opposite, in his answer to me, said he would wait for the Budget speech. I do not know how far he is satisfied with what he heard. By the same method of computation I have pursued, the ordinary expenditure of this year will be £83,869,000, which is an enormous increase, demanding the attention of the House and of the country. I am sorry to have to go into details of this kind; but it is necessary we should endeavour to make Gentlemen look a little more closely into the figures they use. One would expect the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) to be particularly careful and accurate; but it seems as if he thought the first stick he could seize was good enough to beat me with. I will give an instance of one of his errors; it was this—In the statement I made as to the expenditure of the year 1880-1, I said that I left the expenditure at an estimated amount of so much; that my right hon. Successor had added to that to the amount of about £1,300,000, and that subsequently the expenditure had risen in the way I described. The hon. Gentleman takes up my allusion to the addition of about £1,000,000 of further charges in 1880-1, which I had not challenged, and says I omitted to say that those further charges represented the cost of the repeal of the Malt Tax. Of course I omitted to say that, because they did nothing of the sort. The repeal of the Malt Tax had no more to do with them than the repeal of the Corn Laws. The hon. Gentleman said the repeal of the Malt Tax cost £1,319,000, and I daresay it did; indeed, I know that was the cost of the operation; but that came out of the Excise revenue in the shape of drawback. It meant so much less Revenue received, not so much for expenditure incurred; and that is an admirable illustration of the way in which these amateur financiers, not intentionally, mislead the people. Now, I hope there will be no particular feeling on the part of the hon. Gentleman towards myself, because we are perfectly prepared to discuss any questions of this sort, and it is to the interest of the truth that this discussion should take place. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the beginning of his Budget Statement, made an observation germane to the matter about which we have been talking, when he said that this is a time of growing expenditure and sluggish Revenue. I am afraid that is true. It is one of the difficulties with which we have had to contend for some years past. No doubt for the last seven or eight years the Revenue has been sluggish, and it is a fact that we can lament over, but which we are powerless to check. Now, the Chancellor of the Exchequer made one observation on the expenditure of last year, which I think requires to be noticed and corrected. He said that the estimated expenditure for the year 1881-2 being £86,191,000, and the actual expenditure £85,472,000, the latter fell short of the Estimate by £719,000. That is the sort of statement which sounds extremely well if it is really a comparison of the expenditure of the year with the Estimates the Chancellor of the Exchequer formed at the beginning of the year; but that is not the case in the present instance. The Budget Estimate of expenditure for the year 1881-2 was only £84,805,000; and, therefore, as the actual expenditure of the year was £85,471,000, we find that it exceeds the Budget Estimates by £666,000. The other Estimates, which brought the total for the year to £86,191,000, were Estimates presented later in the year. I was always very severely taken to task, and told that I must not compare the actual expenditure with the Estimates of the whole year, including Supplementary Estimates, but must compare the Budget Estimates, and if we do that we obtain much less satisfactory results than we otherwise should in this case. This is important, because it shows that we are not yet sure how far we are out of the wood in the present year; and that when we are told in the present year that we are to provide for an estimated expenditure of £84,630,000, or, if certain allowances are made, of £85,430,000, it is by no means sure that this will be the total amount to be provided for—of course, without reference to the extraordinary circumstances that have occurred and rendered necessary an alteration of the Income Tax. I should like to make one remark on the alteration of the principle of bringing in the Miscellaneous Receipts in order to reduce the amount of the Estimate. The hon. Member for Wolverhampton told us just now that we had to provide for an expenditure of between £84,000,000 and £85,000,000. The amount is, in point of fact, now put at £84,630,000, and the result mentioned by the hon. Member is obtained by placing the sum of £800,000, which would have been expenditure under the old system of accounting, as a deduction from the expenditure. Consequently, if we add to the Estimate the amount of the difference in the old way the Estimate would be £85,439,000, or between £85,000,000 and £86,000,000. The new method may be a very convenient way of keeping accounts; but it tends to relax the vigilance of Parliament when you have this system of receipts in aid being brought into the Budget. I should like to know the reason for this change, and whether it presents any counterbalancing advantages for what appears to be a decided disadvantage. Of course, there are various points that I noticed for comment at the time when the Budget was before us. But in the circumstances of the year we have gone so far from that time that I should hardly feel justified in troubling the Committee at any length upon them. I wish now to know what is the prospect we have before us with respect to the year as we now find it? We used to hear of the inconvenience of having more than one Financial Statement in the year, and it was said that such things ought never to happen. [Mr. Gladstone: Who said that?] If the right hon. Gentleman does not know, I will not attempt to tell him. But I remember expressions, which I do not mean at all to borrow, as to the inconvenience of having more Budget Statements than one in the same year. Well, we have a second Budget brought forward, and I do not for a moment complain of it; but I sometimes think the same measures might have been meted out to us as the Government now receives. We are really anxious to know what the calculations of the Government are with regard to this alteration of the Income Tax; and I hope we shall be told also how far, according to the progress of the year, they are able to estimate their ordinary expenditure, and especially how far it is likely to be kept within the limit fixed in the Budget in April. We feel that the circumstances in which we stand are peculiar, and we shall listen with gratitude to any explanations.

Mr. MONK said, he had refrained from placing any Motion on the Paper, partly in deference to what he believed to be the wish of the Prime Minister, and partly because he did not propose to call in question any of the financial arrangements for the present year; but he was under the necessity of trespassing for a few minutes upon the attention of the House, in order to call attention to a subject intimately connected with the Budget, and which was of the deepest interest to the commercial community. He must remind the House that although there was no question of a reduction of the Wine Duties at present, yet that subject had occupied the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer on many occasions; while the recent failure of Treaty negotiations with Spain had brought the subject prominently before the country. At the same time, he had no desire to force the hand of the Prime Minister, or to take any step which might tend to fetter his discretion, when the proper time for action arrived. He wished, therefore, to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he would take that opportunity of replying to the Memorial placed in his hands about a month ago by himself and other Members of Parliament with respect to our commercial relations with Spain? The result of the failure of the negotiations for a Treaty of Commerce with that country had been to place this country under the General Tariff, which was absolutely prohibitive. Spain for many years had a feeling that this country had not behaved in as liberal a manner towards her as it had towards other countries. When his right hon. Friend was in Office in 1869 there was a Free Trade Ministry in Spain, which made great efforts to introduce Free Trade doctrines. Their object was to reduce all the duties to a maximum of 15 per cent. Unfortunately, that policy was suspended, but it had never been abandoned. Under the Act passed by the Cortes in the present Session steps had been taken to reduce the duties to that maximum. But we were absolutely precluded from the benefit of such a reduction, until we had entered into a Treaty with that country. It was believed in Spain that a very small reduction in our wine duties would cause an enormous increase in the import of Spanish wine into this country, and he thought that was true. There was a very strong conviction among many that our trade with Spain must come to an end unless a Treaty was made with that country. A very favourable Treaty had been negotiated between France and Spain; but it was no longer possible for us to send our products into Spain through any other country, because it was necessary to state whence the products originally came. The latest Returns relating to the export trade of Spain showed that no less than 60 per cent of all the exports from that country came to Great Britain in spite of all difficulties. He hoped his right hon. Friend would give some assurance that negotiations would be opened with Spain as soon as an opportunity arose, because, as he had already said, unless this country had a Treaty with Spain, it must remain under the General Tariff, which was prohibitive, and would not receive any benefit from the law recently passed "for the removal of the Suspension of the Fifth Base," so called in reference to the fifth section of the law of 1869, which contained the fifth basis of the proposed reforms and reductions, the first of which was about to come into force on the 1st of August, 1882, and the last on the 1st of July, 1892.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GLADSTONE): Sir, I am anxious to follow the speech of the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down without any delay, because I confess I have very great doubts as to the effect which a speech of such a kind will produce upon our commercial relations with Spain. As I understand my hon. Friend, he recommends when another country chooses to adopt the most exceptionally unfriendly measures towards the trade of this country that it is to be almost encouraged to persevere in those measures by showing that, in consequence of them, we must make haste to alter our fiscal arrangements, or else the full effect of those unfriendly measures will fail. Before I accede to that doctrine, I must ask myself what would be its effect upon all the countries of the world. It would be to hold out to them a premium for treating us in an unfriendly manner, and saying to them—"You have only to make your tariff sufficiently hostile to British goods, and you can produce any effect you please upon the internal fiscal arrangements of the United Kingdom." My hon. Friend invites me to enter on a question which is to me a most painful one, painful because I believe the trade of England is likely to suffer in that particular from the conduct of Spain; but painful on still higher grounds. It has been my duty in Office and out of Office, for the last 40 years of my life, to watch the proceedings of foreign countries in their commercial relations to this country, and I have never known any proceedings approaching the character of those recently taken by Spain. I am very loth to censure them. Spain has a perfect right to do what she pleases; but I hope speeches will not be made in this House which will appear to imply on the part of Gentlemen sitting here, and connected with the trade and commerce of the country, that these things are viewed by us as matters of course—as matters of which we have no right to complain, and that the only question is how soon we are to meet them by endeavouring to buy them off. I must place upon record my conviction that this is a year marked by proceedings in a foreign country, and that foreign country, Spain, for which I know no precedent in its bearings upon the commercial interests of this country. [Mr. MONK: Hear, hear!] I am glad that my hon. Friend agrees with me in that. It would be quite a mistake, therefore, if anybody supposed from his speech that he would give any encouragement to such proceedings. With respect to the question of the wine duties, and the complaint the Representatives of Spain make against this country, their complaint comes to this—they do not think that our scale of wine duties is sufficiently favourable to Spain. But, at any rate, it is favourable enough for this—that under the operation of that scale the imports of wine from Spain have enormously increased, and for that increase it is proposed to repay us by enacting a tariff against us which my hon. Friend says is likely to extinguish the British export trade to Spain. That is the encouraging state of relations in which we are to show some readiness to alter our wine duties to meet the wishes of that country. I am very sorry, Sir, to say this; but as the question has been introduced I really do not think I could say less in justice to the interests of my country and to the principles which I hope will always inspire its legislation. Having said that I will say also that I entirely adhere to the opinions I expressed in 1880, and that I should be extremely glad when, not for the purpose of compensating a country for its unfriendly proceedings, I should find myself in a position, if I should be Finance Minister, or when my Successor should find himself in a position, to deal further with the wine duties of this country in the way of reduction. I regard that as a question which has serious claims upon the attention of the Government; and if we can get our expenditure a little more within bounds, and our revenue less sluggish, I hope that our wishes may be realized in that important matter. I will now, Sir, come to the statements, as far as I am concerned, of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, and notice the points raised in them. The right hon. Gentleman opposite asked whether I considered that the ordinary receipts and expenditure of this country would balance themselves in comparison with the Estimates which have been submitted. I should have answered that question with great confidence had it not been for the constant emerging of new and rather important civil expenditure in connection with the state of Ireland. It has been the view of the Government that considerable sacrifice ought to be made for the purpose of facilitating the working of the recent measures, and that the expenditure of £100,000 or £200,000 in the year ought not to be allowed to influence us in such a way as to place serious barriers against the access of the people to the Land Court. One imperative and urgent consideration has been that connected with the state of the country, and with the monstrous amount to which the charge for police in Ireland is now raised—one of the most grievous burdens, taken in all its particulars, that I have ever known imposed upon the people of this country. I estimated at £500,000 the extra civil charge imposed upon the people of this country by the recent condition of Ireland; but that is possibly a low estimate, and the matter is one of those which have disturbed my view of the possible relations of the ultimate ordinary Expenditure of the year to the Estimate submitted at the time of the Budget. With respect to the general balance of the year, as the right hon. Gentleman has very fairly admitted, we have passed into a state of things that is exceptional. The right hon. Gentleman appears to think that I have in former times indulged in the practice of objecting, irrespectively of circumstances, to a re-adjustment of the amount presented at the ordinary period of the Financial Statement of the year. If I have done so—which I do not believe has been the case—I have done what is extremely wrong. When circumstances of war arise, or other very great circumstances of disturbance not due to the arbitrary action of the Executive, it is most absurd to suppose that the accounts submitted to Parliament at one period of the year are to be considered as binding the Government and binding

Parliament for the whole year. What I do object to is that the statements made to Parliament at the period of the Financial Statement should be wantonly or unnecessarily disturbed, and if I have ever taken an objection it has been when I thought they were thus wantonly or unnecessarily disturbed. But what I wish to do is this—to impress deeply upon the minds of those who listen to me that the entire efficiency of Parliamentary control depends upon a steady maintenance of the principle that once a-year our accounts are to be adjusted. If accounts are to be adjusted at irregular times and with uncertain balances, Parliamentary control will be at an end. This is one of the great misfortunes of a series of war expenditure. A new set of considerations is introduced into the financial position of the year, and the year becomes an exceptional year. What is to be feared is that these exceptional years should by degrees become the general rule, and I wish to record my conviction that the House ought to be carefully upon its guard against any tendency in that direction. With respect to the actual balance of the coming year, I believe I have already stated as much as I can now state at the time when I made my Financial Statement. We arrived at a Budget Surplus of £305,000, to which I now have to add £2,262,000 for the Income Tax, making £2,567,000 in all. Of course, that is not a normal expenditure, nor can I prepare a normal account in the present uncertainty of the matters before us; but I should not have thought I was justified, when asking the House to make so large a provision towards the military charge in Egypt, in asking it likewise to disturb the trade with carriages in this country for the purpose of obtaining £250,000 that the new rate would probably have been found to yield. I have taken, of course, this into view, that the provision we are now about to make of £2,262,000 from Income Tax is not the entire provision which our measure will bring into the Exchequer; but that there will be a further sum of £565,000, taken, I think, at a very moderate estimate, which will, in virtue of the present law, come into the Exchequer, although not until after the 31st day of March. I think, with regard to war charges of this kind, the reasonable proposal is that we should provide for them as far as we can, and invite Parliament to make a large immediate effort for the purpose. There is nothing more dangerous than to bring forward heavy war charges and asking the House to postpone providing for them. I do not say everything should be provided at the moment, and we shall be fortunate if this provision covers all that the operations in Egypt may involve; but, at all events, we ask you to make a large and immediate effort to cover, so far as we are able to judge, the expense that we are about to incur. The right hon. Gentleman asks for an explanation of the change in the method of account for receipts in aid. He has pointed out an objection to the change which I am not inclined to question. On the other hand, I think he is familiar with the argument for the change. The argument for the change is a practical argument connected with the actual amount of expenditure. The argument against the change is in one sense a practical argument, as it relates to the supervision of finance by this House; but in another sense it is rather a speculative argument. The practical argument for the change is merely this—that the exertions made for economy in public Departments are greater when the Department itself is allowed to take credit for its economies than when those economies are carried to another head of account. It is for the House to judge whether that is a sufficient argument. I am inclined to think that it is so, and the Committee on Public Accounts have also inclined to approve the change which has been made. I now come to the controversial portion of this subject, which the right hon. Gentleman has treated in a spirit as little polemical as possible. The right hon. Gentleman has done two things, with regard to one of which I am inclined to accede to the claim which he makes, while, with regard to the other, I am inclined most resolutely to dispute it. The right hon. Gentleman distinguishes between the extraordinary charges entailed by our policy and the ordinary expenditure of the country; and he proceeds to complain that their opponents have not always observed this distinction, and have complained that throughout the Departments a lax administration prevailed. I must say that if that has been the case, the opponents of the late Government have been far from being justified in making that charge. I have myself, when in Opposition, tried to do credit to particular Departments and persons for their endeavours, and particularly to the right hon. Gentleman the late First Lord of the Admiralty, for his endeavours to carry economy in detail into the ordinary public administration; and this is a matter of great consequence, because, unquestionably, much of what is to be realized in the way of public economy depends upon attention in detail to secondary and minor charges as well as to greater questions. I believe the right hon. Gentleman is perfectly justified in referring to the Post Office as a Department in which great care was taken by the late Government in economical administration. He has pointed out a great diminution in the present quarter in the estimated net increase from telegraphs; but he is, no doubt, aware that it is mainly owing to the excessive, the quite irresistible pressure of the persons employed in that Department for an improvement in the emolument that they receive. However, no accusation is actually made, and it is not necessary for me to defend what has been done further than to say that I regard the financial administration of the Post Office under the late Government as an example which the present Government ought to be very glad to follow; and I am not aware, as far as I am concerned myself, of ever having adduced a charge of universal laxity or extravagance against the late Government. If we come to compare these things it is a comparison of detail, in which probably no satisfying result can be attained except it be made very searching and complete. There are some things in connection with which we might, perhaps, compare favourably with the acts and intentions of our Predecessors. For example, I think we have wisely and judiciously adopted plans which will result in a large saving in connection with the Mint. In regard to the matter referred to by the hon. Member for Chelsea (Mr. Firth), whom I do not now see in his place, we have been able to effect a saving to the public of from £250,000 to £500,000. But I do not wish to stand on this or on that point in these matters, which do not contain any just result, except by the most searching examination, which it is not possible now to make. I agree with the right hon. Gentleman that it would be very unfair to say that in all branches of the public expenditure a system of laxity pervaded the actions of the late Government. Therefore, I admit there is a distinction to begin with between the ordinary and extraordinary expenditure of the late Government. When we come to the latter expenditure, then I am sorry that I am obliged to join issue with the right hon. Gentleman, who seems to think that because that expenditure was connected with policy he is in no way specially responsible for it. [Sir Stafford Northcote: I never said so.] No; perhaps not; but that was the amount of his claim. I am ready to make this admission—that the late Parliament were ready to spend more than the Government required. Whatever they asked for was granted, and they might have had double if they had liked. The right hon. Gentleman, by his gesture, implies that we are in the same position. I will show him that he is in the wrong. There are on record in every Session most important cases in which in this House, we, although enjoying the confidence of the large majority, yet have been beaten in this House on questions of great importance and difficulty; one case occurred even in the last three weeks. Is there any parallel for that in the late Parliament? No, Sir; not from the beginning to the end was there a single instance where that faithful majority rebelled or refused to obey those instruments of government by which they were kept in such admirable order and discipline. Therefore, I entirely dispute and repudiate the parallel which the right hon. Gentleman by his gesture suggests. But the country took the matter into its own hands, and pronounced its opinion; and now, while I quite admitted, and always urged in those Mid Lothian speeches, which are so frequently the subject of reference in this House by hon. Gentlemen who never read them—who are far too wise to read them—I said that the responsibility which rested in the first instance on the Government has been taken by Parliament. It is right that the majority, and the Members of that majority, collectively and individually, should look into these questions. But, then, the claim of the right hon. Gentleman which surprises me is this—that it was Lord Beaconsfield, in this House, in one of his many sententious declarations—a class of declarations for which he had an innate faculty—who laid it down that expenditure depends on policy. In the main, I believe that is true. We have no longer men of the calibre and policy of Joseph Hume who go through their work without reward and probably without gratitude as he did. But in the main, no doubt, it is policy which governs expenditure. But the right hon. Gentleman makes this extraordinary claim. He says—"I quite agree that in the estimate of expenditure of the present year you may be justified in deducting that portion of the year which is due to the acts of a former Administration"—such, for example, as the £1,200,000 or £1,300,000 which we have to pay on account of the £6,000,000 Vote of Credit. So far, all is well. But what does he append to that? He says he is also justified in deducting them from his total of expenditure for his own years. I really can hardly express the astonishment with which I view that proposition. He has injured our years and laid on them a very heavy burden, and yet he says that he is entitled to deduct the amount from his own years. It is like this. Supposing that I am a gross and irreclaimable spendthrift and I get heavily indebted to a tradesman. The tradesman says he has suffered a heavy loss from my having had dealings with him. According to the comparison of the right hon. Gentleman, I should have a perfectly good answer to the tradesman if I were to say—"My dear Sir, it is quite true that you have been heavily injured by me, but I have injured myself just as much. Therefore, we are entitled to set off the one against the other." A more portentous or extraordinary claim was never advanced by the right hon. Gentleman. Sir, with regard to the finance of the country, I am very far from being satisfied with the economy with which expenditure is being conducted. I am very far from presenting myself in this place to claim any credit from Parliament for what I have been able to do in this respect. I think, for one thing, I am bound to say it requires a younger man than I am, and one with greater force, to withstand the pressure that comes in from every side, in order to face the task of such a difficulty. But I have the greatest doubts whether any Executive Government will be able to produce the changes which I think ought to be proposed in the public expenditure. There was one thing which was referred to by my hon. Friend the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler). He spoke of the Departments as being the cause of serious extravagance in expenditure. But it is not the Civil or Permanent Departments which are open to that charge. I myself must bear my testimony to this. As a general rule, they have laboured manfully, honestly, and perseveringly to maintain economy in the Services which they govern. I would remind the hon. Gentleman that hardly a week passes without Questions being put in this House directly tending to weaken their hands and to increase public charges in every branch of the Public Service. And if it were possible for this House to adopt a Rule which forbade Questions of that kind, as regards the emoluments of public officers, I do not hesitate to say that it would have a most beneficial effect in point of economy in the future administration of the country. I do not wish to introduce polemical matters into this debate. I have made the admission that expenditure is, to a certain extent, dependent on policy, and that I am not satisfied with the Liberal finance of the country. As to our relative finance, I think we show pretty well. I am bound to say it was a happy time for the country when there was no polemical relation between Parties in relation to public economy. For the first 20 years of my life that was so. But those days have gone by. In those days the Tory Party was undoubtedly the more strict of the two in relation to sound financial economy. As regards the question of maintaining a due relation between public income and charge, the Conservative Government of Sir Robert Peel undoubtedly excelled the Liberal Government of Lord Melbourne. In regard to that item of sound financial administration—namely, the keeping down of the public charge, the two Parties vied with each other in that most zealous and honourable service to the country. As regards these questions, I do not know whether I ought to enter upon them; probably it is better not to do so. I am prepared to contend that a just balance has been maintained between public charge and expenditure by the Liberal Party of late years, and that they have come nearer the true standard than the Conservative Party. I refrain from details in this matter. I have endeavoured to make the right hon. Gentleman see clearly my position in regard to his argument. For my part, I am very glad, even in the present pressure of Business, that these challenges should be passing backward and forward between the two sides of the House, for they keep alive the public mind on that subject, which otherwise would be likely to fall away from it. I hope that we may more zealously vie with one another in endeavouring to keep down public charges. There were Conservative Governments, those of 1852 and 1858, for instance, which showed no disposition whatever to augment the public charge by a great extension of establishments, or by a policy which tended only to lay heavy burdens on the country. In 1866 the change first became evident. Since that time those who carefully examine the figures of the case will find that though there has been a steady tendency to increase in the Expenditure of the country, yet that tendency on the average of years has been comparatively slight when Liberal Governments have been in Office, and has been multiplied many-fold when Governments have been in Office from the Party opposite. Again, with respect to the action as to the public Debt, which I, for one, hold to be a vital part of sound financial policy, I will not say that that action has been what it ought to have been under any Administration. Yet it has been less unsatisfactory when Liberal Governments have been in Office. When I say this it is not for the sake of getting credit, because I admit that I do not claim credit for the present state of the finances of the country. But I do wish to inspire hon. Gentlemen opposite—I hope they do not think it impertinent—with a sense of the great importance of a return to the old state of their Party with regard to economy in the Public Service, and I am sure in making that recommendation I am consulting their own interests—though I am not doing it on that account—but it will greatly tend to their own interests as a Party, and to the welfare of the whole community, if they will emulate the Conservatives of 30 or 40 years ago, both in their care for minute economy—in which I fully admit they retain their desire to serve the public—and likewise in their disposition to shun those ambitious and needless acts of public policy by which they have recently added so much to the burdens of the country.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH said, that that was the first occasion on which the right hon. Gentleman had made anything like an appeal to the House on the subject of economy, or proposed to proceed in the direction which they had a right to expect him to follow. The right hon. Gentleman had treated the Conservative Party with great injustice on the charge of extravagance. The Conservative Party were quite as anxious for economy as those who sat on the opposite side of the House. He rose to ask for some explanation as to the sums of £250,000 and £150,000 which were to be received from Natal and the Cape respectively. The latter amount was to be received by monthly instalments of £50,000 each in June, July, and August of this year. He wished to know whether those payments were being or would be made? With respect to Natal, he believed the original claim was for about £1,000,000; but it had been "whittled" away to £250,000, which the Natal Government had managed by means of a loan to discharge. He had been greatly alarmed by the excessive expenditure of the present Government. The policy of despatching troops from India was in flagrant contradiction of the former conduct of the Ministry. He could only suppose that the charge imposed on this country on account of the expenses of the Afghan War was intended by way of punishment to the country for having sanctioned that war. He would add a word with respect to the new system of accounts under the head of Extra Receipts, which the present Government had introduced, and which almost amounted to a system of cooking the accounts. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had admitted that he had failed properly to control the expenditure of the Admiralty and the War Office; and the new system was introduced, he supposed, to effect an apparent economy. It might be good banking, but, as it struck him, from a Treasury point of view, it was very bad finance.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND said, he ventured, as a Member of the Public Accounts Committee, to trouble the House with a very few remarks upon the question, referred to by previous speakers, of the expenditure by the Naval and Military Departments of sums formerly paid into the Exchequer as Extra Receipts. He was afraid that neither the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) nor the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Hants (Mr. Sclater-Booth) had read the Third Report of the Public Accounts' Committee of 1881, which approved of a scheme prepared by the Treasury for giving effect to this change. In truth, this important subject had been for a long time under the consideration of the Treasury and of the Departments, and had been brought under the notice of Public Accounts Committees for several years. Those Committees had constantly pressed the Treasury to frame and introduce some scheme of reform in a system which was admittedly imperfect. Last year a scheme was brought before the Public Accounts Committee, which had received the general approval of the present Secretary of State for War (Mr. Childers), and of the late First Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. W. H. Smith), and of other persons most competent to form an opinion upon the vexed question. The Committee took further evidence, including that of the Comptroller and Auditor General, who was, as the House would remember, the officer appointed by the Exchequer and Audit Act to examine, on behalf of Parliament, the accounts of the different Departments. That officer also reported generally in favour of the scheme, with a certain modification, which the Committee adopted, and embodied in their Report. The Committee, after full and careful inquiry, approved of the Treasury plan, which had now been put in force. The right hon. Gentleman who last spoke was, therefore, not justified in treating this change as one made by the present Government for the purpose of diminishing their Estimates, nor, as he seemed to think it, as a cooking of the accounts. The change was made after an exhaustive examination extending over many years. He (Sir Henry Holland) would point out that Parliament would have as full means as before of controlling the accounts and checking any errors. The Appropriation Accounts would afford a comparison between—(1) The gross estimated expenditure with the actual gross expenditure; (2) the estimated receipts with the actual receipts; and (3) the net estimated expenditure with the net actual expenditure. Thus the whole expenditure of the two Departments, and the whole receipts, would be before them. The limitation or modification of the original scheme, to which he (Sir Henry Holland) had before referred as accepted by the Committee, secured that, should there be an excess of receipts beyond the aggregate amount estimated, such excess should be paid into the Exchequer. Whether this change of system would work well it was impossible as yet to say; but in a few years this point would be decided, and the scheme could then, if necessary, be given up or modified. But the Public Accounts Committee believed that the change would really effect an improvement; and he (Sir Henry Holland) saw no reason to doubt the correctness of that view.

MR. ECROYD, who had given Notice of the following Amendment:—

> "That Customs Duties ought to be imposed upon manufactured articles of a luxurious character imported from Foreign Countries, in order to render possible a reduction of the Duties now levied upon tea, coffee, cocoa, and dried fruits, which are articles of necessity for all classes,"

said, it was not his intention to propose the Resolution; but he would offer a few words to show that the importance of the questions raised by it became greater every day. They were becoming more and more dependent upon the Income Tax for the large sums required to be raised from time to time for extraordinary charges which came upon the country unexpectedly. He was not at all disposed to interfere with the Income Tax as applied to incomes derived from property; but there was a large class enjoying precarious incomes, dependent upon the continuance of their health and strength, who would severely feel the pressure of the extra 3*d.* in the pound to be charged in the next half-year. A great fine was imposed on the breakfast table of all ranks by the imposition of taxes on such articles as tea and coffee, which were, moreover, to a considerable extent, produced in India. If these taxes were abolished, and taxes imposed instead on such articles of luxury as furs, feathers, and Parisian finery, a great act of justice would be done, not only to the poorer classes of this country, but also to the inhabitants of our great Indian Dependency. Under the extraordinary circumstances which had entirely changed the fiscal aspect of the present year, this question could not be taken up now; but he hoped that it would be raised and effectively dealt with another year.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, a more vicious system never existed than the mode in which Extra Receipts had been dealt with. These Extra Receipts were derived from the sale of stores belonging to the Department which had paid for the stores, and almost entirely realized from the sale of stores of the Army and Navy; and, instead of being allowed to the Department where the money accrued, the Civil Departments took possession of the money, and actually credited the sums as if derived from the Civil Services, thus destroying all inducements to the Admiralty and War Office to practise economy in the sale of old stores. He could state several instances where the Treasury had interfered with the War Office in utilizing old stores, by insisting on these sales in order to obtain the funds by which to swell the receipts of the Civil Votes. Under the new arrangements, he hoped strict economy and watchfulness would be observed in dealing with stores; and he thought it would be wise to provide for an audit of the expenditure and receipts in respect of stores. Now that the values of old stores are to be credited to the Army and Naval Services, it would be seen that the Civil Service expenditure had increased far more in proportion than the Naval and Military expenditure. The Treasury had no useful control over the accounts in this Department; and he urged that it was desirable that there should be a check placed on the accounts, and that an improvement in them should be effected.

Mr. HICKS said, one expression of opinion had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer in which he could not agree, and on which he begged to offer a few remarks. The right hon. Gentleman, in announcing the withdrawal of the increased duty on carriages, claimed credit for the soundness of his policy, and said that, if carried out, it would have realized the estimated sum. The right hon. Gentleman had been spoken of as a great Finance Minister; if so, it was the more surprising that he should have made such an assertion, which was in opposition to the experience of former years. In 1840 the Whigs, being then in Office and short of money, put on an additional 10 per cent on the assessed taxes. At that time the assessed taxes, instead of being paid in the middle of the year, were not paid till about eight months after the expiration of the year during which the articles had been kept, and so the first year there was no escape, and the taxes produced £305,000 increase, or £30,000 more than the Estimate; the second year they only produced about 5 per cent increase, instead of 10 per cent; and the third year only £38,000, or less than the natural increase from growth of population. Now, during this time the right hon. Gentleman was in Office, and must have known this. Then, at the time of the Crimean War, being again in Office, with a different Party, he carried a large increase of the Malt Tax; and the result was that the quantity malted fell from about 6,000,000 quarters to 5,500,000 the first year, and to 5,000,000 in the second, or, at least, 16 per cent. How, then, the right hon. Gentleman could make such a statement certainly was a surprise to him. If the additional tax had been tried, he had a strong impression that in two years, instead of producing 50 per cent, it would not produce 1 per cent.

Mr. RITCHIE said, it was satisfactory to have learned from the best possible authority—namely, the Chancellor of the Exchequer—that he did not agree either in the criticism or the charge that the late Conservative Government had been guilty of extravagance in either the normal or abnormal expenditure of the country. He contended that the Leader of the Opposition was justified in making the deductions he did in order to compare the normal expenditure of different years. The expenditure of this year promised to exceed that of 1880 by £3,600,000. Of this, nearly £500,000 was for the Army, and £300,000 for the Navy; but the largest expense was in the Civil Service, which would show an increase of £1,178,000. The Conservatives had no reason to be ashamed of the ordinary Estimates of 1880 as compared with those of the present Government. He feared that at the end of this year there would be a deficit instead of a surplus.

MR. COURTNEY said, no doubt there was constant danger in the increase of the Civil Service Estimates; and he hoped the Government would always have the assistance of the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ritchie) in keeping them down. As to the suggestion of the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd), that we should revert to the system of raising a large sum by import duties upon luxuries, the true answer to all suggestions of that sort was that they defeated their own end, and you could not raise a large revenue by such imposts. The only argument he had heard for a reversal of the financial policy of the Government was the contention that it was unjust to lay the whole burden of the new charge on the Income Taxpayers. Perhaps some would think there was force in the criticism; but the answer to the objection was that, taking the financial system of the country as a whole, the Income Taxpayers were not more hardly dealt with than the other classes of the community. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Sclater-Booth) had asked whether the war contribution of £150,000 promised by the Government of the Cape had yet been received? He had to say, in reply, that the first two instalments of this sum had been paid, and the third was not yet due. They had as yet received no sum from Natal; but the Government there must raise a loan very soon, out of which they should make the repayment in question. There was no intention to give a Government guarantee upon that loan.

MR. R. N. FOWLER said, he hoped that before his next Budget the Chancellor of the Exchequer would give his attention to the mode in which the foreign wine duties in this country were imposed, as the alcoholic test operated unfairly on our Colonies, particularly the Cape, which was a wine-producing country.

SIR BALDWYN LEIGHTON thought that the Government had not made out a very clear case for their intention of charging the Income Taxpayers with the whole of the additional fund to be raised. He was aware of the desirability of defraying the annual expenses from the annual income; but it was possible to push that principle to an extreme and inconvenient length.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, that what the hon. Gentleman opposite had said of the results of the taxation of luxuries was not consistent with the fact that up to the year 1861 the taxes on articles of luxury brought in an annual sum of £16,000,000.

MR. W. H. LEATHAM said, he would not detain the House more than two minutes; but he wanted to draw the attention of the House to the way the Expenditure of the country had increased since 1869. He felt much obliged to the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) for drawing the attention of the House to this subject earlier in the debate. He found that the Expenditure of the country, in round figures, in 1869 was £68,000,000—this increased gradually to £71,000,000 in 1873. Now, in 1874, the Expenditure was £72,000,000, and this gradually increased to £81,000,000 in 1879. Now, the right hon. Gentleman the Premier made the Expenditure of 1880, £81,000,000, and that of 1882 had risen to £84,000,000; to this they had to add the War Tax. Now, that sum seemed very large to people in the country; but he was very glad to hear that the right hon. Gentleman would take it into his serious consideration. He was aware that it was permanently increasing by certain taxes which were added by the late Government, and taken from local taxation about £2,000,000; and he did not object to these taxes being so added as charges upon the Treasury. And then there was a large increase in the educational grant annually made; but the amount was now so large altogether, that he hoped, before the next Budget was brought in, some mode of reducing it might be devised. It was in the hands of the right hon. Gentleman, and could not be in better hands.

MR. BIGGAR said, that the taxation of luxuries could not be supposed to be absolutely unproductive or wholly wrong in principle. As long as the French imposed an import duty on British manufactures there could be no reason why French produce, such as silk, should be treated by us more generously. He thought the Income Tax was the best mode of raising money for the military proceedings in Egypt; and that Irish spirits were unfairly taxed as compared with beer and wine.

Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Import duties on tea).

MR. MACFARLANE said, he wished to raise a question as to the levying of the tea duty, and it appeared to him that the proper place to raise it was upon this clause. He had had a Motion upon the Paper in regard to the matter for some time; but he had had no opportunity of bringing it forward. He, therefore, proposed to discuss it now. Its object was to call upon the Government to take into consideration the propriety of effecting a reduction of the tea duties. He had heard the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister state that day that he hoped in a short time some Chancellor of the Exchequer, if not himself (Mr. Gladstone), would find himself in a condition to reduce the import duties upon wine. Now, he (Mr. Macfarlane) trusted that no Chancellor of the Exchequer would think of reducing the duties upon wine until something had been done to diminish the tea duties. On the contrary, he should be glad even to see the wine duties increased for the purpose of supplying any deficiency which might be occasioned in the Revenue by the reduction of the duties upon tea and other articles which entered into more general consumption.

It being ten minutes before Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to report Progress; Committee to sit again *this day.*

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES) BILL.—[BILL 21.]

(*Mr. Attorney General, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Solicitor General.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Order for resuming the consideration of this Bill in Committee be discharged."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he was sorry the Government was obliged to withdraw the Bill, which had been looked forward to with interest by the country. He begged to thank the Attorney General for the Amendments he had put on the Paper, and for the way in which he had conducted the measure. The Amendments which the hon. and learned Gentleman had put upon the Paper were an indication that he was disposed to entertain favourably Amendments by other Members. He hoped another Bill would be introduced next Session, and that the Amendments, of which Notice had been given, would be carefully considered in the interval.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he fully recognized the fairness of the opposition given to the Bill. A small class of Members were sincerely opposed to it, and a second class, while not opposed to it, desired to be present when the Bill was under discussion. The Prime Minister and himself had been very desirous of accommodating both classes. He assured the right hon. Gentleman that he should be perfectly willing to accept the experience and views of others. He had learnt much from the Amendments which had been placed upon the Paper; and, having accepted some of them, he promised that he would employ the time which might fall to him until the Bill was again introduced in considering how it might be improved.

Motion *agreed to.*

Order for Committee *discharged.*

Bill *withdrawn.*

The House suspended its Sitting at five minutes to Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its sitting at Nine of the clock.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

MALTA—ADMINSTRATIVE REFORMS —BRITISH RULE.—RESOLUTION.

MR. ANDERSON, in rising to move the Resolution of which he had given Notice, said, it was not his intention to detain the House at any great length upon this question, at so late a period of the Session; but he considered it was a subject of great urgency and interest to one of our dependencies, the dependency of Malta. Our Maltese fellow-subjects had always been remarkable for their devotion to us, and yet we had done very little to encourage them. The Maltese were not a conquered people; they asked to come under the protection of England about 80 years ago; but, notwithstanding that, we had done almost nothing during that lapse of years to conciliate their devotion and loyalty; and whilst we had been neglecting them, other people had been cultivating them, until we found an Italian party had grown up in the Island, who desired them to throw off their allegiance to this country and join Italy. Our misgovernment in Malta was gradually creating a small Ireland in the Mediterranean, and it was long periods and slow processes of misgovernment which was the way that Irelands were created. That had been going on in Malta for a considerable number of years, and was still going on, and it was time there was a change in the management and government of that place. Certainly, England had given Malta a Legislative Council; but it was less than half elective, and the minority was elected by so small a constituency that it did not fairly represent the people of the island. The franchise in itself was not very narrow, if it were not for a bar that was put upon it in the shape of a language test, because no Maltese was allowed to have the franchise unless he could speak a language other than his own—either Italian or English. It was just the same as if they said that no Welshman should be allowed to vote if he could not speak any other language than Welsh. The result of that language test was that there were only about 2,000 voters out of 150,000 people. Naturally, under such circumstances, the financial arrangements of the country were in a bad state, because the system of taxation was one for the relief of the rich, and thus pressed heavily upon the poor. One-half of the taxation was levied upon bread, and as it was evident that a poor man and his family consumed more bread than the family of the rich man—the rich man having other and better diet—the poor man was not only taxed beyond his means, but paid a far greater share of the taxes than his rich neighbours. But as the question of the taxation of bread had been brought before the House on several occasions, he would not now go further into that question. Then, again, the English language had been discouraged. Sir Adrian Dingli had practically governed the Island for 35 years, a man of great ability, but with Italian proclivities, and he had put Italians in all the public offices until the Italian language was becoming the language of the place more than the Arabic. Therefore it was high time something was done for fostering the English language. At the present date they were absolutely accustomed to treat the Italian language as the superior one; and even the Government Ordinances were printed in Italian, to which was appended an English translation, in place of their being printed in English with an Italian translation. Such action as that had the effect of making the people believe that the Italian was really the superior language. Under those circumstances, there was a growing discontent in Malta. The right hon. Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) when in Office was alive to that. He thoroughly understood Malta, and promised reforms; but before they could be entered upon the present Government came into Office. The Maltese had hoped great things from a Liberal Government; they thought that a Tory Government would only give them reforms grudgingly, while a Liberal Government would do it cordially; but, in place of reform, they found the new Government was rather reactionary in its character. A Petition had come from Malta in 1879, signed by 9,000 people; but, finding nothing was being done, a second Petition and an Address were sent in 1880, but the reply sent by Lord Kimberley in August, 1880, created a most painful impression among the friends of England; it was most discouraging, telling the Maltese in plain words they were nobody and nothing, that the fortress was everything, and the welfare of the people was of little consequence indeed. That was the spirit, not, of course, the words, in which the despatch was written, and that spirit had continued until quite recently, and the discontent continued. The right hon. Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire when in Office was so satisfied that reforms were needed that he sent out Mr. Rowsell, Sir Penrose Julyan, and Mr. Keenan as successive Commissioners, all three reporting in favour of very great reforms in the administration; but those reforms, so far, had never been carried out. The Maltese, however, believed that if the late Government had remained in power they would have been carried out. Consequently, they were disappointed with the present Government for not carrying them out. The only reform given of any importance was in 1881, when Her Majesty's Government appointed an Executive Council to assist the Government; but in place of being a reform it made matters worse, because the wrong men were appointed. It consisted of Sir A. Borton, the Governor, General Fielding, the Second in Command, Sir Victor Houlton, the Chief Secretary, and Signor Carboni, the Crown Advocate. The Governor, to keep things pleasant, left the civil administration alone, and his second in command assisted him in doing so; thus the civil administration of the Island was left in the hands of the Chief Secretary and the Crown Advocate—men who were known absolutely to hate all reforms, and yet they were put there to administer and carry out the reforms recommended by the three Commissioners. The result was that either no reforms were carried out, or small reforms were carried out in such a way that it was admitted they entirely disgusted the people with the idea of reforms. Her Majesty's Government were entirely to blame for that, because they knew the character of the men who formed this Executive Council. They knew they were not friendly to reforms, therefore the reforms never would and never could be properly carried out. It was the business of the Government either to put better men in their places, or to strengthen the Executive Council by appointing men who were known to be imbued with a reforming spirit. At present, all those in the Island, known to be in favour of reform were looked upon with an unfriendly eye; and, as proof of that, he might remind the House that at the time Mr. Rowsell reported in favour of the abolition of the Bread Tax the better classes got up riots against him; and the instigator of the riots, a man of the name of Gatt, had been made the chief of the Government printing office, so that he had been rewarded in place of having been punished. That office, he might also say, was a great abuse, and was one of the things the Commissioners recommended the abolition of. Under these circumstances, discontent was growing, and everyone of position and independence of character shunned the Legislative Council, six of the Members the other day having threatened to send in their resignations in consequence of the desires of the Maltese people being entirely neglected. In fact, matters had gone so far that the Maltese the other day elected a man known to be utterly unfit for the post, simply as a snub to Sir Victor Houlton, because Sir Victor Houlton had set up one of his own nominees. The only thing that had been done to give the Maltese encouragement was the despatch recently sent out under the auspices of the hon. Member who represented the Colonial Government in that House; and he sincerely hoped that would not give rise to hopes that were again to be disappointed, and that the reforms hinted at would be carried out, so that the discontent might be put an end to. What should be done was to supersede Sir Victor Houlton and appoint a friend of the people and of reform in his place. It would be still more agreeable to the Maltese if, on the next vacancy, they would appoint a Civil instead of a Military Governor. In the second place, the Executive Council should be strengthened by some new men, as there were good men in Malta who, if appointed, would make the Council cease to be the utter farce that it was at present. In the third place, the Bread Tax should be abolished. Then the language test for the franchise should be abolished; and though it would give the franchise to many uneducated men, they should remember their own experience was that there was no such educator as the franchise. There ought also to be municipal institutions, which should levy a police tax to make the burden of taxation fall more equally, and the Government Ordinances ought invariably to be printed in English with an Italian translation. Lastly, as there had been great abuses in dealing with public property, a Commission ought to be appointed to inquire into that, and see how many officials and the friends of officials had purchased or obtained leases of public property at very insufficient prices; and in future it should be an ordinance that no lease should be given and no sale made of public property except by public auction. He would not now go further into the question, as he had told the House what he thought ought to be done; and he hoped the Colonial Under Secretary would be able to tell them that some of these reforms would be made before next Session, otherwise it would be necessary for him to bring the matter again before the House in a stronger form.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "it is the opinion of this House that the long tried loyalty of the people of Malta to British rule deserves more consideration than it has received; that the several reports of Mr. Rowsell, Sir Penrose Julyan, and Mr. Keenan, as well as the numerously signed Petitions of the people, prove that great changes in the civil administration of the island are urgently required, and that Her Majesty's Government ought to be doing more than they have been doing to carry out the needed reforms, and so to promote the prosperity and secure the contentment of the Maltese people,"—(*Mr. Anderson,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY said, that his hon. Friend had set a very good example by recognizing the fact that time was very valuable to the House of Commons at this late period of the Session, and by confining his remarks accordingly within a small compass. He should try to imitate his hon. Friend's example and be as brief as possible. He congratulated the hon. Member on the fact that he showed symptoms of extreme youth—in other words, the disposition of very young people to have everything which they desired done at once, and to think that they obtained nothing if they did not obtain all. He admitted that for a considerale number of years little or nothing had been done in Malta; but he could not agree with his hon. Friend that nothing had been done since the initiation of the first inquiry by Mr. Rowsell into Maltese affairs. Efforts had been made for the improvement of the state of things in Malta both by the present and by the late Government; but the great difficulty that had to be contended with had lain in the constitution of the Legislative Council of Malta. The hon. Member was right when he said that the franchise was too limited, and that the Members of the Council represented but a very small class of the population. All efforts at reform had been thwarted by the Council. The Colonial Office was so thoroughly convinced of that fact that they had determined that the Legislative Council should be placed upon a more liberal basis; and, accordingly, they had prepared a measure for that purpose; but they had thought it right that, before enlarging the franchise, they should submit to the Council the measure they proposed in order that the Council might express an opinion upon it. The difficulty in a proper constitution of the basis of the franchise was the education test difficulty. He would now refer to the Reports of Mr. Rowsell, Sir Penrose Julyan, and Mr. Keenan, in order to show what had been done and what had not been done. As to the question of the abolition of the duty on wheat, dealt with in Mr. Rowsell's Report, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), in his despatch of the 4th of May, 1878, adopted a proposal for a remission of half the duty. But on the 14th of May an anti-repeal demonstration was got up in support of the elected Members, which ended by breaking the windows of Dr. Savona's house, where Mr. Rowsell was staying. The question came on again in April, 1879, when the proposal for a remission was again opposed by the elected Members. Then came the General Election of 1880, and the new Council met in December of that year. On the 12th of February, 1881, Lord Kimberley wrote to the Governor of Malta, expressing his concurrence in his predecessor's views about the remission of half the Wheat Duty; and he directed the Govenor to propose a Resolution affirming generally the expediency of reducing the Grain Tax. Again the Legislative Members came forward, and gave notice of their opposition; but there was no discussion, and the matter stood thus—that in April of last year Lord Kimberley sent a despatch expressing his regret that opportunity of argument had not been afforded, and requesting that the Government would consider what would be the best time for bringing forward the subject again. So that the failure of the objects his hon. Friend desired was entirely due to the action of the Legislative Council. Then, Sir Penrose Julyan made those elaborate Reports to which his hon. Friend had referred. He recommended that the office of Treasurer should be abolished, and that a Registrar General should be appointed with his seat in the Council. Another recommendation was that the Public Works Department should be placed on a proper footing. This was done by the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach). Another recommendation was that in the Customs Department fractional duties on dutiable goods should be abolished. This was not done on account of the opposition of the elected Members. Then there were further recommendations, among others with reference to the marine police, police and prisons, the printing office—which was about to be abolished—the Post Office—the reforms in which had been ordered and would benefit the Island to the extent of £2,000 a-year—the Public Registry, and the Law Courts, the amalgamation of the clerks of various offices into one establishment, the discontinuance of transport allowances, and the revision of the Civil List. A great deal had been done in the way of carrying out the recommendations in Sir Penrose Julyan's Report. With regard to Mr. Keenan's Report, he would state what had been done since that Report had been received. Mr. Savona had been appointed Director of Education, and Dr. Carnana, Secretary and Principal of the University. Then, in 1881, the question of improvements in the Education Department was brought before the Legislative Council, and a Select Committee was appointed to consider the subject. The scheme involved an expenditure of £4,000, and it was consequently resisted by the local Government. But Lord Kimberley was bent upon its being carried out, and there was reason to hope that a satisfactory change would be made. The moral to be drawn from all this was that patience was necessary. Malta was a very peculiar place. There was a large and ignorant population, governed by a small class, and that class were naturally indisposed to reform. Things, therefore, had to be done slowly. The question of a civilian Governor was, no doubt, a burning one. There was, however, something to be said on both sides, and he was not at present in a position to say that the Colonial Office had resolved upon a change. He could assure the House that the interests of the people of Malta would be carefully studied. He could not accept the Resolution of the hon. Member for Glasgow, because it was not in accordance with the facts of the case; but he accepted his speech as a support to the Colonial Office in the task it had to perform, which was to carry out all necessary reforms in Malta, and to foster and strengthen the loyalty of the people.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND said, he desired to say a few words on this subject, as he had, during several years' service in the Colonial Office, to consider many of the questions raised by the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson). He thought the statement of the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies was most satisfactory, and that the House would agree that not only the late Government, to whose exertions the Under Secretary had rendered full justice, but also the present Government, had done good work towards improving the condition of Malta. He (Sir Henry Holland) trusted that the hon. Member for Glasgow would not press his Motion to a division, as it was impossible, even for those who desired to see further improvements effected, to vote for a Resolution which practically condemned the Government for inaction. He did not desire to detain the House, and he would, therefore, only refer to one or two of the points which the hon. Member for Glasgow said that the Maltese desired to see carried out. In the first place, they were anxious that Sir Victor Houlton should be removed. Now, it might be admitted that a younger and more active man would be more efficient as Colonial Secretary, and it was not unnatural that the Maltese should press for a change; but he wished to point out that Sir Victor Houlton had served the country well for many years, and such services should not be overlooked when the question of retirement was considered. In the second place, they wished to have a Civil instead of a Military Governor. Now, this had been, as the Under Secretary justly said, a "burning question" at the Colonial Office for many years. Looking to the peculiar position and conditions of Malta, the question was by no means free from difficulty. From the Colonial Office point of view it might be considered that a Civil Governor would be preferable; but the decision did not rest with that Department, and the War Office naturally inclined to a Military Governor, Upon the whole, he (Sir Henry Holland) doubted whether this point could be usefully pressed by the Colonists. Then as to the Executive Council. If the hon. Member for Glasgow wished to see elected Members on that Council, he (Sir Henry Holland) could not agree in that view. The proper constitution of Executive Councils had often been considered by the Colonial Office; but it might be taken as finally decided that, except, perhaps, in some very special case, an Executive Council should be entirely composed of officials with whom the Governor could advise confidentially. Whether the best officials were on the Executive Council at Malta, which seemed to be doubted by the hon. Member for Glasgow, he (Sir Henry Holland) did not presume to say, as he was not acquainted with the facts. But, in truth, at the bottom of the whole subject lay the great question whether the franchise should be enlarged, even at the risk of some uneducated persons becoming voters. Upon this point he concurred substantially in the view of the hon. Member for Glasgow. The elected Members had, beyond doubt, set themselves against proposed improvements; and it did seem desirable that Members should be chosen under an enlarged franchise, who were more alive to the wants of the poorer classes, and more ready to assist in social reforms. But as it appeared, from what the Under Secretary of State said, that the Government had set to work to effect this reform, and were prepared to press it on, he must again express his hope that the hon. Member would not trouble the House to go to a division.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF remarked, that the difficulties of the Governorship had been increased by the fact that latterly an unfortunate choice had been made of a Civil Governor, he being either a military man, between whom and the Military Governor jealousies arose, or a civilian of extreme views. It would be impracticable to make the faculty of speaking Italian a qualification for electoral rights. The language of Malta was not Italian, but a dialect of Arabic, and not more than one man in five knew Italian.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Main Question again proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

THE BANKRUPTCY ACT, 1869.

OBSERVATIONS.

MR. GREGORY, who had given Notice that he would call attention to the Bankruptcy Act of 1869, and the Rules made under it; and to move—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, many of the complaints with respect to the present administration of the Law might be removed by alterations of such Rules,"

said, there were many grievances which the commercial community complained of with regard to the Act of 1869, which some simple alterations of the rules would easily obviate. The first of these complaints was that the trustee in bankruptcy was not bound to give security, as he ought to do, under the Act of 1869. Secondly, no proper provision was made for the costs and charges of the trustees. Thirdly, there was no rule with regard to the collection of the sums of moneys remaining in the hands of trustees. Fourthly, there was the abuse of proxies. Now, all these things would be easily removed if the Act of 1869 were carried out in the spirit; but, unfortunately, that had not been done. With respect to the security that would be taken from the trustee, that was a most important matter. Trustees could not always be relied upon; and, therefore, a provision of this kind was absolutely necessary. It was a fact that in all cases where a receiver under the Court of Chancery was appointed security was given as a matter of course. Indeed, the Act of 1869 provided that security should be taken from trustees in all cases; but it so happened that, by the rules made under that Act, the want of security on the part of the trustee did not invalidate his appointment, so that, although the Act expressly provided for security, the rules went in a contrary direction. The consequence was that the giving of security was utterly neglected. Trustee after trustee was appointed without any compliance with the provisions of the Act. Again, with respect to the costs and charges of the trustee, there was no control so far as he knew. The Act contemplated the taxation of all costs and charges; but, as a matter of fact, the rule provided for the taxation of all parties with the exception of the trustee. As regards the case of proxies, he considered that a very grave matter. At the present time a bankrupt gathered the proxies, or they were gathered for him, so that the meeting was ruled by him, and the independent creditor was absolutely swamped at every stage of the proceedings. In this respect also the spirit of the Act was defeated by the rule. Again, instead of proxies being confined to their proper destination and applied for the purpose originally intended, the person from whom the proxy happened to be secured found that it applied to all the proceedings under the bankruptcy, and that, consequently, he was absolutely excluded from any further part in the transactions, and was committed hand and foot to the person to whom he gave the proxy. That also was done in accordance with the rule, and not in accordance with the Act. With regard, again, to the assets, the Act of 1869 provided for the collection of estates in the hands of trustees in bankruptcy; but, unfortunately, no rules had been made applicable to trustees under liquidation. It was well said that all the rubbish went into bankruptcy, and all the profit into liquidation; and the consequence was that a large amount of property was now in the hands of trustees under liquidation which could not be recovered. The Act of 1869 provided that all estates not applied or distributed within five years should be vested in the Crown. That would be the case where the rules had been made as in the case of bankruptcy; but, unfortunately, no rules, as he had said, had been made applicable to liquidation, and consequently those sums were still outstanding, and had not been carried over to the Crown. He would not object to those sums going over to the Crown by the Act of 1869, because the Crown had power, which it would, no doubt, exercise, to distribute them upon application. What he complained of was that those estates had been outstanding for years and years in the hands of persons who were no more entitled to them than he was. By that means the creditors were defrauded of money to an enormous extent. There was another point he would like to refer to—namely, the mode of dealing with creditors holding security. What he would venture to ask was that the Scotch system, which was a much more equitable one than the English, should be adopted. That system provided that the creditor holding the security should be able to dispose of it, and that the trustees should have the option of taking it up at its value. If the trustees did not take it up, the creditor held the security and made what he could out of it, and was not, as in England, barred from proving until he had given up his security. That, in his opinion, was an equitable arrangement. He had no desire to detain the House at any length, his object was to put those points before the Government, so that when they proposed to amend the Bankruptcy Act they should proceed on the lines which he had just indicated. In default of their being able to close, it was in the power of the Lord Chancellor to so alter the rules as to obviate a great deal of the injustice that now existed, which was sorely felt by the commercial classes. It was the rules that caused the friction; and these, he contended, should be altered. He trusted that his suggestions would receive the favourable consideration of the Government, and that a remedy would be found for the grievances to which he had the honour of calling the attention of the House.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, he quite agreed with the hon. Member as to the abuses that existed under the present bankruptcy system. Those abuses had been forcibly exposed by the President of the Board of Trade last Session. He (the Solicitor General) assured the hon. Member that had the exigencies of Public Business not prevented it, the matter would have been dealt with during the present Session in a Bill which had been prepared. That Bill dealt with the whole of the abuses that had unexpectedly arisen in the administration of the Act of 1869. The theory of that Act was that the creditors would look after their own interests; but the vast majority of estates were administered under the Liquidation Clauses, and by professional men, and not by the creditors. In this respect the Act of 1869 had failed. He did not, however, think that the bulk of the existing abuses could be remedied by a mere alteration of the rules, as suggested. He thought something more was needed if the system was to be made satisfactory; but he quite admitted that if it were not possible to carry a Bankruptcy Act dealing with the whole question, it was worthy of consideration as to whether some of the details to which attention had been called might not be attended to, pending the passing of a comprehensive measure. He assured the hon. Gentleman that the subject would receive the attention which its importance demanded.

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) £29,105, to complete the sum for the House of Lords Offices.

(2.) £36,461, to complete the sum for the House of Commons Offices.

(3.) £35,653, to complete the sum for the Treasury.

(4.) £62,234, to complete the sum for the Home Office.

(5.) £46,847, to complete the sum for the Foreign Office.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND said, that the original Estimate for Telegrams in the Estimates of last year was £7,000. He observed that the same sum was put down for 1882-3; but he reminded the Committee that the amount was nearly doubled for last year in the Supplementary Estimates, where it was set down at £13,400. Now, he thought the Committee would agree that it was not desirable when the Estimate had been very largely exceeded in one year to put down the same amount for the year following, unless the circumstances of the case had very materially changed. The large increase last year was accounted for by the fact that, at that time, Europe was in a disturbed state, and this country had in consequence to communicate constantly with five foreign capitals. But it seemed to him that this year Europe could hardly be said to be in a very quiet state, and certainly within the last few weeks communications had had to be carried on with at least five capitals, if not more. He should, therefore, be glad to know why the sum of £7,000 had been put down in this Estimate, seeing that the same troubled state of things existed in Europe now as existed last year? Then there was a point also raised last year with regard to the custom of sending formal telegrams on any change of Government to all the officials connected with the Foreign Office. He again called attention to this subject, because the Under Secretary of State had undertaken that this custom should cease, and his object was to ascertain whether any steps had been taken to put an end to these useless telegrams which caused great expense? Finally, he asked whether any advance had been made in the direction of shortening the telegraphic messages?—a subject which it was also promised last year should receive the attention of the Under Secretary.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer had taken into consideration the expediency of paying the attachés in the Diplomatic Service from the time of their appointments? These gentleman had to go through a competitive examination, and then continue for two years without any salary at all. He was aware that it was a very hard matter to get anything out of the right hon. Gentleman; but the case of the diplomatic attachés was one that he thought deserved to be taken into favourable consideration for the reasons stated.

MR. COURTNEY said, it was impossible to forecast with accuracy the amount that would have to be paid for telegraphic messages in the course of the year. He agreed that this form of expenditure ought to be very closely watched, and that it should be kept down by the Departments to as low an amount as possible. But it was an item of extreme variability, as would be seen from the following figures which related to several years' expenditure under this head. In the year 1874-5 the total amount spent on telegrams was £2,200; in 1876-7 the amount was £11,700; in 1877-8 it was £5,800; and in 1880-1 the total charge amounted to £20,000; and, as his hon. Friend opposite had pointed out, it amounted to £14,000 for last year. The sum of £7,000 represented the average charge for a certain number of preceding years, and that was why this amount appeared in the Estimates for 1882-3. But it was impossible to anticipate the course of events in the Mediterranean, and he was afraid that the Estimate of the current year would have to be exceeded. He repeated, that pressure was being put upon the Departments to keep the expenditure within the lowest possible limits.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND reminded the Secretary to the Treasury that he had not replied to the question as to the shortening of the telegrams.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he could assure the hon. Baronet that he felt very much indebted to him for having drawn attention to the expenditure under this head. It was scarcely necessary to add that he fully concurred in the desirability of reducing the charge by shortening the telegrams. The Foreign Office had adopted certain measures with the object of bringing about that result; but, although some of the messages were undoubtedly of unnecessary length, the hon. Gentleman must say that there were many cases in which it was almost impossible to abridge them. The question raised by the hon. Gentleman should certainly be kept in view; and he trusted that the steps already taken by the Foreign Office would be satisfactory in their result.

Vote *agreed to.*

(6.) £25,220, to complete the sum for the Colonial Office.

(7.) £20,438, to complete the sum for the Privy Council Office.

(8.) £1,855, to complete the sum for the Privy Seal Office.

(9.) £116,270, to complete the sum for the Board of Trade.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, the Public Accounts Committee had, last year, to deal with a considerable deficit in connection with this Department, arising out of the law charges. It was suggested that this might be avoided by putting pressure on some of the accountants to make earlier returns of the actual law costs incurred, and also earlier returns of the estimated law costs. He trusted the Financial Secretary would turn his attention to this subject, and put pressure on the Board of Trade Department, in order that the suggestion of the Public Accounts Committee to the above effect might be carried out.

Mr. MOORE said, he wished to draw attention to the large and increasing importation into the country of spurious butter, which was now, and had been for some time, seriously prejudicing the agricultural interest. He had brought this subject already under the notice of the House, and had urged upon the President of the Board of Trade the desirability of his gaining some control over the Board of Customs, which would result in the Customs Returns giving further particulars in regard to the large importation of oil and lard, under which designations this spurious butter was introduced. These articles, which were made up into spurious butter in the United States and in Holland, were exported to this country in very large quantities, where they were entered under the designations he had referred to. It was not his purpose at that moment to go into the question as to whether or not they were fit for human food. He believed, however, they were, in the condition in which they arrived here, for the most part unwholesome, although they were not in all cases to be objected to. But his contention was, that the agriculturist—the butter producer in this country—and the public had a right to the fullest possible information on this subject. The Customs Returns did not give any indication of the enormous importation of spurious butter that was taking place, and he repeated that the public was entitled to know exactly what it was that came in under these designations of oil and lard. Millions of pounds of spurious butter arrived here in the course of the year, and all trace of it was lost by the Customs Returns being made up in the manner he had described—that was to say, by manufactured butter being entered as oil and lard. It was known that steamer after steamer from Holland brought the substance in question to this country packed in oil-casks, in order to facilitate its passing the Customs. Again, the difficulty of getting at the actual facts with regard to spurious butter was increased by the absence from the Customs Returns of the names of the ports of shipment. The result of all this was that deleterious substances found their way into the English markets, and were there sold in a way that constituted a gross fraud on the consumer as butter. When he brought this question forward last year, the President of the Board of Trade was good enough to say that he fully appreciated the force of the arguments put forward, and that, although the Board of Customs were a body very difficult to move, he would endeavour to have the Returns made up so as to show distinctly the quantity of so-called butter imported, and where it came from. Now, he would like to know whether the Board of Customs had refused to do this; if so, whether the Board of Trade had any authority to require the Returns to be furnished in a form that would supply the desired information; and whether any further steps would be taken by the Board of Trade to obtain it?

MR. COURTNEY said, he regretted that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade was not in his place to answer the questions of the hon. Member who had just addressed the Committee. He would, however, take note of the point of the hon. Member's remarks, which he understood to be simply that he desired to have it stated in the Returns what was the exact nature of the substances imported into the country under the heads of "Oil" and "Lard."

MR. MOORE said, he would repeat his questions on Report. The right hon. Gentleman had said very truly that there was no desire to stop the importation of the articles in question, which, as he (Mr. Moore) believed, largely consisted of wholesome fat. The object he had in view was to ascertain exactly what it was and where it came from, so that some check might be placed on the sale of it as butter.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, it was noticeable that the law charges in this Department showed a considerable increase in amount over the Estimates of former years. He had on previous occasions drawn attention to the form in which this and other charges were presented in the Estimates, as affording no materials for criticism or means of exercising proper control over the various branches of Public Expenditure. The item of £18,300 under the head of Law Charges in the Legal Branch of the Department was an instance of this. To criticize that item as it stood on the Paper could have no practical or useful result whatever. There were no details, and, consequently, no opportunity of examination or comparison; in short, the information conveyed by the Estimate was nothing more than that a certain amount of money had been spent in law charges. With such a system of accounting it was difficult to see what control the Departments could have over their own expenditure; while, as he had shown, any useful criticism of the charges when the Estimates came forward was rendered impossible. He had succeeded in getting some improvements introduced into the Scotch Estimates, and one was now able to obtain something like a clear idea of the expenditure that was going on; but, with regard to the English Estimates, the matter remained as before —in a state of obscurity. Under the circumstances, he ventured again to submit to the hon. Gentleman in charge of the Estimates that which he had urged year after year on the attention of the Government—namely, that the whole of the expenditure now dispersed over the Estimates should be brought together with full details, and under different heads, in one general statement—the only form of accounts that afforded the means of examining, comparing, and controlling expenditure.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND regretted that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade was not present to give the Committee some assurance that a better supervision would be exercised over the law charges incurred by the Department. There had been an increase of expenditure under this head in almost every case. This pointed to the necessity of exercising great care and attention at the time the law charges were being incurred, because, after that, there was no option but to pay the bills. The amount incurred by the Board of Trade for law expenses, which were, to a considerable extent, the result of carelessness on the part of officials, was very large; and, therefore, he would impress upon the Financial Secretary that the strictest supervision should be exercised over the expenses in connection with public inquiries at the time when that supervision could be of any use.

MR. COURTNEY said, he failed to see that the form of accounts advocated by the hon. and gallant Gentleman (General Sir George Balfour) would lead to the reduction of expenditure. As far as he was able to understand the proposal, it was that the charges for all the Departments should be collected under one head.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, that was not his point. He desired to see in one statement, but placed under separate headings, the whole of the sums now dispersed over the Estimates.

Mr. COURTNEY said, he understood his hon. and gallant Friend to mean by that the collection together of all the Estimates for Law Charges. But he again pointed out that this would afford no means of controlling the amount of expenditure under that head. It seemed to him that greater pressure would be exercised over the Department by making the Board of Trade responsible for so much money under the head of Law Charges, than by merely collecting together in one item the expenses of the year. The Estimate, in its present form, seemed to bring home to the Department their responsibility for the expenditure incurred in the most direct manner. With regard to the increase in the Charge for law expenses, he would mention that a considerable proportion of this was the result of an action for damages in consequence of the Department having arrested a vessel as unseaworthy which was held not to have been in that condition. The owners of the ship having brought their action for the wrongful arrest of the vessel, obtained a verdict against Mr. Farrar. But this was a matter over which the Board of Trade had no control whatever, because if a person were wronged by the action of the Department, he had a right to have that wrong rectified, if necessary, in a Court of Law. On the other hand, he quite admitted the desirability of such supervision being exercised over the action of the officers of the Department as would prevent, as far as possible, the recurrence of mistakes of the kind mentioned.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, the hon. Gentleman still appeared to misapprehend his point. He was not disputing the charge for law expenses. As he had already shown, the Estimate, in its present form, gave no information upon which any useful criticism of the item could be founded. His contention was, that if the House of Commons wished to get control over the financial Estimates, and to exercise it with advantage, they must have before them at one view—in one general statement—the detailed expenditure of all the law charges for the whole Kingdom, classified under several heads, and divided between the respective Departments, all items being fully stated, so that the mode of expending, and to whom paid, should be clearly set forth, so that any abuse might be seen at a glance, and thus practically exercise a powerful preventive check over improper outlay.

Mr. MOORE said, he was glad to see that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade had taken his place on the Treasury Bench; and he would now venture to ask him whether any steps had been taken by the Board of Trade with reference to the importation of certain substances, to which the right hon. Gentleman's attention had been called when the present Vote was before the Committee last year? The right hon. Gentleman would probably recollect that upon the occasion referred to he led the Committee to understand that he would endeavour to move the Board of Customs to furnish Returns of the substitutes for butter which were imported into the country under the designations of oil, lard, and so forth. He would like to know how far the negotiations with the Board of Trade had proceeded in the direction indicated?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, he had, in accordance with the promise made last year to the hon. Member for Clonmel, referred the question of the improved classification of imports to a Departmental Committee, which was still sitting for the purpose of considering that and other subjects. The Report of that Committee had not been finally decided upon; but he believed it would be found practicable to make the distinction in the Returns which his hon. Friend wished for—that was to say, that all the imports of butter-substitutes should be distinguished from the imports of butter proper. He hoped, also, that the same result might be obtained with regard to cheese. Of course, he did not wish to be understood to pledge himself positively; but, as far as he could see, it would be possible to obtain the classification which his hon. Friend desired.

Mr. BUXTON said, he observed, under the head of Law Charges, an item of £500 for expenses under the Crown Lands Act, 1866 (29 & 30 *Vict.* c. 62) (Foreshores), and he wished to know whether the right hon. Gentleman could state, for the information of the Committee, if any extra expense would be incurred this year in connection with the

Channel Tunnel? He was not certain that the expense with regard to the Channel Tunnel came under this particular Vote; but seeing the item of charge he had alluded to, he thought the question might with propriety be raised upon this branch of the Estimates.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, at the commencement of the year it was not contemplated that there would be any expenditure in connection with the Channel Tunnel; but circumstances had since arisen that rendered it necessary for the Department to apply to a Court of Justice. Some expense might, in consequence of this, fall upon the Department; but he had no reason for assuming that the present Estimate would be exceeded.

MR. BIGGAR said, he desired to call attention very strongly to the growing evil of adulteration in the articles of butter and cheese. Although the question was one of extreme importance to the great bulk of the people of the country, yet the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade appeared to think it a very small matter whether or not the unfortunate inhabitants of large towns and cities who bought in the shops should pay the price of butter and get in return an article that was not butter and not worth more than two-thirds of the money they paid. He had listened with interest to the remarks of the hon. Member for Clonmel (Mr. Moore) with reference to the manner in which the spurious butter imported into the couutry was dealt with in the Returns of the Board of Customs, and he was bound to say that he believed the hon. Member's intentions would not be fulfilled by the mere classification of the substances in the manner indicated. The impossibility of distinguishing the deleterious from the genuine article would remain even if the suggestion of the hon. Member were fully carried out. His own opinion was that the Government ought to insist that where pure butter was imported, it should bear some distinguishing mark to show that it was genuine; and, on the other hand, that where a substance purporting to be butter, but which was not butter at all, was imported, this also should bear a mark to show what it really was. These adulterated articles, it was well known, were sold to people over the counter by shopkeepers, who, as a rule, did not commit themselves to any statement that they were selling genuine butter. Nevertheless, the consumer, as the right hon. Gentleman would be aware, was grossly imposed upon. They knew that when the retailer was detected in selling a purchaser an adulterated article as pure butter, he could, by the existing law, be taken before a magistrate and fined for the offence; but he pointed out that the wholesale manufacturer, who sold the adulterated article in large quantities, did not suffer the slightest inconvenience in consequence. Now, as butter was one of the most important articles of trade in the country, one would have thought the Government, and particularly the Department presided over by the right hon. Gentleman, would have given great attention to this question of adulterated and spurious imports; but it seemed to him, from the manner the subject had been dealt with, that the Government had really become the patrons of adulteration. They appeared to think it a good joke to foist upon the public, as butter, lard valued at, say, 63*s.* a cwt., or about two-thirds the value of butter. But the result of this was, besides the imposition put upon the consumer, that the sale of the genuine butters produced by English and Irish farmers was prejudiced in the market; they were exposed to unfair competition, and it became increasingly difficult for the manufacturers to keep up the quality of their goods. He could assure the Committee that not one-tenth of the substances sold as butter was butter at all. Moreover, a large number of persons who were able to judge for themselves had ceased altogether to buy the articles offered to them, and in this way again the action of persons who simply wanted a genuine article for their money depreciated the value of English and Irish butter. For these reasons he contended that some check ought to be placed on the importation of deleterious articles manufactured in other countries to the prejudice of English and Irish farmers; and he trusted that the whole subject would receive the serious consideration of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade.

LORD ELCHO said, he wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade whether he considered it possible to draw a distinction between imports that were genuine and those that were spurious? Would the Adulteration Acts cover the selling as pure butter of any of the articles referred to by the hon. Member for Clonmel? Supposing they did not, would the right hon. Gentleman go a step further and take in the case of butter the same measures as had been adopted with reference to coffee—that was to say, that some penalty should attach to the sale of oleomargarine as butter? It seemed to him that the law now applied to the sale of articles pretending to be coffee should apply also to articles pretending to be butter.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, the noble Lord appeared to confuse the duties of two separate Departments. It was his (Mr. Chamberlain's) duty to answer for the import and export statistics, and, in connection with those, he had replied to the inquiry made by the hon. Member for Clonmel (Mr. Moore). He had promised last year that he would endeavour to cause a distinction to be made in the Returns between what was called pure butter and those mixtures which were sold as substitutes for butter. The remark applied to cheese, or any other articles of great interest to the consumer. But he had no authority in the matter of adulteration of those substances when once imported into the country. In his opinion, the Adulteration Acts afforded a sufficient protection to the consumer against the sale of adulterated articles. Under the 8th section of the Sale of Food and Drugs Act any person selling oleomargarine as butter, without telling the person who bought it the nature of the article sold, rendered himself liable to a penalty of £20, which penalty might be enforced on prosecution by a private individual, or by the local authorities.

Lord ELCHO said, he ventured to think the answer of the right hon. Gentleman would afford little comfort to the farmers. He supposed, however, that if no satisfaction was to be obtained from the Board of Trade, they would have to look to the Department presided over by the "farmers' friend," the Home Secretary.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS wished to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade to the fact that the Secretary to the Home Department, in answer to a question put by him (Sir R. Assheton Cross) a few days ago, had stated that some alteration would be made in the system of appointing Sanitary Inspectors, and that he did not propose to fill up the next vacancy. This was a matter closely connected with the Office of the Board of Trade, and he would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, in view of the alteration which the Secretary to the Home Department had said it was his intention to make, he proposed that there should be an Inspector connected with the Board of Trade to carry out those duties which were originally performed by the Sanitary Inspectors in respect of Sea Fisheries?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, he would communicate with his right hon. and learned Friend the Secretary to the Home Department, and ask to be allowed to have some voice in the settlement of this question. As the two subjects referred to by the right hon. Gentleman opposite were closely connected, it seemed to him that it would be advantageous to the public interest if they were dealt with by one Department.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, his only object was to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade to the answer given by the Secretary for the Home Department. He had no doubt that the communication with the Home Secretary, referred to by the right hon. Gentleman, would effect the desired result.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, he would appeal to the Secretary to the Treasury to use the power and influence of the Treasury to induce the Board of Customs to expedite the presentation to Parliament of the annual Trade Report. He (General Sir George Balfour) had for many years been trying to have this thin volume more speedily rendered; but his application to the Board of Customs, and his many requests to the Board of Trade, had hitherto proved useless from the fact that the Customs Department, although performing duties connected with trade, did not consider that the Board of Trade had any right to interfere with the internal office duties of the Customs—the Treasury alone having the right. The delay in presenting this Trade Report might be judged of by the fact that, although the Navigation Tables of Shipping were as voluminous as the Trade Reports, yet they were presented to Parliament within two months after the close of the calendar year, a result due to the activity of the office of the Board of Trade in which these tables were compiled. In contrast with this, the Trade Report was never made available by the Customs till towards the end of August, when, as a rule, Parliament was not sitting. In addition to this delay, there was a defect in the Returns of the Board of Customs to which he would again refer—namely, the enormous amount of unenumerated articles entered in the Trade Tables. In the Report for the year 1881 the value of the unenumerated articles imported amounted to £14,597,090, and that of the exports of goods, the produce of the United Kingdom, also unenumerated, amounted to £12,102,101; and, moreover, the figures under these heads were increasing year by year. He contended that this defect should be removed; and although it was, no doubt, unavoidable that the tables for comparison should be kept uniform in regard to entries, it would have been an easy task to have furnished a Supplemental Table of the new imports and exports that had taken place since the present set of tables was commenced. He trusted that these subjects which, from their importance, were of great interest to many Members of that House, would receive the early attention of the Secretary to the Treasury.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN was understood to say that, although he was responsible in that House for the Trade Returns, his hon. and gallant Friend was aware that these were compiled partly by the Board of Trade, and partly by the Board of Customs. He could assure his hon. and gallant Friend that he was deeply impressed with the importance of publishing these statistics as soon as possible in the financial year, and he believed that arrangements had been made which would materially hasten their publication in future. As regarded the question of classification of imports and exports, he was glad to inform his hon. and gallant Friend that the whole subject was under consideration, and he hoped it would be found practicable to reduce the amount under the head of Unenumerated Articles.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR asked whether the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade had made any arrangements for the presentation to Parliament of a Statement of the value of crops produced in the United Kingdom? The subject was, no doubt, a large one, yet he believed it was not beyond the power of the Department to produce a Return of the value of our agricultural produce. It had already been done, with more or less approximation to accuracy, by scientific persons, and he sincerely hoped that, having regard to its great importance, the right hon. Gentleman would be able to give some assurance that steps would be taken by the Department to furnish the Return in question.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, he could not add anything to what he had said on a former occasion, when, in answer to an inquiry on this subject, he acknowledged the importance of having in the Agricultural Statistics some estimate of the value of the crops, but, at the same time, pointed out that there were some considerable difficulties in the way of obtaining it. It would be a most interesting estimate, if it could be arrived at; but it must, under any circumstances, be too late for the Returns of the present year.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, if the estimate could be made by private individuals, it was not unreasonable to expect that it could be also arrived at by a Public Department. The estimate was to be found in *M'Culloch's Dictionary;* and he ventured to think that if the right hon. Gentleman meant to have it done at all, it was not beyond the resources of his Department to get it included in the Returns of the present year.

Vote *agreed to.*

(10.) £19,496, to complete the sum for the Charity Commission.

MR. HINDE PALMER asked whether it was the intention of the Government to fill up the vacancy caused by the death of Canon Robinson? He desired to call attention to the desirability of consolidating the many Acts of Parliament which related to Endowed Schools. He had seldom seen such a list of Statutes relating to one particular Department. There were enumerated on the Estimate seven or eight at least, and he appealed to the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council on

Education to consider whether the Acts on the subjects of Endowed Schools and the Charity Commission ought not to be consolidated. He trusted that some steps would be taken in this direction.

Mr. GREGORY said, he thought the time had arrived for considering whether the Charity Commission ought to be self-supporting, or whether it ought to constitute any longer a charge upon the country. The Charity Commissioners took charge of a very large amount of property; they administered it, and they exercised a control over it for the benefit of the parties interested in it, and he thought it was only right that the cost of this supervision and administration should be borne by the parties who were benefited. He could not help thinking that this matter was well worthy the attention of the Government. There would be no difficulty in the matter, and it would not be unfair to make the beneficiaries contribute to the expenses of managing the funds or property placed under the control of those Commissioners. It would relieve the country to a considerable extent of the expenses of the Commission, and he thought it would only be right to impose a burden upon those for whom the Commission was intended, and so to relieve the general taxpayers of the country.

An hon. Member asked whether it was intended to renew the powers under the Endowed Schools Act which would expire on the 31st September next?

Mr. MUNDELLA said, that it had been the intention of the Government to re-organize the Endowed Schools Commission, and, if possible, to accelerate their procedure. It was, no doubt, in the highest degree desirable that much more progress should be made; but the pressure of Business this Session would not allow of that being done, and the Government would propose either a Continuance Bill, or a short Bill similar to the one brought in by the late Government, to continue the present powers for one or two years longer. It was the intention of the Government to fill up the vacancy caused by the death of Canon Robinson, for at present there was only one Endowed Schools Commissioner. The work of the Charity Commission was largely increasing, and something would be done to strengthen that Commission. He hoped before the end of the Session to be able to appoint a successor to Canon Robinson, and to do something to accelerate the work of the Commission. The Vote had diminished to the extent of about three-fourths of a year's salary for one Commissioner and one Assistant Commissioner. With respect to the charges made by the hon. Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory), they were matters which it appeared difficult for any Government to touch, especially when there was not much time, because whenever the question had been raised it had given rise to a great deal of opposition, especially from the other side of the House; and the history of the question had been unfortunate for every Minister or Member of the House who had started it. He was afraid any Government who attempted to deal with the matter would find their task a very difficult one.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, the decrease in the Vote seemed to be caused by a decrease in the staff. It was important to get on with the work as fast as possible, and he did not think it right to reduce the staff or the salaries of the Commissioners.

Vote *agreed to.*

(11.) £18,738, to complete the sum for the Civil Service Commission.

(12.) £10,416, to complete the sum for the Copyhold, Inclosure, and Tithe Commission.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he was anxious the public should know, as far as information could be conveyed in a few words, what a bad bargain this Office was. There was probably no Public Department in the whole of the United Kingdom which returned to the public so little value for the large amount it cost. The Vote was now £16,900. The theory of the Office was that copyholds should be enfranchised compulsorily, either on the demand of the lord or the tenant. It would be well in connection with another matter that people should remember this. Either the landlord or the tenant might compel the enfranchisement of a copyhold, and the State made a contribution, because the operation of the Act was compulsory. Parliament granted this money to carry on this Office, which was practically a subsidy to the lords and tenants of manors to the extent of £16,000 or £17,000 a-year.

He should not object if enfranchisement were proceeding at such a rate as to promise, within a measurable distance, the extinction of copyhold and customary tenures. For the last year the business of the Office in the enfranchisement of copyholds had only amounted to 300 transactions. He did not intend to represent that as the normal work of the Office, because, practically, the average was about 600 transactions a-year. No man had a more settled conviction of that unsatisfactory rate of progress than the distinguished gentleman who presided over the Office—namely, Sir James Caird. He had expressed himself strongly as to the unsatisfactory progress made by the Department, and Sir James Caird urged such a reform of the law as would bring about the extinction of copyhold tenure in 30 years, which was too long by at least 20 years. He only wished on this occasion to call attention to the great waste of public money in this Department, which cost over £16,000 a-year, and was not worth £1,000 to the country.

Vote *agreed to.*

(13.) £4,350, to complete the sum for the Inclosure and Drainage Acts, Imprest Expenses.

(14.) £38,974, to complete the sum for the Exchequer and Audit Department.

(15.) £3,972, to complete the sum for the Friendly Societies Registry.

(16.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £358,145, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Local Government Board, including various Grants in Aid of Local Taxation."

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS wished to ask the Secretary to the Local Government Board a Question that he had asked earlier in the Session, as to the Alkali Acts, which materially affected that part of the country which he represented. An Act was passed last year to enable the Local Government Board to appoint additional Inspectors; and he wished to know what had been the result of those appointments, and whether those Inspectors were appointed to reside in the districts where the works were carried on, for he had found that in some cases the Inspectors resided in a different place from the works they had to inspect, and there was no practical result from their inspecting, for it was known that the alkali works bottled up all their noxious vapours until everybody was asleep, and then let them out in a thin white stream which was poisonous? If the Inspectors were to be of the smallest use they must be on the spot where they could see for themselves, and be up and doing. With regard to the alkali manufacturers, he believed all the best of them were agreed that the letting out of these noxious vapours was not in the least necessary, and it had been proved before the Commission that all the mischief had been done by those persons who, when the trade was profitable, rushed into it without having the proper appliances for the consumption of the vapours, and let out the vapours to the great injury of the country, and to their co-traders who had done all that could be done. It was essential, not only for the best manufacturers, but also for the agricultural interest in the districts, which was being destroyed, that these Inspectors should be more active and efficient. He had himself seen a field of wheat blackened and destroyed in one night. It was no use appointing Inspectors unless they did their work; and he wanted to know whether more Inspectors had been appointed; whether they had done their work; whether they resided in the districts under them; whether they could be up at night to see where the mischief came from; and what had been the practical result of the Act?

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, the Act of last year was not only applied to alkali works, but to other manufactures, and in the Estimate before the Committee there was £5,000 for salaries. He was informed that there were 250 of these works in the Manchester district, which came under the operation of the Act; that there had been no adequate inspection, and he had actually seen a report that that district included the Isle of Wight as well as Manchester. The districts were so ill-arranged that, as he was told on authority which could not be impugned, the efficient inspection of these 250 works was, in the present state of things, impracticable. In the opinion of a philanthropic person, who had interested himself in this matter, the injury to public health arose mainly from such works, and not from the smoke of the factories. This was a matter of great importance to the public health, and he hoped the Government would give attention to it.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT said, he wished to call attention to the inspection of Metropolitan vagrant wards, and to ask whether the notice of the President of the Local Government Board had been drawn to a matter in connection with the Act just passed relating to vagrancy throughout the country? By a provision of the Bill there was now a larger power of detention in casual wards than there had hitherto been. The object of that was that persons should not only be detained longer, and in that way possibly a check be given to vagrancy, but that when they were detained they should be properly treated. He thought a great deal of success in these matters depended on the way in which the vagrant wards in the country were organized, and on the way in which the Boards of Guardians paid attention to the treatment of this class of paupers. He did not suppose it would be possible to have so elaborate an inspection of the whole of the vagrant wards in the country as was done in London; but he wished to know whether it would be possible for the Local Government Board to draw the attention of the Inspectors to this matter, so that there might not be anything in the future which would cast a slur on legislation of this Session? Then, with regard to the medical question, there were a number of persons who went about preaching an Anti-Vaccination Crusade. He was not sure that the crowding-out of the Bill of the hon. Member for Leicester was an altogether unmixed good, for he was afraid the consequence of that was that the mischievous agitation would be kept simmering in the public mind without its being brought to the test of figures which would show that the apprehensions of the agitators were unfounded. It seemed to him that the only foundation for any clamour against vaccination, which had done so much for the public health of this country, lay in the fact that vaccination was not always done in a proper manner. No doubt, there were exceptional cases in which vaccination produced evils which would not have ensued if the operation had been carried out under proper conditions. If the hon. Gentleman could give some assurance that the Department would direct its attention to this particular subject, and would take care that the vaccinators supplied pure lymph, a great deal of practical good would be done, although it might not stop the agitation altogether.

Mr. RAMSAY said, he thought a great deal of misapprehension in the minds of people had been produced by the fact that vaccine matter of a deleterious character was frequently supplied, and produced disease. The attention of the Department ought to be directed not only to having a supply of pure vaccine matter, but to having an adequate quantity. If the Department did that, one of the chief causes of complaint would disappear.

Mr. HIBBERT said, with regard to the Alkali Inspectors, four additional Inspectors had been appointed, and particular care had been taken to inquire which were the districts in which there was the greatest number of alkali works. It was impossible to appoint a number of Inspectors in each district; but it was the intention of the Government to have the Inspectors living in the districts where the alkali works were the greatest in number. Information was given to the Government that there were a great number of works in the St. Helen's district, and it was suggested that the Department should appoint an Inspector for that one place, and that had been done. He was quite sure the Department had the question of damage by alkali works under their consideration, and would, as far as possible, make arrangements to prevent it. With respect to casual wards, the Metropolis was made into one Union; and, under the existing Act, any person who visited any vagrant ward more than twice within a certain period could be detained for a certain number of hours, and that system had produced the best results. He had no doubt, when the new Bill came into operation, that it would be possible to adopt the same system throughout the country. With regard to vaccination, he could not be expected now to go into the merits of vaccination, or of the objections raised to vaccination by some people. But the Local Government Board had, through their Inspectors, got this system entirely under control, and a great deal of trouble was taken with regard to inspection. The Inspectors went over the country and inspected vaccination in different districts. They could not, of course, inspect all vaccination; but they took a certain number in each vaccination district, and a system of payment by results was established, so that the Inspectors obtained an additional sum over and above their salaries for each inspection. Some of the Inspectors had received as much as £40 and £50 additional for successful vaccinations; and, so far, the system had worked well. This year a system of animal vaccine had been adopted, and was now in operation, and there was no difficulty in obtaining lymph from animals. He quite agreed that, to a great extent, the agitation against vaccination arose from careless vaccinations. The Local Government Board were always prepared to have an inquiry made into such cases, and, as far as possible, to secure proper treatment.

MR. CROPPER said, he wished to draw attention to the inspection of workhouse schools under the Vote. He had seen a great deal of the inspection of workhouse and other schools, and there was an immense difference between the two methods. The inspection of workhouse schools was conducted by Inspectors who confined themselves to this sole class of schools, without experience of other children; it was, therefore, of a cramped nature, and there was, of course, only a small scope for suggestion and classification. If the workhouse schools inspection were absorbed in the inspection of schools generally, then workhouse children would be examined side by side with other children to their great advantage. There was a great waste of money under the present system. If the workhouse school was inspected along with other schools in the same town, that would only involve a half-day's work; whereas now an Inspector inspected a workhouse school in one part of the country in one day, and then rushed away to another part of the country to another workhouse.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH said, he did not know to what extent the hon. Gentleman's experience had gone; but probably he was not aware that a very large number of these children were not in schools which would be inspected only in respect of their educational advancement. They were in separate establishments, which required inspection as such. There might be difficulties in the way of placing workhouse children under the general inspection, although in small country districts that might, perhaps, be of advantage, yet in the neighbourhood of London there were most important and elaborate establishments which could not be dealt with in that way.

MR. CROPPER said, his remarks applied to smaller schools throughout the country workhouses. He referred rather to the workhouse schools than to the large district schools.

MR. MOORE said, he wished for some information as to the Roman Catholic children in these schools. Last year he had brought forward many cases of bigotry on the part of local authorities. There was in a Lancashire Union a Roman Catholic church within 15 minutes' walk of the workhouse, and the paupers were not allowed to go to it; and in many institutions in Lancashire the boys had been flogged into conforming to the Protestant services. Children were sent to various employers, and in some cases their relatives could not ascertain were the boys were. Roman Catholics in England were in a minority, and they could not expect to have all the officials in the parish chosen from their body; still he maintained that they had a right to have their interests fairly looked after. The question was not one of money, although whatever Boards of Guardians might be disposed to give would be acceptable; but there were four Unions which would not in the slightest degree yield to the reasonable demands of the Roman Catholics. This was a miserable religious persecution, and, naturally, Roman Catholics felt it very deeply. At present the parents and guardians of children could be, if the Guardians thought fit, deprived of all access to the register. There was no law to compel the Guardians to grant that access, and that measure of security could only be obtained by a roundabout process. What he maintained was, that Roman Catholics ought to have perfect religious freedom, and in the case of those who were paupers the fact of their being paupers ought not to be a reason for forcing on them religious opinions that they did not entertain. Roman Catholics said their Church ought to be absolutely free of access to them—the Roman Catholics should have perfect freedom of access to their Church within reasonable limits, so as not to disturb the necessary rules and order of the house—that was to say, when time and season permitted. They should be allowed to attend the services of their own Church when there was no epidemic disease in the house, and when the Roman Catholic place of worship was not too far distant. In addition to the right of visiting their churches, they ought to have the right of being visited by their clergy. Then, when there were so many Catholic children in the workhouses, having due regard to proportion, Roman Catholics had a right to some kind of representation on the official staff of the houses. They did not expect to have the whole staff of a workhouse Catholic, but they did insist upon having at least somebody on it who understood them and sympathized with them. Where it was certified that the children were Roman Catholics, and their parents were anxious that they should be under the care of persons of their own religion, it was clearly wrong to prevent the transfer of those children to institutions under the Catholic religion.

Mr. RAMSAY said, he was aware that on various occasions attention had been directed to the question of the education of pauper children; but he thought they should go somewhat further than had been suggested by hon. Members who on previous occasions had spoken on this question. The fact was that no attempt had been made to absorb the pauper children for the purpose of education in the common schools established throughout the Kingdom. It was a great blunder to mass children in workhouse schools—that was to say, a great blunder so far as the interests of the children themselves were concerned. Let these children be so placed that they could be educated in the common schools of the country, and many of the evils the hon. Member for Clonmel (Mr. Moore) complained of would not be heard of. The parents would be able to select the schools; and the Roman Catholic children would be sent to Roman Catholic schools, and the children of other religious denominations to the schools of those denominations. As it was, the children were being brought up as paupers, and they naturally imbibed the idea that they should never look to any other source than the rates for their subsistence. So long as such a system as this existed it was a great evil. The country was spending on this pauper education an enormous sum of money that would be much better expended in providing education for these children in the common schools of the country. The Government had expressed, in the earlier part of the Session, some sympathy with this view; and he would, therefore, like to know whether any progress had been made in detaching children from the workhouses and having them maintained in families throughout the country and educated at the common schools? Bringing them up altogether in workhouses imbued them with the idea that they were paupers, and never could be anything else. Such an idea had a great effect on the character of the children; and he hoped it would soon be put a stop to. He would not move the reduction of the Vote on the present occasion; but another year he should be inclined to do so, unless there were some change effected. If there were such a mass of pauper children in the country that they could not be accommodated in the public schools, schools should be established for them; but, under any circumstances, they should be removed from the workhouses.

Mr. WARTON begged to draw attention to the large sum put down for "incidental expenses" in regard to the inspection of workhouse schools.

Mr. O'SHEA said, he need not say that he was in full sympathy with almost everything that had been said by the hon. Member for Clonmel (Mr. Moore). The hon. Member, however, had made a statement with regard to a gross piece of tyranny which had taken place, without mentioning the name of the place or the names of the guilty persons. This was most unfortunate. The statement was one of the most important which had ever been made in the House of Commons during the time he (Mr. O'Shea) had had the honour of a seat in it. It was that a Roman Catholic child or children had been flogged in some school in Lancashire to make them conform to some other religion. The hon. Member, he thought, ought to state the Union or school in which such a frightful atrocity occurred, in order that the authorities of the Local Government Board might inquire into the matter at once, and bring the guilty parties to justice.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he felt great sympathy with the hon. Member for Clonmel as to the condition of the Roman Catholic paupers in the schools and workhouses. The statement of the hon. Member to which reference had just been made by another hon. Member (Mr. O'Shea) was a most important one. He (Mr. Arthur Arnold) would not ask the hon. Member to mention publicly the Union in Lancashire to which he had referred; but, after the statement he had made, he was surely bound to mention the name of the Union to the Secretary of the Local Government Board. He (Mr. Arthur Arnold) was sure he need not ask his hon. Friend (Mr. Hibbert), when the information had been given to him, to lose no time in communicating with the Inspector of the district, in order that he might inquire into the charge which reflected such grave discredit on the administration of the Union.

MR. ROUND said, he wished to draw the attention of the Secretary to the Local Government Board to the subject of the salaries of the medical officers under them. Was it not the fact that those salaries were now paid out of the Imperial funds? Superannuation allowances were granted, and those, he believed, were charged on the local ratepayers. He thought it only just that the whole community should bear the burden of the charge for medical relief to the poor; and it was equally proper that the whole community should pay the whole superannuation allowances of these officers. He (Mr. Round) would ask the hon. Gentleman whether he had ever considered the subject from this point of view?

MR. HIBBERT said, the law allowed the superanuation allowances, and those only, to be charged on the rates. He did not know whether the Committee would be prepared to adopt the change suggested. With regard to children who at present attended the workhouse schools being placed under the Education Department, he must say he was favourably impressed with the plan, and he had gone so far as to suggest it to the Education Department; but there were so many difficulties raised that it was almost impossible to hope that the change would be effected. It would not save expense—the salaries would not be appreciably lessened. It might save the salary of one Inspector—that was the conclusion which had been come to—but it must be borne in mind that the question of health and many other matters had to be gone into as well as education. Some years ago, the inspection of workhouse schools was under the Education Department; but the system had been changed. He could not hold out very much hope that the views of hon. Members who had spoken on this subject would be carried out; but the matter was still under consideration. As to the condition of the pauper children generally, a great improvement had been made in it, particularly as regarded those children who were sent to the National schools. Many more were sent to those schools now than last year, and, so far as the Local Government Board was concerned, they offered no difficulties in the way of the extension of this change in London. Where, however, Guardians had already established schools for pauper children, it was not likely that they would put them aside at once, and send the children to the common schools of the country. Then they had to take into consideration the objection of managers of schools to workhouse children being sent to them. All these points had to be considered; still it was a fact that the system of sending workhouse children to public schools was growing in the country. The practice of boarding out children was now beginning to be largely adopted. Last year between 7,000 and 8,000 children were boarded out by the Unions in different parts of the country. Also, during the past two or three years schools had been built on a new principle—on the cottage instead of the block system—and the result was likely to be very beneficial. The buildings were laid out in separate blocks, each having a "mother" to attend to it, and in this way the mechanical system was avoided, a greater home feeling was introduced, a better knowledge of the children was obtained, and also a better chance of teaching them—especially a better chance of teaching the girls domestic work. This system had been adopted in Chelsea, also in Birmingham and several other places. With regard to the matter raised by the hon. Member for Clonmel (Mr. Moore), he could assure the hon. Member that if he would furnish the Local Government Board privately with the names of the Unions where the occurrences to which reference had been made had taken place, he (Mr. Hibbert) would see that they were inquired into at once. Whenever anything of this kind occurred, if it was only mentioned in the newspapers, the Local Government Board immediately sent instructions to its Inspectors, requiring them, without delay, to ascertain the truth or otherwise of the allegation. In regard to the question of the treatment of Roman Catholic children, he (Mr. Hibbert) quite agreed with the hon. Member that there had been and still was a great amount of intolerance in the country; but it was satisfactory to know that it was lessening year by year. He was informed on very high authority that there were only three or four Unions in the country where any complaint was made in respect of the treatment of Roman Catholic children, and he trusted that before long, even in those places, the grievance would be removed. In Sheffield the Guardians had not done what could be considered quite fair to the Roman Catholics in that Union; but he hoped that, in the future, those Guardians would treat the Roman Catholic children in a manner more satisfactory to the Roman Catholic ratepayers of the district. He (Mr. Hibbert) had not quite made out what had fallen from the hon. and learned Member for Bridport with regard to "incidental expenses." He could not gather the hon. and learned Member's point, and was, therefore, sorry he could not offer a reply.

Mr. WARTON said, he was sorry he had failed to make his meaning clear. With regard to the workhouse schools, his points were two. He could not make out how salaries rising to £400 and £600 by increments of £25 could at any time amount to £156, which was an item in the Vote. He was at a loss to discover where the £6 came from. Then, under the head of "Incidental Expenses," there was an item of £35 given without explanation.

Mr. HIBBERT said, he was afraid he could not give the hon. and learned Member satisfaction on any point he (Mr. Warton) had raised; but he would undertake to see that these matters were carefully inquired into.

Mr. MOORE said, that as to the names of the workhouses to which he had alluded, he was not in the habit of making statements in the House which he was incapable of supporting. The statements he had made to the Committee he had made on the best information. One of the workhouses of which he had spoken was the Sheffield Workhouse; but that case did not include the more serious charge of flogging the boys because they would not obey certain religious observances. The Rochdale Workhouse was amongst those which he had referred to as being situated so near the Catholic church that the Catholic paupers might be allowed to attend its services. He should not care to mention publicly where the flogging took place. [Mr. Hibbert: Tell me privately.] He would do so. The officer who was guilty of the harsh conduct to which he referred had been promoted directly after he (Mr. Moore) had heard of the occurrence. The Committee must not think he was taking any advantage of them, or misleading them in any way. He was prepared to give the name of the Union; but, considering that the officer who had been guilty of the objectionable conduct had been promoted, it would be as well not to mention the name publicly.

Mr. O'SHEA: I beg to give Notice that I will, this day week, ask a Question on this subject.

Mr. CALLAN said, the reason his hon. Friend (Mr. Moore) gave why these facts should be kept private was just the reason why they should be made public. If this officer had been promoted, why should not his conduct be made public—why should not he be shamed before the world? [An hon. Member: It may not be true.] That would be so much the better. Let the man stand the test. He objected to this privacy just as he objected to the hearing of cases *in camera* in the Divorce Court. Cases were heard in private because they were scandalous—the very reason why they should be made public and the guilty parties should be held up to public shame. Where was the silent Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands)? He was sorry the hon. Member was not in his place, because in the borough the hon. Member represented a majority of 18 out of 28 Guardians had refused to allow the Roman Catholic children to go to the Roman Catholic church. The attention of the Government had been drawn to the matter, and an Inspector had been sent down. He (Mr. Callan) had moved for a Return in regard to these matters some time ago, and last year he had altered the form of it so as to facilitate its preparation. He had desired to have the Return printed so as to be placed in the hands of Members when this Vote came on; but for some inscrutable reason the document had not yet been printed. It had been laid on the Table of the House within the past 10 days, but it had not been printed, therefore it was not available to show how deficient were the regulations and how illiberal was the course of conduct pursued by the Dissenters. He wished to make a distinction in this matter between the people of the Church of England and the Dissenters. The former, as a rule, were fair to Roman Catholics and mindful of their feelings, but the Dissenters were as cruel and persecuting to them as in the days of Oliver Cromwell. The prisons, he was glad to say, were under Government; but the workhouses were not, and in these wherever there was bigotry to be found at work—he thanked God such places were now few in number—it was always in cases where a majority of the Guardians were Dissenters—Independents, Congregationalists, Baptists. The chaplains in workhouses in Ireland were not paid according to the number of people to whom they had to minister. Take the Dundalk Workhouse, for instance. There the Roman Catholic chaplain was paid at the rate of 1*s.* a-head, the Protestant at the rate of £4, and the Presbyterian at the rate of £30; but, notwithstanding that in Ireland the Protestant and Presbyterian chaplains were paid so handsomely, in London and Birmingham they did not pay one penny to the Roman Catholic chaplain, and there was no legal provision for such payment. This Liberal Government, that was so fond of removing grievances, would they be so good as to give the Local Government Board in England the same control and power in this matter as that possessed by the Local Government Board of Ireland? The Guardians in Ireland were compelled to pay the chaplains, but in England such payments would be illegal. Under a sealed order the Guardians in Ireland had to pay any salary that was fixed by the Local Government Board. If that was fair in Ireland, why did they not extend the same principle to England? If it was fair to pay Presbyterian ministers in Ireland, why should not Roman Catholic priests be paid? Could any Dissenter in the House—any Member of that most bigoted lot in Parliament—get up in his place and say why this should not be done? He would challenge any Dissenting member of those Boards of Guardians, famous in this country for their luncheon-eating and beer-swilling, to get up and answer him. He appealed to the common sense and honesty and sense of fair play of the Committee. If it was right to pay Protestant and Presbyterian clergymen in the Irish workhouses, was it not equally right to pay Roman Catholic clergymen in English workhouses—to compel the Guardians to pay them?

SIR HENRY FLETCHER said, he agreed with what had been said as to the desirability of sending workhouse children to the National schools. He had been for many years Chairman of a Board of Guardians in his own county, and during that time he had used his best endeavours to further the system in question. He should like to ask the Secretary to the Local Government Board a question on this subject. In his county amongst the different Boards of Guardians the main difficulty experienced was in respect of sending workhouse children to the National schools in workhouse clothing. This had been the great difficulty he had always experienced, and perhaps the hon. Member (Mr. Hibbert) would be able to tell him whether the children must retain the workhouse clothing, or whether they could discard it? He (Sir Henry Fletcher) agreed that workhouse schools proper should be done away with, and that hon. Members should use their best endeavours to send the children to the National schools; but he had found, after some years of experience, that if the children went to those schools in workhouse clothing they were subject to derision and laughter, and that was why, in his own Union, he had not, to the extent he might have done, take upon himself the responsibility of sending workhouse children to the village schools. If this difficultly were got rid of, many Boards of Guardians would use their best endeavours to do away with the workhouse schools, and to get the children attending the village schools to associate with the pauper children in those establishments. Whenever he had had a village feast at home he had always made a point of inviting the workhouse children, and of insisting upon good fellowship between the village children and them. Still, there was this vexed question of the pauper children wearing the workhouse clothes, and not being fit to associate with the others.

Mr. PUGH said, that, some years ago, he presided over a Board of Guardians in Wales. At the time he became connected with it the pauper children were all wearing the workhouse clothes; but he gave them decent clothes, and made them very like other children, and ever since then they had gone to the Board school, with great advantage to themselves and to the school.

Colonel ALEXANDER said, he begged leave to move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £20,000, on account of the grant in aid of Poor Law medical relief. He was sorry to be obliged to do this, as he did not wish to deprive England of the full amount she was entitled to receive; but, as the Committee were aware, it was impossible for him to move the increase of the Scotch Vote. He simply moved the reduction of the English Vote as a protest against the stationary character of the Scotch Vote. The English Vote was constantly increasing, and there had been additions to the Irish Vote; but the Scotch Vote always remained where it was. Last year the hon. Member for North Ayrshire (Mr. Cochran-Patrick) brought forward the matter in a very able speech. It had been introduced several times, and on one occasion—last Session, he thought—the Prime Minister happened to be present, and made an important declaration on the subject. The right hon. Gentleman had said that, although he could not do anything at that time, he would undertake to look into the whole question. He had said, further, that if, after carefully considering the matter, they found themselves unable to approach it with more comprehensive views, they would examine the Votes to see whether they could not establish real equality in the treatment of the countries North and South of the Border. The hon. Member for North Ayrshire had expected this would be done, and, with his Colleagues, had looked with satisfaction upon the fact that the right hon. Gentleman represented an important Scotch constituency, regarding it as an additional assurance that the right hon. Gentleman was in earnest, and would see that something was done. He (Colonel Alexander) supposed the right hon. Gentleman was in earnest, and that the excuse would be that there had been no time to go into the question. It would be said the House had been too busily engaged with Land Acts, and the payment of arrears of rent; and next year, no doubt, there would be some other plausible excuse for inaction. He (Colonel Alexander), therefore, had no alternative but to make a stand this year, and insist upon some definite promise from the Government.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £338,145, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Local Government Board, including various Grants in Aid of Local Taxation."—(*Colonel Alexander.*)

Mr. HIBBERT said, he was sorry he was not in a position to answer the hon. and gallant Member opposite upon the point he had raised. He (Mr. Hibbert), of course, was aware that the Motion was not aimed at the Vote for the Local Government Board in England, but was intended to call attention to the want of a proper Vote for these purposes in Scotland. The Prime Minister had been present during the discussion which took place on the subject last year, and it was a regrettable circumstance that what had been promised at that time had not been carried out. A Select Committee had sat to consider the matter, and, if the subject of local taxation had been dealt with, as had been anticipated, no doubt this question of the Scotch Local Government Vote would have been settled. This was the only reason he could give why the matter had not been dealt with since the Prime Minister gave his promise last year—because the question of local taxation had not been dealt with. He (Mr. Hibbert) hoped the hon. and gallant Member would not insist upon dividing the Committee on the Vote, but would raise the question later on, when someone better able to give an answer was in the House. The hon. and gallant Member could bring it on on Report. As to the clothing of workhouse children, that matter was entirely in the hands of the Guardians, and they were at liberty to make some modification in the dress, so as not to offend the managers of the public schools, or the parents of other children who were sent to those establishments. Of course, due regard must always be had to economy.

SIR JOHN HAY said, he hoped the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for South Ayrshire (Colonel Alexander) would take a division on this question. The hon. Member (Mr. Hibbert) had told them that the subject could be mooted with greater advantage on some other occasion; but he (Sir John Hay) was not aware that a more favourable occasion could arise. This was the only point in the whole of the Estimates on which a protest could be made by Scotch Members at the neglect of the Government to fulfil the promise made last year. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, who had made the promise, was Member for a Scotch Metropolitan county; and hon. Members might, naturally, have expected that he would have taken some interest in a question of such importance to the Scotch people. At any rate, he (Sir John Hay) trusted that the other Scotch Members would, by their votes, enter a protest against the growing neglect of Scotland by the Government. He trusted they would be allowed to see how many Scotch Members would support the hon. and gallant Member in the action he was now taking.

MR. BUCHANAN said, that on the 25th April of the present year, either the hon. Member for North Ayrshire or the Falkirk Burghs asked a Question of the Secretary to the Treasury with regard to this subject; and the answer received was that the Government intended to double the amount in the Estimates—that was to say, to raise it from £10,000 to £20,000.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE said, he had paid great attention to this subject, and it was, in his opinion, high time that the Scotch Members showed the Government that they did not intend any longer to submit to such treatment as this. If only £60,000 instead of £143,000 was voted for England every year they would hear a great deal about it. He had heard the Financial Secretary give the answer referred to, and he was much surprised to find that in spite of that the Vote for Scotland stood exactly as it was last year. In order to impress the matter fully on the attention of Her Majesty's Government, he hoped the hon. and gallant Member opposite would press the matter to a division.

MR. RAMSAY said, he had often taken part in divisions on this subject, and he should not mind going into the Lobby with the hon. and gallant Member on this occasion; but he would remind the Committee that they had received a distinct assurance from the Government that the grant for Scotland would be doubled, and that a Supplementary Vote would be brought in for that purpose. If his memory did not deceive him, it was the Prime Minister himself who made the statement that the Vote should, in the future, be £20,000 instead of £10,000. An hon. Member near him observed the fact that the amount on the Estimate stood as it did last year; but that arose from the fact that the Estimates were prepared before they had the assurance of increase from the Prime Minister. If, however, there was any doubt about it, he (Mr. Ramsay), as he had said, should be very glad to vote with the hon. and gallant Member opposite by way of protest against delay.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, that what had fallen from the hon. Member who had just spoken placed the Committee in a difficulty; but, at the same time, he could not help remarking upon the fact that there was no Member of the Cabinet on the Front Bench opposite. He would propose that the Vote should be postponed in order to enable a Member of the Cabinet to be present.

MR. HIBBERT: This is not the Scotch Vote—it is the Vote for England.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: The Scotch Members are in this difficulty—they cannot move to increase the Scotch Vote. The question comes to this—whether a pledge has been given by the Prime Minister, and, if so, whether or not it is to be carried out?

Mr. RAMSAY said, the hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan) had handed him the note he took down at the time the matter was last under discussion, when Lord Frederick Cavendish—whose loss they all so deeply regretted—stated that the grant would be increased from £10,000 to £20,000. That promise was made, and subsequently repeated by the Prime Minister in answer to some remark from the hon. Member for North Ayrshire (Mr. Cochran-Patrick). Under these circumstances, he could not doubt that the Government intended to fulfil the promise made by the Predecessor of the hon. Gentleman the Financial Secretary to the Treasury and the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister.

Mr. COURTNEY said, he did not think it was a very business-like way of proceeding to oppose the English Vote in order to obtain an increase in the Scotch Vote. No doubt the pledge referred to had been given, and that being so, no doubt, also, it must be fulfilled by a Supplementary Estimate. An attempt had more than once been made to deal with the subject by legislation; but, up to the present, owing to the impotency of the House to transact its Business, without success. He trusted the Motion would be withdrawn.

Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH said, he agreed with the hon. Member that it was not business-like to oppose an English Vote for the purpose of drawing attention to a Scotch one; still, it was customary for this wrangle to arise whenever the English Vote was proposed. It did not seem to him that the Financial Secretary to the Treasury was very clear what the Government were going to do. If he had a Supplementary Estimate in his pocket, why did he not say so, and bring it forward on the earliest opportunity?

Mr. COURTNEY said, he simply heard it stated that the pledge had been given—personally, he knew nothing about it. He had the fact on the authority of the hon. Members for Falkirk and Kilmarnock Burghs. These hon. Members assured him that his noble Predecessor had made the promise that the estimate should be doubled; and unquestionably, if that promise was made, it would have to be fulfilled. He would ask the hon. and gallant Member for South Ayrshire to accept this statement, and, in a business-like way, withdraw his Motion.

Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH said, he could not say that he was satisfied with what had fallen from the Secretary to the Treasury. The hon. Member had said that an attempt had been made to deal with the subject by legislation, but that, owing to the impotency of the House, the attempt had failed. The hon. Member, he thought, would find, if he inquired, that the Scotch Members did not agree with this proposed legislation. Whatever arrangement was to be made in order to fulfil the pledge which had been given, no doubt the hon. Member (Mr. Courtney) was justified in what he had said. In the course of a few days there ought to be a Supplementary Estimate placed on the Table in the redemption of the pledge given to the Scotch Members. It was singular to him how the Secretary to the Treasury could have overlooked such an item as this for so long—he ought to have seen the items that were to be asked for despite the short time he had held his Office. He (Mr. Sclater-Booth) had intended to ask about the Supplementary Vote in connection with prisons, and the funds that were to be distributed in aid of highway rates; and for the Secretary to the Treasury to say that these matters, or a similar matter, were still in abeyance on which he had no knowledge seemed to be most extraordinary.

Mr. HINDE PALMER said, that, looking at the hour of the night (12.35), and the progress they had made, the proper thing to do now would be to move to report Progress.

Colonel ALEXANDER said, the Secretary to the Treasury had described the course he had taken as an unbusiness-like way of pressing a Scotch Vote on the attention of the Committee. He (Colonel Alexander) should be very glad if the hon. Member would inform him in what other way he could now bring the Scotch Vote under the notice of the Committee. The hon. Member knew very well that it was not competent for him (Colonel Alexander) to move the increase of the Scotch Vote. He moved the reduction of the present Vote in order to call attention to the mean sum that was given to Scotland. The hon. Member for Falkirk (Mr. Ramsay) seemed to have some vague recollection of some promise having been made by Lord Frederick Cavendish; but beyond that they had no assurance that this Vote was to be increased by £10,000; and, seeing that it was certain this subject would be discussed to-night, he thought there ought to have been someone in the House to tell them what was to be done in the matter. He must insist on taking a division. They had been told every year that the wishes of the Scotch Members were to be met; but the promise had never been fulfilled—and in this he was not blaming Her Majesty's present Government any more than the late Government, for the latter, in this respect, had been quite as bad as the former. On this matter there was an old standing feud between Scotland and England; and he would be no party to the making up of that feud until Scotland had obtained justice, and substantial justice.

MR. RAMSAY said, he should not complain if the hon. and gallant Member carried his just claim to a division; but, seeing that the Secretary to the Treasury was in his place and had promised to make an inquiry into what he (Mr. Ramsay) believed was an honest pledge on the part of Lord Frederick Cavendish to the Scotch Members, that the Vote should be £20,000 in future, it would, perhaps, be as well to postpone the division until the stage of Report. It would be desirable to withdraw the Amendment if the hon. Member (Mr. Courtney) gave them a definite promise that he would look into the matter, and subsequently make a statement in the House as to the manner in which the Vote would be augmented.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK said, he protested against the principle upon which this claim for an increased Vote to Scotland was demanded. He did not believe in asking for an increase in a certain Scotch Vote because a certain English Vote and a certain Irish Vote had been increased.

COLONEL ALEXANDER: There never has been an increase in the Scotch Vote.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK said, the hon. and gallant Member had the right to make an explanation afterwards if he desired to do so. As he (Sir John Lubbock) understood the matter, the Government had given a distinct promise to consider the question. Surely, having got that, the hon. Member would do well to be satisfied.

MR. BUCHANAN said, that the Scotch Members had from the Government something more than a promise to consider the matter. They had the distinct assurance that the £10,000 would be increased to £20,000.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: The Secretary to the Treasury has made a distinct promise, and of course it will be fulfilled; therefore, it seems to me it would be wise not to insist upon a division.

COLONEL ALEXANDER said, that in view of the statement of the hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan) he would not press his Motion. The hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) said the fact that the English and Irish Votes had been increased was no reason why the Scotch Vote should be increased also. But he (Colonel Alexander) would point out to the hon. Member that there had never been an increase in the Scotch Vote since it had been established, whereas the English and Irish Votes had gone on constantly increasing.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he wished to ask a question with regard to expenses in connection with Provisional Orders. Last year a most extraordinary transaction took place in regard to one of these Orders. The Lower Thames Valley Main Sewerage Board wished to obtain some land compulsorily, and there was a considerable amount of opposition to the scheme. The Local Government Board appointed an Inspector to conduct an inquiry into the matter; and the shorthand-writer's notes during the inquiry were, he believed, paid for by the Local Government Board. It was mentioned at the outset that the inquiry would be a very short affair, perhaps not extending beyond a week; but in the end it turned out that a great many weeks were consumed by the inquiry, and Gurney and Company, who furnished the shorthand notes, sent in a bill for no less a sum than £698. After the inquiry had proceeded two or three weeks it was discovered that the parties on both sides had agreed to defray the expenses of the notes between them.

The Inspector declined to accept the shorthand-writer's notes paid for by the parties, for the reason, as he stated, that he was not authorized to receive them, and there was a shorthand-writer appointed by the Local Government Board. The end of it was that the parties refused to recognize their liability to pay the double charge for the same service; and the Local Government Board had to pay this monstrous charge of £700 for the shorthand-writer's notes of this single inquiry in reference to a Provisional Order. In the item out of which it was found that this charge should be defrayed, there was not sufficient money, consequently the required sum had to be taken from the fund for "travelling expenses." It seemed to him that the arrangements connected with Provisional Orders required overhauling. The accounts must be kept in a very loose way, and there must be something very loose about the Estimates to admit of such a thing as "shorthand-writer's notes" being charged to "travelling expenses." He should like to ask the Secretary to the Local Government Board whether he thought that all the items under this Vote had been pared down to a reasonable closeness, or whether it would still be possible to take off £700 from one item to put it on another? He should like, further, to know whether there had been any revision of the rules in connection with Provisional Orders?

Mr. HIBBERT said, he could not give the hon. Member any information as to this particular item of £700. The ordinary expenses of Inspectors were paid by the Local Government Board; but any additional expenses were paid by the local authorities. As he had said, however, he could not give a precise answer as to the matter in question. He had no doubt there was a satisfactory answer to be given; but he was not able at the moment to say what it was. It was impossible that such an amount as £700 could be paid without its being known and being capable of some explanation.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Is it not the fact that this particular amount for shorthand-writer's notes was paid out of the item for travelling expenses?

Mr. HIBBERT: I cannot say.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

(17.) £10,571, to complete the sum for the Lunacy Commission, England.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he wanted to ask a question about this sum. He wished to know whether the Government could not give them some little information as to the duties of the Commissioners, and the number of visits they paid? If hon. Members would look at the Act of Parliament, they would see words to the effect that ordinary lunatics should be visited and seen by one of the Inspectors four times, at least, in every year; and that such visits should be so regulated that no interval between two visits should exceed four months. Of that he approved; but then there was another class of lunatics—namely, Chancery lunatics, which were only to be visited once a-year. One visit, however, had been found to be insufficient; therefore it had been found advisable to allow them two visits a-year. There was at this moment on the Paper—indeed, down for discussion to-night—a Bill dealing with this question. The Government said it was true the Chancery lunatics ought to be visited twice a-year; but it would not be possible so to visit them, as the Commissioners were too full of work; at any rate, they could not be visited twice a-year unless the number of visits paid to the other lunatics was reduced to two a-year. This was a singular mode of reasoning. If their Commissioners were not sufficient in number, there ought to be another appointed, or some arrangement should be made whereby not only the ordinary lunatics, but the Chancery lunatics as well, could be visited four times a-year. When the Bill came on for discussion, he should have to oppose the clause affecting the number of visits—in fact, he should oppose anything like petty dealing with this important subject. The matter had been referred to frequently of late. The hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) and the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Whitley) had made inquiries concerning it, and there could be no doubt that no exertion should be spared to safeguard people from being put into lunatic asylums when their condition was not such as to warrant it, and to prevent them from being detained in those institutions when they ought to be sent out as cured. He did not think, however, that the petty way of dealing with it which was proposed by the Government, was worthy of the House; therefore, he should most violently oppose it. Was it true that the Commissioners had not time to carry out the work of inspecting efficiently, and ought there to be another Commissioner? If they had not sufficient time, unquestionably there ought to be another Commissioner; but, simply because another one of lunatics required to be visited more frequently, do not let them reduce the number of visits at present paid to another class.

MR. HIBBERT said, the Chancery lunatics in private asylums were required to be visited four times a-year; but those in public asylums were only required to be visited once a-year. The Bill before the House sought to alter that system; but he should not be in Order in discussing the measure on this Vote.

THE CHAIRMAN: Hon. Members may not enter into a discussion of the principles of a Bill which has been introduced, but which is not yet before them.

MR. HIBBERT said, the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross) would have a full explanation of the subject when the Bill came on. He (Mr. Hibbert) was not aware that the Commissioners were unable to perform the work they had to do. At present they made all the visits which by law were required to be made.

MR. DILLWYN said, he rose to express great satisfaction at the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross). He objected most strongly to this petty method of dealing with the Lunacy Commissioners proposed by Her Majesty's Government. He (Mr. Dillwyn) had, over and over again, urged the Government to deal with the subject in a bold manner, and he still hoped they would do so. He would not discuss the Bill before the House, which, he supposed, would have to be withdrawn. It was evident it could not be discussed, and that full consideration could not be given to it at this time of the Session. He rose to second the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross), and to urge on the Government the absolute necessity of dealing with this question in a large—in a wholesale manner. In this evening's newspapers there was a letter complaining of gross breach of duty on the part of the Lunacy Commissioners. Well, there were a great many cases of this kind constantly arising, and, no doubt, a great deal could be said in support of the allegations made. This he mentioned only to show how necessary it was that the Lunacy Laws should be carefully considered and amended by the Government. The measure Her Majesty's Government brought forward was very small, and would only have the effect of putting off a larger one. He was glad to see small reforms carried out except when they put off larger measures which were imperatively demanded at the hands of the Government. He earnestly urged the Government to take this question of the Lunacy Laws in hand with determination, and carry out the required reform without loss of time. He had been nibbling at the matter for a good many years, and had amply shown, he thought, that something was required to be done. He had satisfied himself that the Government must move in the matter before he could rest content.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, there was one point in connection with this subject on which he trusted the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Hibbert) would be able to give the Committee some information—he referred to the enormous number of poor men and women who were placed or detained in lunatic asylums improperly, who were sent from the workhouses to the asylums, because they gave trouble and bother to the master and matron. These people were little more than harmless imbeciles; but, because, for some reason, someone could certify that they were mentally afflicted, they were drafted off to the lunatic asylums in spite of the protests of the medical officers of the districts. These persons could be numbered by hundreds and thousands. He had himself seen many cases of hardship of this kind in Middlesex—cases in which poor, weak-witted persons were sent by the Guardians to the lunatic asylum, which was admirably suited and conducted for many of its patients, but was a singularly unfit receptacle for the people he was alluding to. He wished to know whether the Local Government Board had now in hand any scheme for the treatment of these people? The point had been raised year after year, and they had always received the same information from the Government—namely, that the matter was under consideration. However that was, nothing ever seemed to come of this consideration.

Mr. WHITLEY said, he should like to ask a question with regard to this subject. As he understood it, there were nine Commissioners altogether—six who appeared on this Vote, and three who did not. He agreed that in whatever arrangement was made it would be a serious mistake to reduce the number of visits which were made by the Inspectors. At present, there were something like 12,000 Chancery lunatics, and for visiting them there were three Commissioners. There were 60,000 other lunatics, however, and only six Commissioners for them. If three Commissioners could not visit 12,000, how could six visit 60,000? Surely, if there was anything the country ought to be willing to properly pay for, it was the proper inspection of these unfortunate people. There was no class of the community who had a stronger claim upon our sympathy than this; and he hoped and trusted that arrangements would be made for an increase of the Commissioners, because it was only by the aid of these officers that the lunatics could be properly looked after.

Mr. ACLAND said, he did not wish to detain the Committee more than a minute or two; but there was one point as to this Poor Law and lunacy which deserved attention. It had been frequently pointed out that the Guardians were induced to send the pauper imbeciles to the lunatic asylums by the subvention given to the rates in this matter. He had intended, but had postponed it, to-day to move for a Return which would show what the effect of this subvention had been. But it was another point to which he now wished to draw attention. As he understood the law, and as he found it acted on, in the county in which he resided, the magistrates, when certified lunatics were taken before them, had no option but to send them to pauper lunatic asylums. He knew of his own knowledge that cases constantly occurred where there were committed to the pauper lunatic asylums persons who ought never to have been sent there—who were able to maintain themselves, or whose friends were able to maintain them. So far as he knew, it was impossible for a magistrate to send persons brought before him as lunatics to other than pauper lunatic asylums. This was a matter which should be considered and attended to by the Government.

Mr. HIBBERT said, he should be very glad if the subvention could be altered in some way, so as to do away with the pressure on the Guardians and give relief to that class of lunatic referred to by the hon. Member who had just sat down. The Local Government Board used their influence with the Guardians to induce them to avoid, as much as possible, sending this class to the public lunatic asylums. There had only recently been a case in Yorkshire where 30 or 40 persons had been sent from a workhouse to a lunatic asylum when they really ought to have been retained in the workhouse. The Local Government Board had used all their influence to induce the Guardians to take the poor people back again, but to no avail. As to the point put by the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Whitley)—namely, that an additional Commissioner should be appointed instead of altering the law as to inspection—he (Mr. Hibbert) must point out that the inspection of Chancery lunatics was a matter really in the hands of the Lord Chancellor. The Chancery lunatics were entirely visited by his visitors; and this proposal to increase the number of visits had been proposed, he (Mr. Hibbert) believed, by the visitors themselves. If an additional visitor could be appointed, however, he should be glad to see it.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Biggar.*)

Mr. COURTNEY said, he hoped the hon. Member for Cavan would not press this Motion to a division, inasmuch as there were several Votes next following that it would be for the public advantage to pass, and which related to matters of a non-contentious character. As Supply would not be taken to-morrow, he hoped to be able to finish the English Votes of Class II. before Progress was reported, and, if possible, to get through some of the Scotch Votes of the same class, which he believed would also give rise to no discussion.

MR. R. N. FOWLER said, that, although the hour was late, he had no wish to delay the Votes referred to by the Financial Secretary. He should, however, be glad to know whether it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government to take the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill when Progress was reported?

MR. COURTNEY said, it was not intended to proceed with the Bill on that occasion.

MR. BIGGAR protested against the argument used by the Secretary to the Treasury against the Motion to report Progress—namely, that the remaining Votes of this class were not likely to give rise to much discussion. In the first place, he did not see why the hon. Gentleman should assume that there would be no criticism of the Votes in question; and, in the second place, he thought that some limit should be placed to the growing custom of voting enormous sums of money without any discussion whatever. Until a few Sessions ago it was always the rule to report Progress in Supply at half-past 12 o'clock. Since when, on the constant representations of Her Majesty's Government as to the pressure of Public Business, they had got into the habit of bringing forward Supply towards the end of the evening, and continuing in Committee until hours when no efficient examination or discussion of the Estimates could take place. He had protested against this mode of procedure so often that, notwithstanding the argument of the Financial Secretary, he felt it his duty to take the sense of the Committee on his Motion.

Question put, and *negatived*.

Vote *agreed to*.

(18.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £42,357, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Mint, including the Expenses of the Coinage."

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, perhaps the Financial Secretary to the Treasury would be able to give some explanation of the last item under this Vote for the supply of silver and bronze coin to Colonies. He would like to know to what class of Colonies the coin was supplied for which this charge of £1,500 appeared in the Estimate?

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, before the Financial Secretary replied to the question of the hon. Member for Salford, he wished to draw attention to the fact that included in the charge for supply of silver and bronze coin to the Colonies was the cost of packing, freight, &c. This, in his opinion, rendered the charge all the more extraordinary; and, therefore, he proposed to move the reduction of the Vote by the amount of the item in question. In doing this he should be following the excellent example of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, who, when he was in Opposition, made a similar Motion, and very nearly succeeded in carrying it—at least, he obtained for it such an amount of support as made him (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) feel confident that he should be able to reduce the Vote that evening, because on the occasion referred to there went into the Division Lobby, in support of the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman, no less than 65 Members of the Party now in Office, while there were not at present 65 Members of the Opposition in the House. Under the circumstances, he thought there was a very good chance of carrying the proposed reduction of the Vote. The Conservative Party, as he had pointed out, resisted the former Motion; but the Liberals were now in power, and had an excellent opportunity of giving effect to the wishes they expressed when in Opposition. As he believed half of the charge had already been taken by a Vote on Account, he begged to move that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £750.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £41,607, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Mint, including the Expenses of the Coinage."—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor.*)

MR. COURTNEY said, there was no loss to the country upon the items of freight and packing, because, while they charged the Colony with the nominal value of the coinage, the real value was much less—that was to say, if £10,000 was wanted in silver coin they supplied the nominal value only, and the difference between that and the actual value just balanced the cost of freight and packing.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK said, that if the difference between the nominal and actual value of the coin did no more than balance the cost of freight and packing, and they had to pay for the coinage of the silver which the Colonies used, to that extent the country must suffer loss.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question again proposed.

Mr. T. C. BARING said, he thought it desirable that in the Estimates of next year the cost of freight and package should be separated from the cost of the coinage. As the account was made up, there was no means of knowing what these several items amounted to. Further, he thought the amount of profit, if any, on the transaction should be shown, so that the Committee might next year know exactly what was being done in the matter of supplying the Colonies with coin. The hon. Member was perfectly right in his description of what occurred in the House when this Vote was resisted by the Party now in Office. It was then purely a question of Birmingham *versus* the Government.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he hoped, after this Vote was taken, they would agree to report Progress.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

(19.) £9,121, to complete the sum for the National Debt Office.

Mr. BIGGAR said, the next Vote was one on which a good deal of discussion was likely to arise. He knew that one hon. Member, who was absent at the moment, desired to move the reduction of this Vote; and as it involved questions of considerable importance he thought it desirable that Progress should be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Biggar.*)

Mr. COURTNEY said, he must appeal to the Committee to make some further progress with the Votes. The hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) had said the next Vote would lead to some discussion, and that an hon. Member had given Notice of an Amendment with respect to it. It was quite true that Notice of Amendment had been placed on the Paper; but the hon. Member who gave the Notice had gone away. He could not agree that the fact of the Notice being on the Paper was a sufficient reason for reporting Progress, because if the hon. Member still wished to proceed with his Amendment he retained the power of doing so at another stage.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 7; Noes 58: Majority 51.—(Div. List, No. 301.)

(20.) £20,849, to complete the sum for the Patent Office, &c.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he very much regretted that the Vote should be proceeded with on that occasion. It was a Vote as to which he thought there were good grounds, as well as ample material, for useful and interesting discussion. It largely concerned the commercial community throughout the country; and the questions relating to Provincial Museums, of Patents, and Technical Schools, might very properly be raised in connection with it. But at 25 minutes to 2 in the morning it was a perfectly hopeless task to enter upon a discussion which, however interesting and important it might be, could not reach the public.

Vote *agreed to.*

(21.) £17,626, to complete the sum for the Paymaster General's Office.

(22.) £5,768, to complete the sum for the Public Works Loan Commission.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he would like to be informed by the Member of the Government in charge of this Vote, what was the present position of the Public Works Loan Commissioners towards the harbour authorities at St. Ives? A great many years ago a loan was made to the harbour authorities for the construction of harbour works; but, as a matter of fact, these works were never completed. On the contrary, they were at that moment a wreck, and were doing a great deal of harm to the harbour itself. A very large sum of money had been, as he was informed, levied on account of the loan, illegally and improperly, from the ratepayers of the town, who had just cause of complaint; and he believed a great amount of litigation was about to arise between the Local Board and the collector, the latter having even gone the length of urging the ratepayers not to pay any more money, on the ground that the levy was illegal. He asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury whether he could give the Committee any information as to the present position of this business; whether the Public Works Loan Commissioners were determined to levy from the people of St. Ives this very considerable sum of £12,000 or £14,000 for works which were not complete, but which, on the contrary, as he had already pointed out, were in a state of wreck?

MR. COURTNEY said, he was not sufficiently informed in the matter of the harbour works at St. Ives to reply fully to the question of the hon. Member for Queen's County. He knew that a dispute existed, and that earlier in the present year an application had been made for a Provisional Order; but he was not able to inform the hon. Member how the matter had been settled, although he had heard, a few weeks ago, that it would be adjusted in a manner that was likely to be satisfactory to all parties concerned.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Do the Commissioners intend to wipe off the debt?

MR. COURTNEY: I cannot at present say.

Vote *agreed to.*

(23.) £14,466, to complete the sum for the Record Office.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK asked for information as to the publication of the *Sagas.*

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he would like to know who it was that conducted the examination of documents in the archives of Venice? These papers were of great interest to Irish scholars; and perhaps the Financial Secretary, in addition to the other information asked for, would be able to state whether any results of the investigation had been published.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that, notwithstanding the great expenditure of time and money on the examination of documents in the Venetian archives, it was still unfinished, and there seemed to be no prospect of its coming to an end. He was not aware that any report had been made which compensated for the expenditure incurred; and, therefore, he thought it would be satisfactory if the Secretary to the Treasury would state what had been the fruit of the expenditure of recent years.

MR. T. C. BARING said, that anyone who in the last few years had paid attention to the interesting work of Mr. Gardiner on the Reign of Charles I., would understand how useful these documents were for a thorough knowledge of English history.

MR. COURTNEY said, he would make inquiry with reference to the publication of the *Sagas.* With regard to the documents in the archives of Venice, he could inform the hon. Member opposite that four or five volumes had already been published. The work was proceeding, and he could assure the Committee that the publication of the documents was recognized as of the greatest possible historical value. The copies of the documents were deposited in the Record Office.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he thought they would be more accessible to the public if they were deposited in the British Museum.

MR. COURTNEY said, the class of persons was a limited one to which the documents were of interest; and he believed the documents would be more conveniently accessible to that class at the Record Office than at the British Museum.

Vote *agreed to.*

(24.) £43,426, to complete the sum for the Registrar General's Office, England.

MR. W. H. JAMES said, he had received a large number of papers lately relating to the Census in Ireland. He hoped the results of the Census with regard to England and Scotland would be published without delay.

Vote *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported upon *Monday* next.

Committee to sit again upon *Monday* next.

BOMBAY CIVIL FUND BILL.—[BILL 225.]

(*The Marquess of Hartington, Lord Richard Grosvenor.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON, in moving the second reading of this Bill, said, he did not wish to take any advantage of the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) or the hon. Member for Louth (Mr. Callan), who opposed this Bill; but he thought it right to state that, in the opinion of the authorities of the House, this Bill was a Money Bill, to which the Half-past 12 Rule did not apply. He did not wish to take any unfair advantage of the hon. Members, and if they really wished to discuss the Bill he would not press it to-night; but he should, on a future occasion, press the second reading. If the hon. Members who objected to the Bill would give some reason for their objection he would endeavour to meet it; but at present he had not the slightest idea of the grounds of their objections. He hoped that they would not object to the second reading, on the understanding that he would give as fair an opportunity as he could for discussing the Bill on the next stage.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*The Marquess of Hartington.*)

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he hoped the noble Lord would not imagine that his objection was placed on the Paper simply for the purpose of blocking the Bill in the sense in which that term was often understood. He wished to prevent the Bill from being taken when there could be no decision upon its merits. He wished to secure a discussion before the Bill passed, and he opposed the Bill because he had received two letters from gentlemen who were interested in the Fund, who had served in India, and who had assured him that they had ground for believing that their interests would be compromised, and that the Civil Service in India, which had contributed largely to the funds, and every Presidency, would suffer to an extent which astonished him. He had moved for certain Returns of despatches sent by the noble Lord to India with regard to this matter, and he had not yet got through them. It was a very difficult matter to understand, and at present he did not understand altogether the way in which these funds had been worked in the past, or how the interest of the beneficiaries would be affected by the transfer. One of his objections to the Bill was that it appeared that though the Government would gain by the transfer of the Bengal Civil Fund, in all probability the Revenues of India would be saddled with unfair liabilities in connection with the funds of the other two Presidencies. He believed that would be the case, although he was not now in a position to prove it by figures. He doubted very much whether this Bill could be considered a Bill which came under the designation of a Money Bill pure and simple. It was not a question of raising funds or imposing burdens; but it was a question of altering altogether the relations in which the beneficiaries stood to those who had the management of the Fund. It was proposed to transfer to the Government all the funds which they at present had not got. That seemed to him to be something altogether different from the provisions of an ordinary Money Bill. But he did not want to block the Bill merely for obstructive purposes; and if the noble Lord would state that it was a matter of importance that the second reading should be taken, and that he would make arrangements that before a further stage was passed an opportunity would be given for the discussion of the Bill, he should be willing to withdraw his Notice to-night.

MR. CALLAN wished to ask formally whether this was a Money Bill which was excluded from the operation of the Rule. The Government were the parties who had set the example of blocking Notices. He always understood that it was the duty of the Whips to keep a House and to cheer a Minister. He did not at all allude to the superior Whips, but to one of the inferior Whips. Formerly the Whips were to make a House and to keep a majority, and not to prevent a House from discussing any Motion made for a Return; but since the present Government came into Office, either from laziness or incompetency on their part, the unprecedented and irregular proceeding of blocking Notices had been introduced. He had a Notice with reference to a Return of offences which would raise a Constitutional question, and also a question of the faithfulness and *bona fides* of the pledges of the Government when they obtained the Prevention of Crime Bill; but he found that Notice blocked. He had asked for a reason, and was told it was not desirable to have a discussion after half-past 12.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is not speaking to the Question.

Mr. CALLAN said, that Notice was the reason why, in self-defence, he had wished Government Business not to be discussed after half-past 12.

Mr. SPEAKER: As to whether this is a Money Bill, I see that it was introduced by a Resolution of the House. Having regard to that Resolution, I cannot hesitate in considering that it is a Money Bill.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, he thought it would be out of Order for him to follow the hon. Member for Louth (Mr. Callan) on the subject of blocking Notices; but he desired to acknowledge the very fair manner in which the suggestions he had made had been met by the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor). He had no desire to unduly hurry this Bill through the House. The terms offered by the Secretary of State in Council had been accepted by a large majority of those interested, and there were only three opposed to the arrangement suggested. As the hon. Member had not had an opportunity of fully considering the matter, he would agree not to take the further stage of the Bill until Thursday next.

Motion *agreed to*.

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* next.

House adjourned at Two o'clock
till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 31*st July*, 1882.

MINUTES.] — Public Bills — *Committee* — Arrears of Rent (Ireland) (205-213); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) * (162).
Committee—Report—Citation Amendment (Scotland) * (206).
Report—Ancient Monuments * (197).

RESERVE FORCES.

THE QUEEN'S ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS.

The LORD CHAMBERLAIN of the HOUSEHOLD (The Earl of Kenmare) *reported* the Queen's Answer to the Address of Thursday last, as follows:—

"I thank you sincerely for your loyal Address.

"I confidently rely upon your assistance and support in all measures which may be submitted to you for maintaining the interests of My Empire and the security of My people."

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—CO-OPERATION OF THE SULTAN.

QUESTION.

Earl DE LA WARR asked the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government had come to any understanding with the Sultan with reference to the sending of Turkish troops into Egypt?

Earl GRANVILLE: In answer to the Question of the noble Earl, I have to say that arrangements such as those referred to by the noble Earl have not been concluded between the Sultan and Her Majesty's Government.

PARLIAMENT—COMMITTEE FOR PRIVILEGES.

On the Motion of The Earl of Redesdale, Sessional Order *amended* as follows:—

"Leave out the word ("seven") in the Order, and add at the end of the Order (" provided that three Peers designated Lords of Appeal in the Appellate Jurisdiction Act, 1876, be always present at the sitting of the Committee.")

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) BILL.—(No 205.)

(*The Lord Privy Seal.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee, read.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee."—(*The Lord Privy Seal.*)

The Earl of CAMPERDOWN said, that during the discussion which took place on the second reading of this Bill a question was asked by the noble Marquess, who was not now in his place (the Marquess of Lansdowne), as to whether the Government intended this to be a final measure, or whether it was merely an instalment in Irish legislation. As no answer had been given to the question, he (the Earl of Camperdown) ventured to repeat it. It appeared to him to be most important that Parliament should know the whole mind and plan of the Government in reference to this subject. When Parliament was asked to pass a measure which the Government, who were responsible for its introduction, admitted was contrary to all principles of political economy, and which could only be justified by its necessity, it was certainly not too much to ask that they should have an assurance that they should not be called upon hereafter to vote for a measure which should diverge still more from those principles. It was, therefore, important that Parliament, and still more the Irish tenant, should know the whole mind of the Government upon this question. How was it possible that they could escape from further agitation on this question if they did not know what was the limit to which the Government were prepared to go in this direction? The only indication they had received on this point was to be found in the speech of the Prime Minister made in the other House of Parliament, which was as follows:—

> "One important subject was left in doubt at the time when I last spoke, and that was the amendment of the Irish Land Act. Various heads, none of them touching the essence of the Act (the provisions relating to tenure) but still touching very important matters, have been raised, and have attracted, in different degrees, public interest, both here and in Ireland. As far as I recollect, among many others, there are, first of all, the provisions relating to purchase; then those relating to the date of the judicial rent; thirdly, the Emigration Clause; fourthly, the subject of leases, upon which I never spoke as of any large change, but with respect to which there is a recommendation of the Commissioners before the Government not altogether immaterial; and, fifthly, there is the question with respect to labourers, upon which also a recommendation of limited scope has been made by the Commissioners. There may be others; but I believe those are the principal questions."—[3 *Hansard*, cclxxi. 1968.]

The right hon. Gentleman had then proceeded to point out that it was impossible to deal with these questions during the present Session of Parliament. It was evident from this language that there was some intention on the part of the Government of dealing with these questions in the coming, or, at all events, in future Sessions; and he thought that the House was entitled to some explanation of the meaning of those words. Their Lordships would perceive that the Prime Minister had referred to two very important matters, which affected most intimately the relations between the landlords and the tenants of Ireland—the first being the question of the date of the judicial rent, and the second being that relating to the leases. In dealing with those two important matters it was quite possible that the whole subject of the Land Act might be brought under discussion. Neither the Irish Representatives in the other House nor the Irish tenants themselves were slow to appreciate the advantages which indefinite statements on the part of the Government on such subjects gave them; and indefinite language such as that used by the Prime Minister was calculated more than anything else to do great mischief in Ireland. In these circumstances, he trusted that the Lord Privy Seal would be able to give the House some definite assurance with regard to the extent and meaning of the Prime Minister's words, because he believed that plain speaking was the best policy to adopt in the interests of both the Irish landlord and the Irish tenant. How was a landlord to manage his estate, or a tenant to cultivate his holding, if they had an idea that the Legislature was going to do something in reference to land of which they did not know? It was proposed in this Bill to compound the debts of the tenants, and to pay a certain portion of them. It seemed to him, when they had done that, they had done as much as could fairly be claimed. The Government could confer no more important boon upon them both than to state distinctly and clearly what they were prepared to do, and what they were determined not to do, in the matter of future Irish legislation. If they did not speak out clearly, he feared the day was far distant when they would see the contentment and pacification of Ireland. He, therefore, begged to ask the noble Lord for an assurance that if the Bill became law no further important changes would be proposed by Her Majesty's Government in the laws relating to contract between landlord and tenant in Ireland; or, in the event of the Government being unable to give such assurance, he asked for an explanation of the Amendments in the Irish Land Act lately foreshadowed by the Prime Minister.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) said, he was able to answer the noble Earl's question in the affirmative. He need hardly say that the Bill now before their Lordships' House was naturally one of a temporary character, intended to meet a crisis in the agrarian history of Ireland, and its effects would come to an end in the course of a very few months. The present measure was not intended to serve as a precedent or example for any future legislation that would effect any serious change in the principles of the Irish Land Act of last year; and he might add that the Prime Minister never had in his mind any serious changes as to matters of principle in that Act. In saying this, of course he did not pretend to bind the Government down so as to debar it for all time, or for the term of its existence, from proposing any corrections of detail which they might deem just or expedient in carrying into effect such a large and complicated measure as the Irish Land Act of 1881. One of those corrections of detail, which was one of the very things alluded to by the Prime Minister, and was now before their Lordships' House, was the correction suggested by the Irish Land Commissioners, supplying an omission in the Act of last year with respect to the provision of houses and allotments for labourers. But his right hon. Friend personally had no intention, and Her Majesty's Government as a whole had no intention, of proposing any change in the Tenure Clauses of the Land Act, which would affect the principles of the Act of last year. In making that statement, he wished to include in it not only the matter referred to by the noble Earl, but the question which his noble Friend had not mentioned, but which was adverted to lately by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Lansdowne)—that relating to the law of compensation for improvements, or the effect of the tenant's claim for improvements in fixing a fair rent, which the noble Marquess described under the form of the principle of "prairie value."

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, he would venture to warn their Lordships against being misled into supposing that Her Majesty's Government either could or would bind themselves, as the noble Lord told them, to any cessation of their attacks upon property in Ireland. When he looked back to the professions made in 1870, when they were told that arguments altogether unanswerable were produced against the very things which were embodied in the Bill of last year, and when he found that no attempt had been made, even by those who brought forward that Bill, to address themselves to a proper answer to these arguments, he felt how uncertain all this legislation was, and especially where the Prime Minister, instead of placing some limit on this occasion on his concessions as he did in 1870, came forward now with language of the most uncertain description—language which had already gone to Ireland and produced its evil effects, however it might be corrected and palliated by the noble Lord opposite. The present Government, in fact, was always actuated by circumstances as they arose, and the more terrible those circumstances were the less it seemed prepared to cope with them in the only way in which they should be met—namely, by reserving the policy of conciliation until peace and order had been firmly established in the country.

EARL FORTESCUE said, he was surprised that such an appeal as that of the noble Earl (the Earl of Camperdown) should have been made to the Government, because it was one which no Government ought to answer in any other spirit than that of the noble Lord (the Lord Privy Seal). No Government could with propriety bind its discretion. He, however, quite agreed with the noble Viscount as to the value of any assurances that might be given by the present Government — a Government which had never hesitated on occasions to retract or explain away its opinions. The Irish landlords certainly, after their recent experience, would not easily be reassured by anything the Prime Minister might say. The Bill was contrary to all sound principles of political economy. It inflicted hardship on the landlords by singling them out from all other creditors as the only victims; it rewarded the tenant in proportion to his failure as a farmer, or his dishonesty as a man. The Bill would waste useful funds, which, wisely applied, would be capable of rendering the greatest service to Ireland, and would most likely inflict heavy burdens upon the taxpayers of the United Kingdom. As regarded the general scope of the Arrears Clauses, upon which he wished to say a few words, he could not but express his regret that the interests of the labourers had been so much overlooked. Such neglect, it seemed to him, was especially unwise at the present time, when the Labourers' League was beginning to make itself felt in Ireland. Within the past few days he had heard of intimidation and "Boycotting" being practised by the labourers; and he was afraid that they, in their turn, were beginning to learn that the commission of outrages was the best means of calling attention to their wrongs. The result of the Bill would, in his opinion, be to alienate and discourage the whole body of the labourers of Ireland, and to foster the spread of the Labourers' League, and thus to add one more element to that social disorganization which had so largely followed the advent of the present Government to power in Ireland. Much as he should regret the loss of the Emigration Clause of the Bill, he should prefer to incur that loss rather than to see the first part of that measure passed in its present form.

Motion *agreed to.*

House in Committee accordingly.

PART I.

SETTLEMENT OF ARREARS OF RENT.

Clause 1 (Settlement by Land Commission of arrears of rent).

LORD DUNSANY moved the insertion, in line 8, after ("applies"), of the words "being situated within the districts scheduled in the Compensation for Disturbance Bill, 1880." His object, he said, was to restrict an admitted evil to the smallest area, and the limitation was proposed by Her Majesty's present Government under precisely similar circumstances.

Amendment *moved,*

> In page 1, line 8, after ("applies"), insert ("being situated within the districts scheduled in the 'Compensation for Disturbance Bill, 1880.'")—(*The Lord Dunsany.*)

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) said, that in point of form it was impossible to legislate by reference to a Bill which never became law. That was an objection which was conclusive against the Amendment as it stood. But it was equally objectionable in principle. No doubt the districts included in the Bill referred to were about the poorest parts of Ireland; but there was plenty of poverty and arrears in other parts, and it was impossible to draw a line between one district and another. If the Bill was right and admissible in one district, it was right and admissible in another.

LORD DUNSANY said, that the idea of illegality and impossibility mentioned by the noble Lord was ridiculous. He hoped their Lordships would remember that this was not a Government Bill, but owed its original introduction to Mr. Redmond.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE said, he quite agreed with the Lord Privy Seal that it would be impossible to accept the proposal.

Amendment *negatived.*

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY, in rising to move the omission, in line 10, of the word "either," said: My Lords, this Amendment is preliminary to another of considerable importance. I am dispensed from the necessity of troubling your Lordships at any great length on this Amendment, because we discussed it in tolerable detail when the Bill was read a second time. But the case is this. The English Government proposes to go into Ireland to buy arrears. It proposes to buy them and pay for them, limiting its operations to farms of a particular size. But its mode of paying for them is this. Some arrears are worth 20*s.* in the pound, and some are worth absolutely nothing. It proposes to give a sum never exceeding 10*s.* in the pound, and sometimes falling a good deal short of it, and to force every landlord in Ireland, whether he belongs to the first class or the second class, to sell his arrears at that price. Now, if that is a just proceeding there is a good deal to be said for the tactics of that venerable old gentleman, Procrustes, in dealing with his captives; because, after all, he established, I believe, a very satisfactory average of the human stature, only he insisted on cutting off the legs of those who were too tall and putting them on to the legs of those who were too short. But let us apply this principle to the purchase of anything else not mixed up so much with Party controversy as arrears of rent. Suppose the Government went into the county of

Kent intending to buy up all the horses there. Some of the horses are worth not more than £5; others may possibly be worth £500. The Government might say—"This is a favourable opportunity for applying our doctrine of averages; we shall give £50 to everybody for his horse, and force everybody to sell for that price." Would it be any consolation to the man whose horse was worth £500, and who got only one-tenth of its price, that another man got for his ten times its value? That is the system which the Government intends to impose by compulsion on the landlords of Ireland. I may be told that the horse which is worth £500 does not come within the operation of this Bill. I shall be told that these infallible persons the Sub-Commissioners will at once decide that the tenant can pay his arrears, and will exclude him from the benefits of the Bill. Upon that subject I hardly think that anyone who hears me will require convincing. I do not refer to the known character and bias of the Sub-Commissioners. I believe there is but a very small minority among your Lordships who, if they could vote in secret, would trust anything to the wisdom and impartiality of the Sub-Commissioners. But, setting that point aside, it is impossible to ascertain whether the owner of a £50 or a £5 holding has or has not in his possession £15 or £20, which might constitute his arrears of rent. It would be utterly impossible to find it out. The tenant can conceal the sum with the greatest ease. No one can know it but his family or his neighbours, and I should have thought it hardly necessary at this time of day to insist upon the impossibility of inducing the neighbours of a tenant in Ireland to bear witness against him in a Court of Justice, however bad his case may be. Even if it be possible to discover that the tenant possesses this money, the Bill as it now stands would prevent you from doing so. The Bill deliberately excludes from the calculation of the tenant's ability to pay the two most important though indefinite quantities—the value of his holding and the amount of money which is necessary for the cultivation of his farm. The determination of those amounts depends upon the will and judgment of the Commissioners. Be they large or be they small, they are now by law liable for the payment of the debt due to the landlord; and you cannot justly by Act of Parliament wrench this money from the landlord and give it to the tenant. We are told that we often use the word "confiscation," and, in truth, with this Government we often have occasion. If there be such a thing as stealing on the part of the State, if it be possible for the State unjustly to take one man's money and give it to another, I cannot understand any offence more distinctly proved than confiscation is proved against this Bill.

EARL GRANVILLE: I think the noble Marquess is a little out of Order in turning his back to some of your Lordships and pointedly addressing the reporters in the Gallery. It is difficult to hear the noble Marquess.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, it is difficult, as the House is topographically, to prevent speaking with my back to some of your Lordships, because if I address the Woolsack I must speak with my back to some Members of the House, and if I address the Treasury Bench I should be speaking with my back to my own Friends. Resuming my argument, the thread of which has been somewhat broken by the interruption of my noble Friend, I repeat that the proposals of this Bill seem to me clear confiscation, and the only mode by which the Bill can be brought into correspondence with the principles of common honesty is to make the operation of the Bill optional on the part of the landlord as well as the tenant. I use that language because it is not a question of mere expediency. It does seem to be that the doctrine which is slowly creeping over our rulers and our legislators, that any invasion on the part of Parliament of the property of the subject is justifiable if for the moment, for a passing crisis, you can plead the tyrant's plea of necessity—it does seem to me that that doctrine requires to be earnestly resisted and stoutly refuted by your Lordships' House. My Lords, do not be misled by appeals to supposed motives of disinterestedness in the exercise of your functions in the Constitution to protect individual rights. If you neglect to protect individual rights, from any hope that you will conciliate by such conduct those whose object it is to invade them, you will simply demoralize public opinion and the public conscience, and make it easier in the future to make further and more disastrous encroachments upon the same fatal path. The alteration I am proposing is not one inconsistent with the principle of the Bill. On the contrary, it is, in the highest degree, a re-enforcement of the principles professed by Her Majesty's Government. If the object be to make no inroad upon private property, if the object be merely to release from their arrears those who are actually and utterly incapable of meeting them, you can devise no machinery fitter for that purpose than making it the interest of the landlord, who is more likely than anyone else to know the circumstances of his tenant, to assist the Sub-Commissioners in distinguishing between the true case and the false. If you accept this Amendment, and make the operation of the Bill optional with regard to the landlord as well as the tenant, the effect will be this. The landlord will not consent where he believes that the inability to pay arrears is not genuine. In refusing his consent he will not only protect his own arrears, but the interests of the State, and the funds which the State has devoted to this purpose. That there are any classes of landlords so absurd in their ideas that they would refuse 10*s.* in the pound for the payment of an irrecoverable debt is a thing impossible to believe. The Ministry, in the heat of debate, may possibly assert it; but it may be classed with those hallucinations which induced Her Majesty's Government last year to assure us that the rents of Ireland would not in general be reduced. We know that on these Irish questions Her Majesty's Government are not to be trusted, for they "see visions and dream dreams." They have notions as to the result of their measures without any facts to justify them, and which the history of events utterly belies. If they tell you that there are any considerable classes in Ireland which will be so blind to their own interests, which, for the sake of keeping a ridiculous control over their tenants, would refuse an offer they would never get again of 10*s.* in the pound for bad debts, I must treat such an assertion as a mere delusion. If there be such a state of things, it is so wildly improbable that we ought to have a formal Parliamentary inquiry to ascertain its existence, and not to confiscate the property of a whole class upon so absurd and improbable an hypothesis. What are the objections to this Amendment? I listened carefully to the debate the other night. It was said that an analogous proposal was made in the Bill of last year, and that it had failed. Last year it was proposed that if the landlord and tenant should agree in borrowing, a certain sum of money could be borrowed and charged upon the estate. The noble Lord now has the courage to tell us that that is an analogous proposal to giving a man money with no charge upon the State. There may be many men who would not be inclined to borrow, especially when the loan was charged upon the estate; but very few will refuse a gift. There is no analogy whatever between the two cases; there is no ground for believing that because the loans last year were not at all made use of, that, therefore, the landlords will refuse the gift which this Bill proposes to make for arrears which are really irrecoverable. Another argument against this Amendment is that it will produce what is called a crisis. That depends upon the people who have the discretion of determining whether a crisis shall be produced or not. It is for your Lordships to determine whether the proposal is reasonable or not; and, if reasonable, it is your duty to insist upon it. I am told that somebody in "another place" has said that the principle of this proposal is contrary to the first principles of the Bill. If your Lordships admit that, whenever somebody in "another place" avers that some particular provision is inconsistent with the first principles of any measure, that is a reason for refusing to adopt that provision, it is clear that you will be ousted from any sort of co-operation in the legislation of the country. We have nothing whatever to do with what the Ministry considers are the principles of the Bill; what we have to do is to deal with the principles of the Bill as they actually stand. I venture to assert that if the Ministry really desire to carry out the objects of the Bill, which really aims at the pacification of Ireland by conciliation and by gift of arrears, that they will be able, by accepting the Bill, amended in the way I propose, to carry out the principles that it has in view; but that if they reject the Bill so amended, it will show that there has never been any real sincerity in their desire to pacify Ireland by these means. I have tried in framing this Amendment, as well as the other Amendment which I shall have the honour of submitting to your Lordships, to obviate every objection, and to present it in a form least likely to raise objections, or resistance, or dislike, on the part of the authors of the Bill. I have heard it said that this principle is a vital one—that if you pass the Bill with this Amendment it would be a measure which I consider foolish, but which will do no particular harm. But I maintain that if you pass this Bill without this Amendment you will be sanctioning a doctrine of simple confiscation. Therefore, I submit this Amendment to your Lordships as one that is vital to this Bill.

Amendment *moved*, in page 1, line 10, leave out ("either").—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL): My Lords, it is not necessary for the noble Marquess to refer to anything that has been said in "another place" as to the view of the Government with respect to the importance of this Amendment. In the view of the Government this Amendment is equivalent to the second reading of the Arrears Bill, and for reasons which I will shortly give in a moment or two. The noble Marquess has made some remarkable assumptions in the argument he has addressed to your Lordships. First of all, he has boldly assumed that the tenant's inability to pay all his arrears, which is one of the main principles of the Bill, is a fact that can never be ascertained. He assumes that no one, under the provisions of this Bill, can be found in Ireland sufficiently capable and honest to adjudicate on that question. He assumes that the Land Commissioners will not be able to decide it, and that there will not be found among the 48 Sub-Commissioners a gentleman capable of performing that duty. Those assumptions I entirely deny. Those gentlemen will be most materially assisted in arriving at their conclusions by proper and capable persons who will be selected by the central Land Commission for that purpose, and whose report in all cases in which there is any kind of suspicion or doubt will be considered by the Land Commissioners. Power has been carefully reserved to the Government or the Treasury to look after the interests of the State in this matter by the appointment of some person to represent the Treasury in the course of the inquiry—probably the Sessional Crown Solicitor of the county in which the investigation takes place. But the noble Marquess assumes that all this inquiry as to the inability of the tenant to pay will be worth nothing. That is an assumption which we are not bound to accept. Then the noble Marquess assumes that there are arrears previous to 1880 worth 20*s.* in the pound, and we are going to give the landlord for them only 10*s.* in the pound. That assumption I entirely deny. If there are such cases, they are very few indeed; and if some landlords are called on to make any such sacrifices, such landlords will be amply compensated by the effect of this Bill in general. The noble Marquess, indeed, has absolutely omitted—in a manner which cannot be thought worthy of a statesman, looking at the present condition of Ireland—he has absolutely omitted all consideration of the interests of the Irish landlords as a class—not only their interests from a public point of view, but the interests of every landlord who finds himself a member of a class which stands at this moment in such dangerous relations with the great class of the tenants, the very relations which we endeavour by this Bill to place on a better footing for the future. My Lords, I said that the Government are bound to treat this Amendment as equivalent to the second reading of the Bill, because we think that to do what the noble Marquess proposes to do would be to stultify what your Lordships have done by passing the second reading The noble Marquess says the Amendment would be acceptable to the landlords. I do not know how that may be; but it would be fatal to the tenants and to the measure. It would largely tend to defeat the purposes of this legislation. The noble Marquess actually requires that the landlord shall impose his own terms upon the acceptance of the public money—that it shall not be received on the terms of the State, but on the terms of the landlord. The veto of the landlord would come in at the very starting point. The operation of the Bill would depend, in each individual case, on the character, temper, situation, and calculations of the individual landlord.

I put aside for a moment whether that is a state of things which Parliament, if it adopted such a measure as this at all, ought to submit to; but is the Amendment in the interests of the landlords themselves? I submit that it is directly contrary to their interests that the responsibility of making up their minds whether they should put a veto on the operation of the Act or not should be imposed upon them. Conceive the feeling it would give rise to between landlord and tenant in every part of Ireland. This measure is intended as a message of peace; but its passage with the Amendment which the noble Marquess proposes would only tend to create further discord between the two classes. I do not know how many Irish landlords would have courage to incur the odium of putting their veto on this great offer of the State. Some would undoubtedly; but others, I believe, would find themselves under a compulsion to give their assent—a kind of compulsion which it would be very undesirable indeed that they should undergo. If the Irish landlords, or any of them, are to be subject to any compulsion at all, let it be the compulsion of Parliament and of the State, adopted on grounds of public policy. But, really, the objection to the adoption of the Amendment lies in a nutshell. We say it would stultify this legislation. In cases in which it would be desirable that peace should be made between landlord and tenant, and that means should be provided for winding up the miserable period through which they and we are now passing, your Act would, under such conditions as it is now sought to impose, be at the mercy of the landlord as to whether it should come into operation or not. This measure is intended for great public and national purposes — for the purpose of putting an end to a state of things in Ireland from which the landlord suffers more than anyone else, and for the interests of the Empire. When you have made up your minds to adopt such a measure as that, will you defeat it by assenting to such an Amendment as this? What would be the result? Parliament would have accepted and passed a measure of a most exceptional kind—a measure with all its attendant evils such as they are—but would have passed it without any security whatever for its due operation, and would have left it to certain persons in Ireland to decide whether it should have any operation or not. That is what the noble Marquess wants. Such legislation as that, my Lords, would be discreditable to Government and to Parliament; and it is a kind of legislation which, so far as the Government at least are concerned, they will not be responsible for. I only hope that your Lordships, who have accepted this Bill on the second reading, will not incur the responsibility of sending it out of your Lordships' House a totally different measure, with totally different results, and that the public spirit, and, I must add, the enlightened interest of noble Lords connected with Ireland, will not allow the noble Marquess to make this radical change in the Bill.

VISCOUNT LIFFORD said, he quite agreed with the Lord Privy Seal as to the advisability of establishing good relations between landlord and tenant. But was it likely that that would be the effect of the Bill as it stood? In his opinion, the proposition of the noble Marquess was far more likely to produce that result. He was quite sure that advantage would largely be taken of this Bill by a great number of landlords and tenants; but he was equally certain that there were classes of tenants to whom it was of the greatest importance to deny the provisions of the Bill —namely, those who had not paid their rent in consequence of the orders of the Land League. He ventured to say that if the Bill passed with the Amendment of the noble Marquess, it would be a most valuable Bill for Ireland; but that if the Amendment were rejected, it would be one of the greatest curses which that country had ever suffered from.

THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE said, he thought the Lord Privy Seal was well advised in rejecting the Amendment. The statement of the noble Marquess to the effect that the compulsion was all on one side was fallacious. It must be remembered that the position of the tenant was *ex hypothesi* that he was in arrear, and if he did not come in and pay up a year's rent, the landlord was not obliged to allow him to continue in possession of the holding. Therefore, the tenant was offered the choice between eviction and complying with the provisions of the Bill. The mode of procedure recommended by the noble Marquess would be an admirable one if the Bill were an optional one; but the whole point of the arrangement was that it was a compulsory composition of certain liabilities. They must remember that the optional system failed last year. The noble Marquess seemed to ignore that fact. A great reason why they should not allow the arrangement to be at the mercy of landlords or tenants was that they were going to take possession of a great Irish fund, and also to ask the taxpayer for a considerable contribution. In these circumstances he thought they had a right to insist that the bargain must be as complete as possible. The whole foundation of recent legislation in dealing with Irish landlords and tenants was that there were in those classes individuals who were not fit to be trusted to make their own bargains. The landlord and tenant had already been placed *in statu pupillari*, and this Bill was entirely consistent with that principle. The noble Marquess objected to confide the responsibility of ascertaining inability to pay to the Land Commissioners; but surely such a responsibility could not be placed in the hands of the landlords. That would be out of the question. He had a strong feeling that any important alteration in that respect would throw out of gear the whole machinery which the Government had applied for dealing with the great difficulties which confronted them in Ireland. The Government were proceeding on a two-fold line. They had obtained effectual measures for dealing with disorder, and they were now endeavouring to do something to relieve the pressure which had, no doubt, tended to increase crime. He should greatly regret if, on the one hand, they accepted that legislation, which was directed against crime, and, on the other hand, left unmitigated that pressure which was calculated to lead to increase of crime in that unfortunate country. The position of Ireland was serious; but he believed there had begun an improvement which might yet lead to a complete restoration of order. If, however, the passage of the Bill were jeopardized, or if it passed in an unsatisfactory condition, he must say he thought the House would incur a grave and serious responsibility.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD said, he was really surprised that the Government should object to accept the reasonable Amendment of the noble Marquess. Under the Bill as it stood, the creditor would be required to submit to such terms as his debtor might think fit to enforce. The reason that the Loan Clauses of the Bill of last year had failed was because the terms of the loan were too stringent, and imposed a liability for the repayment of the loan upon the landlord in the event of the default of the tenant.

THE EARL OF DERBY: My Lords, whatever differences of opinion there may be among us—and I can easily understand that there are such differences of opinion—with regard to the question whether this Bill ought to pass or not, there is one point on which I apprehend, after the speech made by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury), and the expressive declaration of the Lord Privy Seal (Lord Carlingford), there can be no difference. We shall all agree that the Amendment which we are now discussing is not one of mere detail, but one that touches the vital principle of the Bill. If we agree to this Amendment, we shall not be passing this measure in a modified form, but we shall be asking Her Majesty's Government to take their Bill back, and substituting for it another of a totally different character. If I am right in that respect, it seems to me a pity that we did not fight out the matter to the end on the second reading of the Bill. I can conceive that there may be very strong reasons alleged against the measure, and I know of other reasons stronger and more conclusive in favour of the passing of the Bill; but there is one course for which I can see no justification, and that is to accept in form the principle of a Bill on its second reading, and then destroy it by a side wind in Committee by introducing into it Amendments which are absolutely incompatible with its main object. To destroy the Bill in that way will not enable us to evade our responsibility for its rejection. Such a course will not deceive anyone, and it will not protect the House against any unpopularity which may attach to the rejection of the measure. I can well conceive that there are many circumstances in which it might become not only our right, but our duty, to do that which may be unpopular and contrary to the public opinion of the moment;

but I am satisfied that it cannot be wise for us to do an unpopular act in a way that looks as though we were ashamed of avowing it. What does this Amendment propose to do? It proposes, as I understand it, that the arrears shall be put an end to only with the consent of the landlord. If the landlord objects, the provisions of the measure cannot be put in force. I do not suppose that anyone will contend that the Irish tenant who is in arrear, although he has suffered severely, has any special claim to favour or indulgence, or that there is anything in his position that entitles him to a consideration that is not to be extended to other classes in Ireland. I also fully admit the soundness of the reasons which have been urged against the policy of adopting exceptional measures with regard to Ireland, because I am aware that exceptional measures are apt to become the rule, unless you make it perfectly clear upon what special ground such exceptional measures are based. I do not support this Bill on either of these pleas. But the ground upon which the recent measures are based is perfectly clear — it is to make it easier to maintain social order and peace in Ireland. If you leave matters alone, and leave the landlords in Ireland to enforce their legal rights, you will be bound to give them, not merely permission to enforce those rights, but assistance to enable them to enforce them. But suppose, while, on the one hand, the landlords were determined to enforce their rights, and, on the other, the tenants determined not to pay their rent—what would be the state of Ireland then? Should we be strong enough in such a case to enforce the law? I think not. I do not say that the Government would not be strong enough to put down open resistance to the law and to enforce evictions in isolated cases; but when we come to deal with the case of every holding on every estate in the country, I do not know what police or military force would be sufficient to protect the lives of those who were attempting to carry out the law. Without accepting as accurate the assertion that if a whole people united to resist the payment of rent, they would be masters of the situation, I believe that a general resistance to the payment of rent would produce a situation which would be most disastrous to the peace of the country. In the present state of feeling between the landlords and the tenants of Ireland, I think that the State has a right to interfere in the interests of public order. It has been said that the difficulty I have pointed out would not arise, because very few landlords would evict; but, in that case, why should the minority be allowed to do that which, if the majority did it, would bring about the state of things which I have indicated? If no landlord will evict, then it does not matter whether this Bill is based upon the voluntary or the compulsory principle; if a few evict, then I say that in the face of grave public peril the small minority have no right by rash acts to compromise the public peace; and if a large number evict, then the difficulty to which I have referred will arise. But there is another alternative. Landlords who may not themselves care to evict may sell their estates. Who is to prevent that? [A Noble Lord: They are unsaleable.] At the present low price of Irish land it may be very well worth the while of speculators to form Companies to buy Irish estates, to clear them of non-paying tenants, and to parcel them out in small lots to meet the requirements of purchasers. The question is, would a measure framed on a really voluntary basis do away with the danger of eviction? I do not think it would. In many cases it would be better for a landlord to sacrifice his arrears altogether, and to get back the land into his own hands. If he took that view, there was no reason why he should put the provisions of the measure in force, and so the measure would become inoperative exactly in the circumstances in which it was most required. In the case of a man who would use his powers in a manner dangerous to the public safety, the State has a right, if it thinks necessary, to prohibit him from doing that which is a danger to the public safety; and if, at the same time, the State makes him a liberal compensation for the power which they temporarily take away, I do not think that the person in such a case has any very substantial ground for complaint. The measure is, no doubt, an exceptional one; but it would be a mockery of justice if, having passed a Land Act expressly in order to enable Irish tenants to hold to their land, we were to deny them the means of availing themselves of the benefits offered them. I am not going to argue whether legislation of this kind is dangerous or not. There is a good deal to be said on that point. I, for one, am not very fond of it. But, having begun, you cannot stop half way. It would be folly to take away with one hand what you give with the other. I do not know whether those who support the Amendment of the noble Marquess have considered the invidious position in which they will place the landlord who refuses to take advantage of the Act. The landlord will evict, not for the reason that he cannot get his money, but because he refuses the help of the State. He rejects the offer solely with the object that he may get rid of his tenant. Surely it is no kindness to place a man in that position, even if it were partly his own doing. If your Lordships agree to this Amendment, what will be the position of the tenant when the landlord does not choose to put the Act into operation? If the tenant is evicted, he knows, and his neighbours will know, and all the country will know, that the eviction took place contrary to the wish and intention of the Executive Government, and contrary to the intention of the House of Commons. If the Government and the House of Commons had had their way in dealing with the matter, the tenant would have remained upon his farm. Now, surely in a country where the law is not very highly respected it is somewhat dangerous to strain it in that way. One great objection taken to the Bill is the alleged demoralizing effect it will produce upon the honest tenant who has paid his rent. Well, I cannot deny the force of that objection. It is certainly an unsatisfactory state of things that there should be a general distribution of public money, and that the parties least benefited by it should be the landlord who has been moderate enough to ask only a just rent and the tenant who has been honest enough to pay as much as he could. But you cannot distribute public money on a large scale in relief without the unfortunate and demoralizing result that you put the industrious and the improvident on the same footing, or rather you give the improvident an advantage over the industrious. It is so; and it must be so always. The man who has saved must spend his earnings before he is entitled to relief, and he gets by so much less relief than the man who has saved nothing. But the Amendment does not deal with that part of the question; it does not provide for the removal of that injustice. Whether the Amendment is passed or not, therefore, the demoralization to the honest tenant and the advantage given to the dishonest tenant remain the same. Another consideration I would bring before noble Lords opposite is that this measure has been brought in on the responsibility of the Government, and that those who are responsible for modifying it will be responsible for its failure. I, for one, am not very sanguine about its success, even in its present form, not because I believe anything different ought or could have been done, but because I believe Irish discontent to be too deep-rooted to be readily removed. But if you alter the Bill in any material point, the responsibility for its failure will fall from the shoulders of the Government upon yours; and it does not seem to me to be evidence of good tactics for any political Party to go out of their way in order to provide for their opponents a ready-made excuse for the non-success of their policy. You cannot, in a general settlement of this kind, meet the peculiar circumstances of every particular individual and every single case; and I am not prepared to deny that there probably may be some cases of hardship under this Bill; but I believe that, as a class, the landlords will be gainers by it. I do not attach so much weight as some appear to do to the alleged danger of creating a precedent by this measure, because by the nature of things a precedent cannot be so created. The fund out of which the means of carrying out the measure will be mainly derived is the Irish Church Fund. That can only be spent once; and even if over and above what will be defrayed from the Church Fund you have to come upon the Consolidated Fund further than there is any reason to suppose will be necessary, I do not think we need object to the sacrifice if it should carry us over a very difficult and trying crisis. I should be disposed to say this if we had before us *res integra.* But the case is still stronger in the circumstances in which the question comes to us, because we have not to say whether we should ourselves have framed or suggested such a Bill. There are some points in it to which I might have objected had the Bill been brought in by a private Member; but it has been brought in by the responsible Ministers; and we have to consider whether, when the boon has been promised by the Executive Government, and their promise has been ratified by the other branch of the Legislature, it is safe or wise for us to withdraw that boon. I do not believe that it is; and, therefore, looking at the difficulties by which we are surrounded, I will be no party to increasing those difficulties by assenting to this Amendment.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, he thought that in listening to the noble Earl who had just sat down their Lordships might have had doubts as to what was the use of their Lordships assembling together at all to discuss a Bill brought in by the Government. They might have been led to the conclusion that when the Government of the day brought in a measure which made promises and excited expectations, the functions of their Lordships' House were virtually to cease, and that, sooner than disappoint expectations which had been raised without their consent, they were to give their assent to principles which were practically denounced by every sentence which the noble Earl had uttered. He did not know what the Government thought of the noble Earl's defence of their Bill; but if Balaam had been called in to bless the Bill, he had certainly cursed, and cursed it especially in regard to the special ground on which it had been mainly rested—namely, that it was calculated to bring about permanent peace in Ireland—a result which the noble Earl told them he did not in the least expect from it. On the contrary, the noble Earl said that disaffection and animosity in Ireland were so deeply rooted that the Bill would only touch the surface of the evil, and, therefore, it was only a temporary measure. The noble Earl supported it because he said it could not form a precedent. Why could it not form a precedent? They had heard rumours that the Irish harvest would not be good, that the potato crop was failing, and the like. He did not know how far that was correct; but he knew that the time would come when Ireland would be suffering again from bad harvests; and the same questions as they were now considering would arise again, the same arrears would accumulate, and this Bill would be appealed to as a precedent, and, although there might be no Church Fund, they would be called upon to make drafts upon the Consolidated Fund. The noble Earl said that he would not have supported the Bill if it had been the Bill of a private Member.

THE EARL OF DERBY observed, that he said it was doubtful if he should do so.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, this was the Bill of a private Member; it was the product of the information received from Kilmainham; it was the Bill of a Home Ruler; it was denounced in principle by Mr. Forster last year as demoralizing. Therefore, the Government not only came before their Lordships with an exceptional Bill, but with a Bill which one Member of the Cabinet had declared to contain a demoralizing principle. A noble Marquess opposite had the other night asked the Government where they were going to stop in legislation of that description. Were their Lordships not entitled to ask how far they would allow themselves to be led in that direction? Not the slightest attempt had been made to refute the objection taken against the dishonesty of that measure by the noble Marquess behind him. If there were anything like certainty as to the results of the Bill in giving permanent peace to Ireland—if there were anything like a hope that bad principles would ever achieve good results—he doubted not that their Lordships might be willing to sacrifice a good deal. But the experience they had had showed that such results did not follow. The further they went on the downward course of destroying the first principles of honour and honesty in order to conciliate certain classes they would find that they were demoralizing the people, confirming them in their improvidence, and teaching them not to rely on their honesty and their own ability. And when they were told that the inability of the tenant would be easily ascertained, he might remind their Lordships that a high authority two years ago, speaking in that House, said he felt some difficulty in realizing to himself the process by which a

County Court Judge was to come to his decision, that he should be sorry to be the Judge who had to decide the point as to the reality of the tenant's inability to pay; and he went on to ask what evidence would be accessible on that point, and how it was possible to know how many sovereigns the tenant had in an old stocking, and so forth? That was the language of the noble Earl who had just been addressing their Lordships, and which he had, to a certain extent, repeated that evening, though not with the same earnestness and force as he showed two years ago. The noble Earl told them that nothing was so inconsistent with the duty of a party of honourable men as to assent to the second reading of a Bill, and then so to amend it that it should not be acceptable to those from whom it came. Why, that was the policy which the noble Earl himself recommended on the Compensation for Disturbance Bill. The noble Earl proposed to limit the area, the time, and the amount fixed in that Bill, matters on all of which the Government laid the greatest stress, making them essential parts of their measure. The noble Earl said—

> "If the alternative were between passing the Bill as it stands and rejecting it altogether, I would vote for its rejection. But that is not the only alternative before us. There is the alternative between the rejection of the Bill and its modification in Committee, and I am prepared to vote for the latter, and not for the former."—[3 *Hansard*, ccliv. 1924.]

Were their Lordships always to take the word of the Government as to the meaning of an Amendment, and because the Government said such a thing was the principle of the Bill—and it had passed its second reading—were their Lordships bound to waive their rights, and let the measure pass unamended? The passing of the second reading did not involve all the considerations which the noble Earl seemed to imagine. This Bill might be a House of Commons Bill, but it was not a Bill of the country. The noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) told them that when he joined the Cabinet there was no question of interfering with land in Ireland. These measures were brought into a Parliament which had no idea it was to be concerned with such matters; and now they were to be told that the House of Lords was to be coerced into passing this measure by a temporary majority in the House of Commons, as if the country had expressed a wish on the subject, upon which they had not been consulted. The Government had got rid of all the principles of economy, or had sent them to Saturn or Jupiter. What had the Government done? They had taken last year to bribe the tenants, not money of their own, but money abstracted from those who had as much right to possess it as any one of their Lordships to his personal property. The landlords were now called upon to make still further sacrifices, and to sink down to a state of poverty, which it was lamentable to contemplate. It was said that this Amendment was inconsistent with the Bill; but he maintained it was consistent with the Bill—it was a question of degree and not of principle—for under the Bill, the moment the valuation of £30 a-year was passed, the Act required the joint application by landlord and tenant. Then, again, under the Bill as it stood, the affidavit of the landlord and tenant was *primâ facie* evidence of the tenant's inability to pay. Both those provisions were contained in the Bill. On what principle was it that the landlord, in cases where the tenant was really unable to pay anything, was entitled to evict; and yet, where he was defrauded by his tenant, and the tenant paid a portion of what he had unjustly withheld, that tenant would, if his fraud could not be proved, be able to come upon the Treasury and Church Fund, and take advantage of the Bill? But they were told by the noble Earl that a liberal compensation was given to the landlord. Yes; in some cases it might be more than the landlord was likely to be able to enforce; but that did not do away with his right to take his choice. Was it, he would ask, a wise course to enable men to stay in their holdings in a state of poverty? For they knew that many of these tenants were in such a position that in a very few years they would be reduced to abject poverty, even if they had the benefits of this Bill; nay, even if they paid no rent at all. They had pieces of land which could not maintain them in any case. The noble Earl who had spoken last had imagined there was a combination among the landlords in Ireland to evict their tenants. In the present state of Ireland, was that a probability? Was it even a possibility? It had been proved before Commissions that the majority of the landlords were considerate and just towards their tenants, and yet it was said they had combined to evict their tenants. That was an argument to be left to answer itself. But the noble Earl went further. He warned the landlords of the dangerous responsibilities they were taking on themselves; it was a danger which would call forth what had been termed "the wild spirit of revenge." If it were so, the landlords of Ireland asked for justice, and for protection from the sacrifice of their rights, though they were prepared to incur some danger, in the hope that matters might be put upon a proper footing. But there would be just as much avoidance of danger, and just as much chance of union, if landlord and tenant went together, and asked for this boon on right and proper ground, and it could then be granted with some security against trickery and fraud. Besides, when it was argued that under the former Bill joint applications were not made, it must be remembered that they were to be for loans, for the instalments of which the landlord became responsible on the failure of the tenant to pay. He supposed some of their Lordships possessed the power of drawing inferences; and he would, therefore, ask if it was likely that a landlord, looking at the steady depression of property which had been going on, would charge his estate with payment of the instalments which his tenant could not pay. The noble Lord (Lord Carlingford) had assumed in his speech that Parliament had legislated, and that what would be done under this Bill would be by Act of Parliament. There was one thing which Parliament had not done, either in the Bill of 1870 or of 1881, or in the present Bill. They had not legislated on the most important points of all, but had left them to the discretion of the Sub-Commissioners. They had thrust their duty of plain legislation from them through weakness and fear, and had left it to what had been called "chance individuals," and that term applied far more strongly to the Sub-Commissioners than the landlords. It was admitted that this Bill was exceptional and demoralizing; and what hope had they, then, that it would effect its object? They on that side of the House asserted that this Amendment was consistent with the Bill, and refused to accept the *ipse dixit* of the Government that it was inconsistent. They maintained that the landlord ought to be brought in, because he was best acquainted with the subject. He was far from saying that any of the measures of the Government under any conditions would produce a good effect. Ireland should be taught to know that there was a force stronger than all her combinations, and that should precede concession. The connivance with crime in Ireland was such that in many neighbourhoods the whole population identified itself with murder, and was as blood-stained as the actual criminal. They knew what was going on. They knew beforehand who were the perpetrators of outrage; and if the vengeance of man did not overtake them in the Courts of Law—if there was a moral Government in the world—they might depend upon it that the country itself, where so large a part of it shared in the guilt of such outrages, would not escape. If they wanted to bring peace to Ireland it must be by insisting upon the dominion of law, and by stopping the Government in their wild career against political economy, which only meant common sense and common justice. By bringing Ireland under the dominion of law and equity, and not leaving her at the will of Sub-Commissioners, they could alone hope in time to bring about reunion, peace, and prosperity.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, that if there were before any doubt as to the meaning of this Amendment it had been entirely dispelled by the tone and spirit of the speech which had just been addressed to the House. The noble Viscount had made a most distinct and unequivocal speech against the Bill—a more uncompromising speech, or one more manifestly intended as a speech against the second reading, it would be wholly impossible to imagine. The greater parts of the argument—if, indeed, that word were applicable to the expressions used by the noble Viscount—seemed to him to resolve themselves into this—that because in the enormously difficult circumstances of Ireland the efforts of the Government by their legislation to restore peace and order could not be considered successful in the short space of one year, or, at the most, of two years, therefore the House was to despair of the success of those measures, and should regard them as dangerous and demoralizing. The noble Viscount had taken the opportunity afforded by this Amendment of condemning all that had been done, and inviting the House to retrace its steps. Why else should he have referred to the administration of the Sub-Commissioners and all the other matters which, with the experience of one year only, had been charged against the Land Act? Why else should the noble Viscount talk of other matters, which could not, in any manner, be touched by this Amendment? As regarded the effects of the Land Act, if it produced all that the most sanguine Members of the Government had desired, it must be a business of time; it must be an exercise of patience; it would require everything possible to be done to give the measure a fair chance. The noble Viscount said that Her Majesty's Government should restore order to Ireland first. Before introducing this Bill into the House of Commons, and before bringing it up to this House, the Government had done all they could towards the restoration of law and order. They introduced a Bill, which their Lordships unanimously passed almost without debate or discussion, containing powers as strong as could be imagined to arm the Government with means for the repression of crime. To give the best chance of success to that measure and to the Land Act of last year their Lordships were now asked to assent to the provisions of this Bill. When the Land Act was passed that House recognized the necessity of dealing with the subject-matter of this Bill. No doubt the mode of dealing with it differed from the present in two respects. First, there was to be a loan payable in a certain way; and, secondly, it was to be applied for by the joint action of landlord and tenant. Everyone must, he thought, agree that this question of arrears ought to be dealt with, and effectually. The Act of last year had proved ineffectual for dealing with it, and the Government had considered what should be done to remedy that defect. From all quarters of the West of Ireland representations had reached the Government to the effect that if the land legislation were to have any chance of working fairly and efficiently, the subject of arrears must be vigorously and effectually dealt with. It was the absolute duty of the Government, therefore, to frame a proposal on the subject; and it was unworthy of the noble Marquess and of the noble Viscount to taunt the Government with having adopted this Bill from a private Member of the House of Commons, and to suggest that the adoption of the measure was in consequence of something that had passed between Her Majesty's Ministers and certain persons imprisoned in Ireland. It was true that the Bill introduced by that private Member contained a scheme dealing compulsorily, and by gift, with arrears of rent; but, at the same time, it contained many other provisions which did not for a moment commend themselves to Her Majesty's Government. The statement made in the House of Commons by Mr. Gladstone on this subject was before any communication whatever took place with the imprisoned Members; and while he said that the Government would look favourably on the matter, he also said that no conclusion whatever had then been arrived at. The Government was bound to consider proposals which it thought reasonable, from whatever quarter they might come. They adopted in such a manner as seemed best to them such portions only of the propositions contained in that Bill as they considered were requisite for dealing with this subject, and they gave no countenance to the other matters proposed. What were the arguments that had been used in support of the Amendment of the noble Marquess? He might refer to the first by stating that the Bill did not propose, as some had represented, to make grants to tenants whose condition was so bad that there could be no expectation that they would be able to maintain themselves upon the land. It made it a condition precedent for obtaining the benefits of the measure that the tenant should pay one year's arrear of rent. That was a security for there being a fair chance of the tenants benefited by the Bill being able to live upon their lands. He must protest against the argument used by the noble Earl below the Gangway, that a Bill of this kind demoralized not only those who received the money, but those who did not—that was to say, that those tenants who had paid their rents would have a ground of complaint, as being placed in a worse position than those who had not. To that opinion he could not assent. This Bill was intended to make provision for tenants unable to pay antecedent arrears without loss of their holdings or of the means of carrying on their farms, and was not intended for the case of those who did not require assistance. Those who had actually paid were not, and could not be, in the category of tenants unable to pay. The Bill must be a gain generally to the landlord; it was also a great relief to the tenant. He did not say—no one could say—that it was possible in every case to prove, without risk of mistake, the ability or inability of a tenant to pay arrears; but it could be done in so many cases, and to so great an extent, that it would be impossible for dishonest tenants, in any considerable numbers, to take advantage of the Bill. What was the Amendment of the noble Marquess? The noble Marquess was willing to take a gift of public money made by the House of Commons on a certain condition; he rejected the condition, and imagined that he could retain the gift. He (the Lord Chancellor) ventured to think that would be contrary to the first principle on which legislation concerning public money was founded. He regarded the Amendment of the noble Marquess as fatal to the principle of the Bill.

Lord INCHIQUIN observed, that the Government appeared to be forgetting that it was largely in consequence of the "no rent" manifesto that the arrears had reached their present dimensions. He maintained that the effect of the Bill would be largely to demoralize the Irish tenantry, causing those who had paid their rents to ask—"What is the use of endeavouring to meet our engagements, when those who have persistently refused to meet theirs are now put upon as good a footing." If the Bill passed, with the Amendment proposed by the noble Marquess, landlords would be enabled to distinguish between tenants who could have paid their rents, but had not, and tenants who fell into arrears through a failure of the harvest. ["Divide!"] As there were symptoms that the House wished to divide, he would not enter at any length into the question.

On Question, "That the word ('either') stand part of the Clause?" Their Lordships *divided*:—Contents 98; Not-Contents 169: Majority 71.

CONTENTS.

Selborne, L. (*L. Chancellor.*)

Grafton, D.
Saint Albans, D.

Ailesbury, M.
Bath, M.
Lansdowne, M.
Northampton, M.

Camperdown, E.
Chichester, E.
Cowper, E.
Derby, E.
Durham, E.
Fitzwilliam, E.
Granville, E.
Kimberley, E.
Minto, E.
Morley, E.
Northbrook, E.
Portsmouth, E.
Saint Germans, E.
Shaftesbury, E.
Suffolk and Berkshire, E.
Sydney, E
Yarborough, E.

Canterbury, V.
Eversley, V.
Falmouth, V.
Gordon, V. (*E. Aberdeen.*)
Leinster, V. (*D. Leinster.*)
Powerscourt, V.
Sherbrooke, V.
Torrington, V.

London, L. Bp.

Aberdare, L.
Ashburton, L.
Belper, L.
Blachford, L.
Boyle, L. (*E. Cork and Orrery.*) [*Teller.*]
Brabourne, L.
Bramwell, L.
Braye, L.
Breadalbane, L. (*E. Breadalbane.*)
Calthorpe, L.
Carlingford, L.
Carrington, L.
Coleridge, L.
Dacre, L.
De Mauley, L.
Elgin, L. (*E. Elgin and Kincardine.*)
Emly, L.
Erskine, L.
Ettrick, L. (*L. Napier.*)
Fingall, L. (*E. Fingall.*)
Fitzgerald, L.
Granard, L. (*E. Granard.*)
Greville, L.
Hammond, L.
Hare, L. (*E. Listowel.*)
Hothfield, L.
Howth, L. (*E. Howth.*)
Kenmare, L. (*E. Kenmare.*)
Lawrence, L.
Leigh, L.
Loftus, L. (*M. Ely.*)
Lyttelton, L.
Meldrum, L. (*M. Huntly.*)
Methuen, L.
Monck, L. (*V. Monck.*)
Moncreiff, L.
Monson, L. [*Teller.*]
Monteagle of Brandon, L.
Mostyn, L.
Mount Temple, L.
O'Hagan, L.
Petre, L.
Ponsonby, L. (*E. Bessborough.*)
Ramsay, L. (*E. Dalhousie.*)
Reay, L.
Ribblesdale, L.
Robartes, L.
Romilly, L.
Rosebery, L. (*E. Rosebery.*)
Sandhurst, L.
Saye and Sele, L.
Sefton, L. (*E. Sefton.*)
Skene, L. (*E. Fife.*)
Somerton, L. (*E. Normanton.*)
Stafford, L.
Strafford, L. (*V. Enfield.*)
Sudeley, L.
Thurlow, L.
Truro, L.
Tweeddale, L. (*M. Tweeddale.*)
Tweedmouth, L.
Vernon, L.
Waveney, L.
Wolverton, L.
Wrottesley, L.

NOT-CONTENTS.

Beaufort, D.
Buckingham and Chandos, D.
Leeds, D.
Manchester, D.
Norfolk, D.
Northumberland, D.
Richmond, D.
Rutland, D.
Sutherland, D.

Abercorn, M. (*D. Abercorn.*)
Abergavenny, M.
Bristol, M.
Exeter, M.
Salisbury, M.
Winchester, M.
Amherst, E.
Annesley, E.
Ashburnham, E.
Bandon, E.
Bathurst, E.
Beauchamp, E.
Belmore, E.
Cadogan, E.
Cairns, E.
Carnarvon, E.
Cathcart, E.
Clonmell, E.
Coventry, E.
Denbigh, E.
Doncaster, E. (*D. Buccleuch and Queensberry.*)
Eldon, E.

Ellesmere, E.
Ferrers, E.
Feversham, E.
Fortescue, E.
Hardwicke, E.
Ilchester, E.
Jersey, E.
Kilmorey, E.
Lanesborough, E.
Lathom, E. [*Teller.*]
Leven and Melville, E.
Lindsey, E.
Lovelace, E.
Lucan, E.
Macclesfield, E.
Manvers, E.
Mar and Kellie, E.
Milltown, E.
Morton, E.
Mount Edgcumbe, E.
Nelson, E.
Pembroke and Montgomery, E.
Portarlington, E.
Radnor, E.
Ravensworth, E.
Redesdale, E.
Romney, E.
Rosse, E.
Rosslyn, E.
Sandwich, E.
Somers, E.
Sondes, E.
Stanhope, E.
Stradbroke, E.
Verulam, E.
Waldegrave, E.
Wharncliffe, E.
Wilton, E.
Zetland, E.

Clancarty, V. (*E. Clancarty.*)
Cranbrook, V.
Gough, V.
Hardinge, V.
Hawarden, V. [*Teller.*]
Hutchinson, V. (*E. Donoughmore.*)
Lifford, V.
Melville, V.
Sidmouth, V.
St. Vincent, V.
Templetown, V.

Gloucester and Bristol, L. Bp.

Abinger, L.
Amherst, L. (*V. Holmesdale.*)
Annaly, L.
Ardilaun, L.
Ashford, L. (*V. Bury.*)
Balfour of Burleigh, L.
Bateman, L.
Blackburn, L.
Blantyre, L.
Borthwick, L.
Boston, L.
Botreaux, L. (*E. Loudoun.*)
Brancepeth, L. (*V. Boyne.*)
Brodrick, L. (*V. Midleton.*)
Carysfort, L. (*E. Carysfort.*)
Clanwilliam, L. (*E. Clanwilliam.*)
Clifton, L. (*E. Darnely.*)
Clinton, L.
Clonbrock, L.
Colchester, L.
Colville of Culross, L.
Congleton, L.
De Freyne, L.
de Ros, L.
Digby, L.
Dinevor, L.
Donington, L.
Douglas, L. (*E. Home.*)
Dunsany, L.
Ellenborough, L.
Fitzhardinge, L.
Forbes, L.
Foxford, L. (*E. Limerick.*)
Gage, L. (*V. Gage.*)
Gormanston, L. (*V. Gormanston.*)
Harlech, L.
Harris, L.
Hawke, L.
Heytesbury, L.
Hylton, L.
Inchiquin, L.
Kenlis, L. (*M. Headfort.*)
Ker, L. (*M. Lothian.*)
Kintore, L. (*E. Kintore.*)
Lamington, L.
Lilford, L.
Lovel and Holland, L. (*E. Egmont.*)
Lyveden, L.
Massy, L.
Monteagle, L. (*M. Sligo.*)
Moore, L. (*M. Drogheda.*)
Northwick, L.
Norton, L.
O'Neill, L.
Oranmore and Browne, L.
Oriel, L. (*V. Massereene.*)
Ormathwaite, L.
Penrhyn, L.
Poltimore, L.
Raglan, L.
Ranfurly, L. (*E. Ranfurly.*)
Rayleigh, L.
Rossmore, L.
Sackville, L.
Saltersford, L. (*E. Courtown.*)
Saltoun, L.
Scarsdale, L.
Shute, L. (*V. Barrington.*)
Silchester, L. (*E. Longford.*)
Somerhill, L. (*M. Clanricarde.*)
Stanley of Alderley, L.
Stewart of Garlies, L. (*E. Galloway.*)
Stratheden and Campbell, L.
Strathnairn, L.
Strathspey, L. (*E. Seafield.*)
Tollemache, L.
Tredegar, L.
Trevor, L.
Tyrone, L. (*M. Waterford.*)
Ventry, L.
Walsingham, L.
Watson, L.
Wigan, L. (*E. Crawford and Balcarres.*)
Willoughby de Broke, L.
Wimborne, L.
Windsor, L.
Wynford, L.

On the Motion of The Marquess of SALISBURY, Amendment made, in page 1, line 11, by leaving out ("or,") and inserting ("and"); and after ("holding"), by inserting—

"Or of the tenant with the assent of the landlord (such assent to be presumed on the expiration of ten days from the service upon the landlord in the prescribed manner of notice of such application, in the absence of any notice of dissent from such landlord or his agent)."

Amendment *moved*,

In page 2, after line 4, to insert as a new sub-section—"Provided that in respect of any holdings situated in a townland as to which it has been the custom not to pay the current half year's rent until the next subsequent gale had legally accrued due, 'The year expiring as aforesaid' shall be deemed to terminate for the purposes of this Act on the first gale day in the year 1881."—(*The Lord Ventry.*)

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) said, the more convenient place to discuss the Amendment, on which there was no difference of opinion between the noble Lord and the Government, would be at a later stage of the Bill. Sub-section 3 dealt precisely with the point mentioned by the noble Lord.

LORD VENTRY said, he proposed to withdraw his Amendment, with a view to bringing it forward on the Report, if he should still think the hanging gale was not sufficiently protected by Sub-section 3.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I have one more Amendment that I intend to move, and it is the last one that I shall propose. It deals with a matter of some little difficulty, but of considerable importance. The noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack told us rightly that the principle of the Bill was that it should only be applicable to those tenants who have no resources from which the arrears of rent can be paid.

In this respect, however, the Bill rests upon a contradiction, because last year Parliament passed an Act which gave the tenant that which he had never possessed before—the right to sell his interest in his holding. If the Bill were proposing to deal with an insolvent, it would certainly require that the person seeking to obtain a benefit under it should, in the first place, apply all his resources to the payment of his debts; but he cannot apply all his resources for that purpose unless he includes in his assets the value of his holding; and the value of that holding cannot be ascertained without the tenant's interest is sold. It is not proposed by this Amendment that the tenant's interest shall be immediately sold; but it would be unjust not to take the value of the tenant's interest in some way or another. It must be remembered that the value of the tenant's interest is frequently very considerable, amounting to 10 or 11 or 12 years' purchase, and occasionally equalling the value of the fee-simple itself; and to leave that very valuable property in the tenant's hands while you are clearing off his debts, partly by a payment from the State, and partly by an uncompensated cancelling of the landlord's claim, would be very unjust both to the State and to the landlord. Another very serious ground of complaint is that the Bill as it stands debars the landlord, and the landlord alone, from selling the tenant's interest; while it leaves it open to the tenant himself, the moment the transaction of clearing off the arrears has been completed, to sell his interest and go off to America or elsewhere with the proceeds in his pocket, or start in some other line of life by aid of the money. And what the tenant may do for his own advantage may be done by all his creditors. The tenant may owe money to his corn dealer, the local shopkeeper, or his banker, and the moment the tenant's interest in the holding is free they may step in and sell the tenant up, and so realize the whole of their debt at the expense of the State and of the landlord. This state of things appears to me to be so unjust that it need only be stated to determine your Lordships to accept the Amendment I propose, which, while, perhaps, it does not afford a complete remedy, certainly offers a simple solution of the difficulty. No doubt the Bill, as I propose that it shall be amended, will still offer a considerable boon to the tenant, who will not merely retain the value of the present state of his holding, but will be able to let the arrears remain as a charge upon the holding without interest; and I do not propose to interfere with that part of the provision in favour of the tenant. The Amendment will remove a great temptation from tenants who are not really impecunious to attempt to defraud the State in order to get the Church Fund, because he would know that the moment he sought to realize the value of his interest in his holding the proceeds would go to his landlord and not to his other creditors. I beg to move to amend the clause by inserting in line 14, after the word "security," the following words:—

"Provided that in the event of the next subsequent sale of the tenancy, the arrears of rent not satisfied by payment under the provisions of this Act shall be a sum payable to the landlord out of the proceeds of the sale within the meaning of the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881."

Amendment *moved*,

In page 2, line 14, after ("security,") insert —("Provided that in the event of the next subsequent sale of the tenancy, the arrears of rent not satisfied by payment under the provisions of this Act shall be a sum payable to the landlord out of the proceeds of the sale within the meaning of the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881.")—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL): In the view of the Government, the objections to the noble Marquess's Amendment are so serious that it is quite impossible for us to accept it. The object of the Amendment is that the antecedent arrears behind the two years 1880-1 should lie dormant, as a mortgage upon the holding, and that, of course, for an indefinite time. That is exactly the result which the Government think a most objectionable one. We want to make a clear settlement of the old arrears. If these arrears were allowed to lie dormant, they would paralyze and depress the tenant's industry and enterprize. When the tenant was obliged to sell his interest he would find an old claim revived against him in the shape of a dormant mortgage, which would probably swallow up the proceeds of the sale which were intended to break his fall, and probably find him means for emigration. These arrears under such a system would come on a man at the most inconvenient time, when they would be most grievous for him to bear. On the other hand, what would the landlord gain? Surely an indefinite postponed charge, which might not be realized for many years, would not be a matter of appreciable value to the landlord. But the real answer to the noble Marquess is that, in the view of the Government, the way suggested is not the right way of dealing with the tenant right, as an asset to be taken into account for the tenant's arrears. I would remind your Lordships that there is a provision already in the Bill that the tenant right should be treated as an asset, if the Commissioners think proper, for the purpose of deciding upon the ability of the tenant to pay, and whether he is to have the advantage of the Act or not. If his assets, including the value of his tenant right, prove his ability to pay within the meaning of the Bill, then, of course, the person making the inquiry will pronounce him not to have fulfilled the preliminary conditions under which the Bill is to come into operation, and he will then have to fall back on the other provision —that of loan instead of gift. The Government hold that indefinite postponement, such as is proposed, is likely to lead to a great deal of future difficulty; and we should lose by it the great advantage of bringing to a final settlement the period of difficulty which is comprised in the three years which are dealt with under the Bill.

EARL CAIRNS: My Lords, I am sorry the Government cannot accept this Amendment; but there are several reasons which induce me to support it. Last year one of the principal features of their Land Act was that it inaugurated free sale, which was in itself a novel proposition. And what was the main ground upon which free sale was recommended by those who introduced that measure? Your Lordships will recollect that it was that free sale, after all, would be an extremely valuable thing for the landlord, because it would give him a security which he never had had up to that time in any part of Ireland for his arrears. When the worst came to the worst, and the tenant was obliged to sell his holding, the landlord, it was said, would be recouped his arrears out of the proceeds of the sale. But, before a year has passed, the Government bring forward this Bill, which says that that security of the landlord shall be no security at all. That is not dealing fairly with the landlord. Now, without resorting to hard words, and accusing the Government of a breach of faith, I conceive myself bound in honour to those who accepted that principle to see that they are protected in the enjoyment of the only benefit offered them last year. But even from the tenant's point of view, is the clause, as it stands, an advantageous one? Not at all. If the proceeds of the sale of a holding do not go to the landlord in payment of arrears, they will go to the tenant's other creditors—the gombeen man, the banker, and the shopkeeper—and the tenant will be no better off than before. It is simply a controversy between two classes of creditors—the landlords on the one side, who at present have the right by law, and the other class of creditors who have no right by law, but who will have it if your Lordships pass the Bill as it stands. Another reason why the Government might accept the Amendment is that it is entirely consistent with the principle of the Bill, inasmuch as it cannot lead to evictions. The landlord will not be able, under this Amendment, to evict a tenant in order to realize his mortgage. The Amendment, moreover, will possess the great advantage of getting rid in the simplest fashion of one of the most difficult questions arising under the Bill —namely, how far the value of the tenancy is to be looked upon as an asset? If the holding is worth anything, the arrears will be paid; if it is worthless, they will not. The noble Lord opposite says the payment of the arrears might fall at a time very inconvenient for the tenant. But surely the justice of the case requires at least what was provided in the Act of last year—namely, that the arrears due to the landlord should be a first charge upon the proceeds of the sale.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: My Lords, the noble and learned Earl appears to forget what this Bill really proposes to do. It proposes that the State shall make a gift to the landlord in consideration of his giving the tenant certain arrears. Now, I do not see in that proposal any infringement of the Act of last year. The question is merely whether the proceeding is in itself a just one. To say again that only the tenant's ordinary creditors—the gombeen man, the shopkeeper, &c.—will benefit by the Bill, is to assume that the tenant will be leaving his holding as a bankrupt, which is surely going too far. As for the question of evictions, it seems to me that the continuance of the arrears in the shape of a dormant mortgage will give the landlord a positive inducement to evict. I hope your Lordships will not agree to the Amendment of the noble Marquess.

The Marquess of WATERFORD said, he would remind the Government that there was a great danger of other creditors than the landlord selling up the tenant. The number of Civil Bill suits in 1879 was 149,343, of which only 9,611 were instituted by the landlords for the non-payment of rent, and in 1880 125,000, of which only 9,856 were for the recovery of land by the landlord. The noble Earl (the Earl of Kimberley) said that as the landlord was receiving a gift, he was, at any rate, getting some equivalent for the security that was being taken away. But it was usual to give people the choice whether they would accept a gift or not. That, however, was not done under the Bill. Moreover, the gift would be a very small proportion of what the landlords might fairly expect to receive from their tenants. The worst point in that clause as it stood was that, unless the noble Marquess's Amendment was adopted, it would go directly against the honest tenant. It was absolutely necessary that the Amendment should be accepted, even for the protection of the tenants themselves. There were many instances in which the fact of a tenant owing money to his landlord was the only protection to him against being sold up by other creditors.

The Marquess of LANSDOWNE said, with reference to the bearing on the position of the landlord of the Amendment which had been previously carried at the instance of the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury), he thought that in the case of the landlord who of his own free will had joined with the tenant in obtaining a composition, it was going rather far to say that it should of necessity be a part of the settlement that he should keep a lien on the tenant's holding. Looking at the proposed Amendment from a practical point of view, what was the advantage it would give the landlord? It would hold out to him the more or less remote prospect of recovering debt from his tenant after a length of time which it was impossible to estimate. The landlord would be put in the invidious position of a cat watching a mouse in order to pounce on the tenant for the part of the debt which might be due when he sold his holding. Nothing could be more likely than that to prolong the agitation, which they were all anxious to allay. The landlord would retain a lien upon the holding, and whenever the tenant wished to sell, the landlord would take part of the purchase money. Whatever they might think of the tenant right custom, one of its advantages was that it gave the broken-down tenant who left his holding the means of emigrating or otherwise starting afresh in life. But if they told him beforehand that the small sum to which he was entitled was to be appropriated for the satisfaction of those ancient debts, they would place him in a very uncomfortable and disadvantageous position indeed. He did not see why the tenant in this case should not be treated as in the case of a bankrupt who had got his certificate. The whole principle of the Bill was that the whitewashing of a tenant should be an effectual one.

Earl CAIRNS said, there was no analogy between such a man and an ordinary bankrupt. He did not look upon a tenant in such circumstances as a bankrupt. He was in possession of his tenant right, and was he going to be allowed to keep that and, at the same time, get his certificate? Supposing the Bill to pass without that Amendment, and that, at the next Quarter Sessions, the gombeen man sought to sell the tenant's holdings, the proceeds of which might be £200, the gombeen man would take possession, and the landlord would be deprived of that which ought to have paid his rent. That was not a remote contingency; it might happen three months hence.

On Question? Their Lordships *divided:*—Contents 120; Not-Contents 45: Majority 75.

CONTENTS.

Beaufort, D.
Buckingham and Chandos, D.
Leeds, D.
Norfolk, D.
Northumberland, D.
Portland, D.
Richmond, D.

Abercorn, M. (*D. Abercorn.*)
Exeter, M.
Hertford, M.
Salisbury, M.
Winchester, M.

Ashburnham, E.

Bandon, E.
Beauchamp, E.
Belmore, E.
Cairns, E.
Carnarvon, E.
Clarendon, E.
Clonmell, E.
Doncaster, E. (*D. Buccleuch and Queensberry.*)
Eldon, E.
Ferrers, E.
Hardwicke, E.
Jersey, E.
Kilmorey, E.
Lathom, E. [*Teller.*]
Leven and Melville, E.
Lovelace, E.
Mar and Kellie, E.
Milltown, E.
Mount Edgcumbe, E.
Nelson, E.
Pembroke and Montgomery, E.
Powis, E.
Radnor, E.
Ravensworth, E.
Redesdale, E.
Romney, E.
Rosse, E.
Somers, E.
Stanhope, E.
Stradbroke, E.
Verulam, E.
Waldegrave, E.

Clancarty, V. (*E. Clancarty.*)
Cranbrook, V.
Gough, V.
Hawarden, V. [*Teller.*]
Hutchinson, V. (*E. Donoughmore.*)
Lifford, V.
St. Vincent, V.
Templetown, V.

Gloucester and Bristol, L. Bp.

Ashford, L. (*V. Bury.*)
Balfour of Burleigh, L.
Borthwick, L.
Boston, L.
Botreaux, L. (*E. Loudoun.*)
Brabourne, L.
Brodrick, L. (*V. Midleton.*)
Byron, L.
Clanbrassill, L. (*E. Roden.*)
Clanwilliam, L. (*E. Clanwilliam.*)
Clinton, L.
Clonbrock, L.
Cloncurry, L.
Colchester, L.
Colville of Culross, L.
De Freyne, L.
De L'Isle and Dudley, L.
de Ros, L.
Digby, L.
Dinevor, L.
Donington, L.
Douglas, L. (*E. Home.*)
Dunsany, L.
Ellenborough, L.
Forbes, L.
Gormanston, L. (*V. Gormanston.*)
Harlech, L.
Harris, L.
Hartismere, L. (*L. Henniker.*)
Hawke, L.
Heytesbury, L.
Hylton, L.
Inchiquin, L.
Lamington, L.
Leconfield, L.
Lilford, L.
Lovel and Holland, L. (*E. Egmont.*)
Massy, L.
Monteagle, L. (*M. Sligo.*)
Moore, L. (*M. Drogheda.*)
Northwick, L.
Norton, L.
O'Neill, L.
Oriel, L. (*V. Massereene.*)
Poltimore, L.
Raglan, L.
Rayleigh, L.
Rossmore, L.
Sackville, L.
Saltersford, L. (*E. Courtown.*)
Saltoun, L.
Shute, L. (*V. Barrington.*)
Silchester, L. (*E. Longford.*)
Somerhill, L. (*M. Clanricarde.*)
Stanley of Alderley, L.
Stratheden and Campbell, L.
Strathspey, L. (*E. Seafield.*)
Tollemache, L.
Tredegar, L.
Tyrone, L. (*M. Waterford.*)
Ventry, L.
Vernon, L.
Wigan, L. (*E. Crawford and Balcarres.*)
Wimborne, L.
Windsor, L.
Wynford, L.

NOT-CONTENTS.

Selborne, L. (*L. Chancellor.*)

Ailesbury, M.
Lansdowne, M.

Kimberley, E.
Morley, E.
Shaftesbury, E.
Suffolk and Berkshire, E.
Yarborough, E.

Gordon, V. (*E. Aberdeen.*)
Leinster, V. (*D. Leinster.*)
Powerscourt, V.

Aberdare, L.
Boyle, L. (*E. Cork and Orrery.*) [*Teller.*]
Braye, L.
Breadalbane, L. (*E. Breadalbane.*)
Carlingford, L.
Carrington, L.
Coleridge, L.
Elgin, L. (*E. Elgin and Kincardine.*)
Emly, L.
Erskine, L.
Fitzgerald, L.
Hammond, L.
Hare, L. (*E. Listowel.*)
Leigh, L.
Loftus, L. (*M. Ely.*)
Meldrum, L. (*M. Huntly.*)
Methuen, L.
Monson, L. [*Teller.*]
Monteagle of Brandon, L.
Mount Temple, L.
O'Hagan, L.
Ponsonby, L. (*E. Bessborough.*)
Ramsay, L. (*E. Dalhousie.*)
Reay, L.
Ribblesdale, L.
Robartes, L.
Sandhurst, L.
Saye and Sele, L.
Somerton, L. (*E. Normanton.*)
Strafford, L. (*V. Enfield.*)
Sudeley, L.
Suffield, L.
Thurlow, L.
Wrottesley, L.

Amendment *moved*,

In page 2, sub-section (3), line 18, after ("rent,") insert ("not specifically appropriated to any prior gale of rent.")—(*The Viscount Gough.*)

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) said, the proposed Amendment would disarrange the Bill, and spoil the structure of the clause without any sufficient object.

THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE appealed to the noble Viscount not to press his Amendment.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD, in moving an Amendment in page 2, sub-section (3), line 24, said, his Amendment was to carry out the intention of the Government, as stated by the Lord Privy Seal, and to save the "hanging gale" for the landlord. The clause, as it stood at present, had exactly the contrary effect, and confiscated the "hanging gale." He thought this clause in the Bill had been drawn by an English lawyer who did not understand what the term "hanging gale" meant. If the clause remained as it stood in the Bill, landlords, in order to protect themselves, would have to refuse permission to their tenants to apply to the Court for money to pay their arrears, in order to prevent their hanging gales being lost without compensation.

Amendment *moved,*

In page 2, sub-section (3), line 24, leave out from ("where") to end of the sub-section, and insert ("according to the ordinary course of dealing between the landlord and tenant of a holding, the rent of such holding has actually been paid at some time after the day on which it became legally due, the rent which according to such usual course of dealing ought to be paid in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one, shall, for the purposes of this section, be deemed the rent payable in respect of the year expiring as aforesaid.")—(*The Marquess of Waterford.*)

The Marquess of LANSDOWNE said, he thought that the suggestion of the noble Marquess opposite was worthy the consideration of the Government, and that it would be desirable if the language of the clause could be made more clear and intelligible than at present. The clause was, he believed, intended to deal with abnormal arrears which had arisen from adverse seasons, and not with customary arrears, which existed when there was a hanging gale. The Bill as it now stood would have the effect of taking from the landlord the arrears which, in the ordinary course of dealing, were left outstanding.

Lord CARLINGFORD (Lord Privy Seal) said, he must admit that this was a most distracting clause. He felt sure that there was no difference of intention between the noble Marquess and the Government on this point. They wished as well as he to save the hanging gale; but he was not willing to give up words which had been carefully considered by the Irish Law Officers.

Earl CAIRNS supported the Amendment.

The Marquess of WATERFORD said, he had heard that three extremely clever men read the 3rd sub-section in three different ways, and all opposed to one another; the sub-section was so fearfully complicated, and if noble and learned Lords in that House could not understand it, how could they expect the Sub-Commissioners to do so? He thought it was very hard to impose the duty of explaining such a sub-section upon the Commissioners. His Amendment would make the sub-section perfectly plain, and he must, therefore, press it.

The Duke of ABERCORN said, he should support the Amendment.

The Earl of BELMORE said, with reference to the remarks of the noble Duke, that he had not described a hanging gale quite correctly. He had a hanging gale himself on one of his estates. It was when the rent which accrued due legally, say, on March 25th, was not asked for till after Michaelmas. It did not arise from any indulgence, but from the fact that the harvest could not be turned into money before the six months ran out, when the gale days were the old ones in March and September, instead of in May and November, as was now generally the case. Great attention was required to the clause, as it was a serious matter.

The LORD CHANCELLOR proposed a verbal Amendment in the clause as it stood, and promised that the matter should be considered by the Government before the Report.

The Marquess of WATERFORD said, he would accept the alteration, without prejudice to his rights on the Report to adhere to his Amendment in its present form.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Amendment *moved,*

In page 3, sub-section 6, line 7, after ("money,") insert ("Provided always, that where two or more parties are entitled to the arrears the Land Commission shall have power to decide the rights of the parties, and the proportion in which the said arrears shall be divided amongst them.")—(*The Earl of Donoughmore.*)

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, he was not sure that the particular words of the Amendment might not be attended with some difficulty, as in the case of a dispute between a mortgagor and mortgagee. He saw no objection to the principle.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Modification in case of evicted tenant when restored to holding).

On the Motion of The Earl of Donoughmore, Amendment made, in line 13, after ("apply,") by inserting ("jointly with his landlord.")

Amendment *moved,*

In page 3, line 16, after ("sold,") insert ("subject always to compliance by the tenant with the conditions in the seventy-first section of the Landlord and Tenant Law Amendment (Ireland) Act, 1860, as to the payment and lodgment of rent and costs.")—(*The Earl of Donoughmore.*)

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) said, he could not accept the Amendment of the noble Earl.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 3 *agreed to.*

PART II.

SUPPLEMENTAL PROVISIONS.

Clause 4 (Powers of Land Commission).

Amendment *moved,*

At end of Clause, insert—("The Land Commission may of its own motion, or shall, on the application of any party to any proceedings pending before it, unless it considers such application frivolous and vexatious, state a case in respect of any question of law arising in such proceedings, and refer the same for the consideration and decision of Her Majesty's Court of Appeal in Ireland.")—(*The Earl of Milltown.*)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he thought that the Amendment was unnecessary, inasmuch as all the points that the tribunal would have to decide would turn on mere questions of fact and of practice.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, he thought it highly probable that questions of law would arise, and he could not conceive anything more monstrous or unreasonable than that men without any special legal knowledge should have to decide questions of law, while the parties concerned had no right of appeal.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he would repeat that the Sub-Commissioners would not have to decide on questions of law. Their jurisdiction was confined to questions of fact.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Delegation of powers of Land Commission).

THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD said, that the Sub-Commissioners might give the money of the landlords or the money of the State to tenants whose cases ought not to come under the Bill at all. They knew how the Sub-Commissioners had acted, and that they would give a decision against the landlords if they could. Therefore, there ought to be an appeal from their decisions on questions of fact as well as of law.

Amendment *moved,* in page 4, lines 25 and 26, leave out ("on matters of law.")—(*The Marquess of Waterford.*)

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) said, that the object of confining the appeal to matters of law was to save great expense and delay. After the Amendment moved by the noble Marquess opposite earlier in the evening had been carried there was no necessity for the present Amendment.

THE EARL OF LIMERICK said, he held that the Amendment was required in order to secure uniformity in decisions.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he might point out that, as nothing could be done under the Bill as it had now been altered without the consent of the landlord, there could be no need in his interest for an appeal on matters of fact. It seemed to him that the name of the Sub-Commissioners appeared to act on some noble Lords like a red rag on a bull.

LORD BRABOURNE said, he could not admit that any great confidence was to be placed in the wisdom and justice of the Sub-Commissioners, whose decisions had been characterized by anything but equality or general fairness. Rents had, in many cases, been largely reduced, which had been paid without complaint for 50, and even 100 years, and it could not be a matter of surprise if dissatisfaction existed in consequence. He had had occasion lately to make certain animadversions upon the conduct of the Sub-Commissioners, not one of which had been satisfactorily answered, or, indeed, answered at all.

Amendment *agreed to.*

THE EARL OF KILMOREY said, he begged to propose an Amendment to exclude the Sub-Commissioners from being delegated by the Land Commission to carry out the preliminary inquiries under the Act. He could quite sympathize with the desire of Her Majesty's Government to expedite the business of the Commission; but considering what they had repeatedly been told of the doings of the Sub-Commissioners, he thought their Lordships would advise that these wide powers should not be delegated at their individual discretion.

Amendment *moved*, in page 4, line 30, leave out ("or of a Sub-Commission.")—(*The Earl of Kilmorey.*)

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) said, he opposed the Amendment on the grounds that it would be inconvenient in its operation, and consequently injurious to the Bill. It would forbid the Land Commission employing a single one of the whole number of 48 Sub-Commissioners in Ireland. He warmly protested against the language he had heard used in the House with regard to the Sub-Commissioners—as, for example, that "if they could give a decision against the landlord, of course they will." Such language was totally and absolutely unjust, and based on no evidence whatever. It was grounded solely on a certain number of worthless stories to which the noble Lord on the Cross Benches (Lord Brabourne) treated them the other night. To treat their Sub-Commissioners in the way they were being treated by some noble Lords in that House was not worthy of the House of Lords, and was highly prejudicial to the administration of this law in Ireland.

EARL FORTESCUE said, he thought the noble Lord had protested too much. It was a strange thing that three out of the 48 Sub-Commissioners had been appointed from among the supporters of the Solicitor General for Ireland. Already it had been proved that the Sub-Commissioners had shown themselves partizans. £700 a-year for only one year certainly was not enough to secure the services of men of sufficient ability to perform the heavy and responsible duties intrusted to them. This was not the first time they had seen the Prime Minister exercising a miserable parsimony, unconscious of the importance of appointing men who would command the confidence of the general public.

LORD BRABOURNE denied the statement that the attacks made upon the Sub-Commissioners were grounded on unworthy stories without evidence to support them. For his part, when he called attention to the subject on a former occasion he was able to corroborate every statement he made; but, in the present condition of Ireland, he could not think of giving the names of his informants, although he had told the Lord Privy Seal that he would be happy to do so, in confidence, in every case which he had mentioned. He had not brought forward one quarter of the cases which had been supplied to him, and he should be ashamed to make any statement that he did not believe to be true. The attack made by the Lord Privy Seal was a little too hard, when it was remembered that the noble Lord had not been able to adduce any evidence in contradiction of the criticisms upon the Sub-Commissioners. With regard to the Amendment, he thought that entirely to omit the Sub-Commissions from the clause would be attended with inconvenience; and, therefore, he hoped some compromise would be arrived at—as, for instance, the insertion of the words "being a barrister-at-law" after the word "Sub-Commission," which would secure that only those should be intrusted with the investigations under this Bill who were above the class of men of whom complaints were principally made.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he could not conceive what possible relevancy there was in the remarks of the noble Earl (Earl Fortescue) to the question before the Committee. They were not considering the question of salaries, but he did not think that £700 a-year was so very parsimonious a salary. The question was whether these Sub-Commissioners were honest men; and when he heard the impeachment of their integrity by the noble Lord on the Cross Benches (Lord Brabourne), and when he heard the answer of the Lord Privy Seal, he thought the impeachment most unworthy, and the answer most complete. It was not shown that they had done anything wrong, unless it was wrong to make a reduction of 21 per cent on the average when the County Court Judges had made a reduction of 22 per cent on the average. He did not know whether they were right or wrong; but if you were to infer want of integrity from a reduction of 21 per cent on the average, you must *a fortiori* infer want of integrity in the case of the larger reduction, and then they were landed in a very serious imputation indeed, not only on the Sub-Commissioners, but on all the County Court Judges in Ireland. Anything to his mind more odious, more utterly indefensible and unjustifiable than this kind of imputation he could not conceive. They must necessarily, if they were to have an Act of Parliament of this kind administered at all, have a considerable number of persons to administer it. Forty-eight persons were selected by as honourable men as any who sat in their Lordships' House. He did not think that there was anyone who would attribute either to Mr. Forster or to Lord Cowper anything dishonourable. That being so, on what ground were the Sub-Commissioners charged with want of integrity? Attacks, reiterated again and again, upon subordinate officers of the law, who could not defend themselves, and whose decisions were subject to appeal, were, to his mind, intolerable, and the only ground possible was, because some of them were in particular Professions—barristers practising on certain Circuits, or solicitors or other persons who, in the exercise of the privilege of Englishmen, had taken part in favour of one Party or another at a particular election? Well, if they had belonged to the Party to which the noble Lord belonged, although he sat on the Cross Benches, they would at least have escaped the charge of the motives now cast upon them. Englishmen were wont to boast that they lived in so pure an atmosphere of public opinion that persons holding positions of a judicial or *quasi*-judicial character got credit for an honest intention to discharge their duties, even if in the exercise of the privileges of British citizens they had taken an active part previously in political affairs. Were not their Judges appointed from men who had been active on one side of politics or the other—many of them advocates of the Government—and did they not wait at least till something was done plainly contrary to their duty before they brought their political antecedents against them by way of impeachment? He had heard nothing except as to the political or professional antecedents of these men—not one word as to the way in which they had done their duty—except that they had made reductions of rent, being at a somewhat lower average of reduction than that made by the County Court Judges. They could not get on without the Sub-Commissioners. They could not do the work under this Bill without them, and any man whom they might possibly appoint, if pursued with the same virulence of Party spirit, would be open to the same imputations.

The Marquess of SALISBURY said, that if the noble and learned Lord imagined that the criticisms that had been cast upon the Sub-Commissioners proceeded either from Party spirit, or were the eccentricities of any particular Peer, he was very much mistaken. He could assure the noble and learned Lord that long before the question was raised in that House many noble Lords had been watching the proceedings of the Commissioners, and the language that had been held upon the subject rested upon the evidence that had been taken before the Committee of their Lordships. The noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack and the noble Lord the Lord Privy Seal forgot that Members of that House had been inquiring into the effect of recent legislation in Ireland, and that they had an opportunity of judging of the proceedings of the Sub-Commissioners from evidence given before the Committee, and it was from that evidence that noble Lords had spoken of the Sub-Commissioners in language which, he admitted, would not be used with respect to any ordinary judicial authority. One broad circumstance, which had left upon his mind the belief that the Sub-Commissioners had not been acting—he did not wish to make any imputations upon their integrity—but acting unmistakeably in a non-judicial spirit, was that it was impossible to ascertain upon what principle their decisions were formed. They had carefully concealed the process of reasoning by which they arrived at their conclusions. It was always the practice for Judges to explain clearly the grounds for their decisions, but this had not been done by the Sub-Commissioners. When they found that these persons concealed the reasons for their decisions, and when they found those decisions coinciding with the views of a particular Party, was it surprising that they should infer that Party feeling had some influence on their minds, that their decisions were political in their intention, and that it was not their object to do simple justice between man and man, but to forward aims which they believed to be advantageous, and which they desired, in Party interests, to secure? There was another ground which confirmed that view of the action of the Sub-Commissioners. In announcing the appointment of the noble Viscount opposite (Viscount Monck)—whom they were glad to see appointed, although they would rather not see strong partizans added to the Commission — the Prime Minister said that he found no Tory qualified for the Commission; and he went on to say that he could find no Tory who was disposed to administer the Act in the spirit in which it had been passed by Parliament. He would ask if that were a judicial and impartial spirit? If they were appointing Judges to try poaching cases, and only great game preservers were appointed to that office, would it be a sufficient defence to say that game preservers were specially to be trusted to administer the Act in the spirit in which it was passed? In every department of the Civil and Criminal Law Judges were appointed, not to administer any Act in the particular spirit, either of a Party, or of a majority, or of a Minister, but to do simple justice without any recognition of politics or Party. He confessed that, in spite of the perfervid protestations of the noble and learned Lord, he was convinced that the Sub-Commissioners differed from other judicial persons—no doubt, with the highest integrity—in that they were pursuing political objects, and were not administering justice between landlord and tenant. If imputations were made against the Sub-Commissioners the Government had only themselves to blame. In America judicial appointments were usually made for political motives, but the practice in this country had been different. The Government had strained the English practice and leaned to the American in many of these appointments. He might especially refer to the appointment of three of the leading supporters of the Solicitor General for Ireland, who had avowedly gone to the country on the question of the reduction of rents. Such actions as that forced comments upon the Sub-Commissioners against which the Government were now protesting so much. He regretted deeply the effect of the appointments. It might be that the effect of the decisions had been exaggerated; but for that exaggeration the Government had by their unhappy selections drawn upon these tribunals an amount of suspicion of which they would not easily get rid.

Amendment *negatived.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 6 to 13, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Amendment *moved,*

After Clause 13, insert as a new clause—("After the tenant has obtained a release from arrears by the operation of this Act such release shall be a bar to all proceedings by any creditor or creditors to recover by sale of the tenancy or goodwill any debt or debts which may have been contracted by the tenant before the date of the last gale day in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one.")—(*The Earl of Milltown.*)

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) said, there was more than one reason for the rejection of this proposal, and the Government could not accept it. If they deprived the creditors of their legal rights they would drive them to take summary proceedings of another kind.

Amendment *negatived.*

Clauses 14 to 17, inclusive, *agreed to.*

PART III.

EMIGRATION.

Clause 18 (Power of guardians to borrow for emigration).

LORD DUNSANY, in moving to amend the clause by inserting in line 40, after the word ("Ireland,") the words—

("or other public body, whether incorporated by Royal Charter or Act of Parliament, or not approved by the Land Commission or the Lord Lieutenant,")

said, the Western Unions, which principally contained the distressed districts had for their Boards of Guardians persons who were chiefly Land Leaguers, and who objected to emigration. To leave the working of the Act in their hands would render it simply inoperative.

Amendment *moved,*

In page 10, line 40, after ("Ireland,") insert ("or any other public body, whether incorporated by Royal Charter or Act of Parliament, or not approved by the Land Commission or the Lord Lieutenant.")—(*The Lord Dunsany.*)

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) explained that the clause was an amendment of the Poor Law Act of 1879, and that, therefore, they could not possibly bring the bodies mentioned in the Amendment under the clause. He believed that the views of the Guardians of the Western districts of Ireland had considerably altered of late on the subject of emigration; they now, under proper conditions, favoured it. The Amendment, however, was *ultra vires* in that House, as a question of public money was involved.

Amendment *negatived*

Amendment *moved*, in page 11, line 2, leave out ("persons,") and insert ("families.")—(*The Lord Oranmore and Browne.*)

Lord CARLINGFORD (Lord Privy Seal) said, he agreed in the importance of family emigration, and no doubt much would be done in that direction. The substitution of the word "families" for "persons" would be inconvenient.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Remaining clauses *agreed to.*

The Report of the Amendments to be received *To-morrow;* and Standing Order No. XXXV. to be considered in order to its being dispensed with; Bill to be *printed* as amended. (No. 213.)

House adjourned at half past Eleven o'clock, till To-morrow, Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 31st July, 1882.

MINUTES.]—Supply—*considered in Committee*—Civil Service Estimates—Class II.—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments, Votes 25 to 33.

Resolutions [July 28] *reported.*

Private Bills (*by Order*)—*Considered—Third Reading*—Dover Harbour; Metropolitan Street Improvements Act, 1877 (Amendment) *, and *passed.*

Public Bills — *Ordered* — Mercantile Marine Fund (Charges) *.

Second Reading—Poor Law Amendment * [251]; Artizans' Dwellings * [255].

Committee—Report—Customs and Inland Revenue (*re-comm.*) [239].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

DOVER HARBOUR BILL (*by Order*).

CONSIDERATION.

Bill *considered.*

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That Standing Orders 223 and 243 be suspended, and that the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Sir Charles Forster.*)

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, he had given his best attention to this amended Bill; and he was very sorry to say that the changes made in it were very small indeed, and that it fell very short of what it ought to be. This result might have been expected from the course followed in regard to this Bill. The Standing Orders of the House, framed for the purpose of preventing bad Private Bill legislation, had been cast away, and the Committees on the Bill were necessarily imperfect and insufficient for investigation. For a good many years he had taken great interest in Dover Harbour, and he had served on the Select Committee which inquired into the matter in 1875. From the inquiries then made it was quite clear that a harbour on the plan then proposed was quite insufficient and this proposal, very similar to the former, was equally unsuitable. On this account, and because he believed that the Dover Harbour Board was by no means fitted to carry out this great National work, he objected to the present Bill. Moreover, he did not believe that the Dover Harbour Board had either credit or property available for providing the money that would be necessary for the construction of the harbour. It was brought out very clearly in 1875 that the property of the Dover Harbour Board was even at that time pledged to such an extent that it would be difficult for the Board to obtain any further advances of money from either the public or from the Public Works Loan Commissioners. Then, again, no proof had been given by the promoters of the Bill that the piers proposed to be constructed would be sufficient for the purpose of forming the harbour on the scale set forth in the Petition of the Dover Board. And, in regard to the cost, he might mention that a smaller proposal than the one now made had been estimated to require an amount of capital considerably larger than that stated for the present works. He, for one, had no confidence in the estimates of the Dover Harbour Board. Moreover, he was convinced that a satisfactory harbour could not be constructed at Dover for many times the sum for which it was proposed to carry out this scheme. Further, that no harbour of a satisfactory character could be constructed in Dover Bay which did not cover a large area. In the next place, he objected to the period which the Dover Harbour Board was allowed for the completion of the works. Fifteen years were to be allowed before their rights under the Bill should lapse, and he submitted that there was no precedent for giving a municipal authority so long a period for failing to carry on the works. In 1875, when a similar proposal was before Parliament, the period for the completion of the works was much more limited, and the greatest care was then taken to protect the rights of the public. There could be no doubt that the influence of the Warden of the Cinque Ports, who was the Head of the Dover Harbour Board, as well as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, had been long in operation in favour of a harbour being constructed, without due regard to the works being of that kind which would provide for an efficient refuge. There was another point which it was also desirable he should mention. On the last occasion when the Bill came before the House, the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) thought it right to say that it was not desirable to interfere with the provisions of the Bill with regard to the mode in which it was proposed to carry out the works. This view of the Head of the great Department which had control over all harbours of the Kingdom was to be regretted; and he was sorry to add that the Committees of the House of Commons and Lords to whom the Bill had been referred had looked upon the matter in the same unsatisfactory light. Now, he (Sir George Balfour) submitted that public interests were deeply involved in the mode of executing the Dover Harbour Works. For instance, the defences of Dover were dependent on a powerful battery now in progress at the head of the Admiralty Pier, which must form a part of the proposed harbour, and until such time as they had a Report from the Secretary of State for War as to what form the extension of Dover Harbour was necessary in order to provide for the efficient action of the National Defences, they ought not to pass the present Bill. The Government had already expended £130,000 in the erection of this fort and batteries at the end of the Admiralty Harbour Pier, and he believed that an additional expenditure of about £100,000 would have to be incurred before those defences were completed. In his opinion, these works would not be adequate when the proposed piers were finished, and further defensive works would then still be required if the piers proposed for the new harbour were ever completed. But the Secretary of State for War had never been consulted on the effect of these works on the defensive works. Then, again, he objected strongly to any tolls, dues, or fees being levied for the purposes of the Bill until such time as the works were completed. It was not in accordance with the ancient practice of the House to allow parties to levy tolls until the purposes for which they were required were carried out. But for 15 years, under the present Bill, the Dover Harbour Board would have the power of imposing a considerable amount of taxation on the traffic between England and France without giving the public any advantage. He knew very well that in that thin and wearied House he should receive very little support; but he intended to leave a record of his decided objection to the scheme, as proposed, and to this end to submit a Resolution giving expression to his objection to the Bill to this effect—

> "That it is not desirable to confer on the Dover Harbour Board the powers sought for in this Bill, to construct a Harbour in Dover Bay, because this Board, by its constitution, is not suited for supervising or managing a great national work; and, finally, that there are important public rights involved in this objectionable scheme, which will be seriously injured by this Bill being passed."

He begged to move that Resolution as an Amendment to the Motion.

Amendment proposed,

> To leave out from the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "it is not desirable to confer on the Dover Harbour Board the powers sought for in this Bill, to construct a Harbour in Dover Bay, because this Board, by its constitution, is not suited for supervising or managing a great national work; and, finally, that there are important public rights involved in this objectionable scheme, which will be seriously injured by this Bill being passed,"—(*Sir George Balfour*,)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. FRESHFIELD said, that the hon. and gallant Member for Kincardineshire (General Sir George Balfour) had always been an opponent of the Dover Harbour; but his objections seemed to him (Mr. Freshfield) to be of a nature that were not likely to receive any considerable amount of support from the House. The hon. and gallant Gentleman objected to the measure on every possible ground. The proposed harbour was too small; it ought, at least, to be ten times the size. Now, the promoters of the Bill had experienced great difficulty in bringing the harbour up to its present point. Ten years ago, the Bill brought in by the Harbour Board was opposed by the Government because they thought that, being called on to contribute to the work, they ought to have charge of it; but, since then, the Harbour Board had ceased to ask for Government assistance, and the measure now introduced received the support of the Government. In the next place, the hon. and gallant Gentleman said the Harbour Board had no funds; and he further complained of their proposal to levy tolls. Now, his (Mr. Freshfield's) belief was that the Dover Harbour Board had sufficient means and resources, and that they would be able to construct the harbour. Then the hon. and gallant Member went on to say that the adoption of this scheme would prejudice the defences of the country. But he (Mr. Freshfield ventured to say that the harbour could not interfere with any scheme of National Defence the Government might desire to carry out. A great deal of money had already been spent upon fortifications at Dover, especially with a view to the proposed harbour; and the two Railway Companies which were there were extending their works. It was just at that moment that the hon. and gallant Gentleman came forward to oppose this Bill; but upon what substantial ground it was difficult to understand. He would not take up more of the time of the House, because he knew very well that the hon. and gallant Gentleman would have the satisfaction of finding himself in a minority of one. He did not believe that the hon. and gallant Member would find anybody to support him.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Queen's *Consent* signified.

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

QUESTIONS.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—MR. JAMES MURPHY.

MR. O'KELLY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in view of the release of Mr. John Gannon, of Kilmore, county Roscommon, he can now advise the release of Mr. James Murphy, who was arrested at the same time and on the same charge as Mr. Gannon; and, whether, in view of the fact that Mr. Murphy has now been imprisoned on suspicion for a period of seven months, he will give his earliest attention to Mr. Murphy's case?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, His Excellency fully considered James Murphy's case on the 13th instant, and decided that he could not at present order his release.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CARLOW BOARD OF GUARDIANS.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether any representations have been made to the Local Government Board with respect to the conduct of Mr. R. C. Brown, the Chairman of the Carlow Board of Guardians, in refusing to put from the Chair a Resolution censuring the Clerk of the Union for suppressing documents; and, if so, whether the Local Government Board has given any, and what, decision in the matter; whether the same Chairman has, without the authority of the Board, caused new works to be constructed in connection with the workhouse and infirmary; and, if so, whether he is within his right in so doing; and, whether the Doctor Rawson, the medical officer, who also attends the soldiers stationed at Carlow, has on several occasions introduced into the workhouse, for treatment, soldiers suffering from loathsome skin and other affections; and, if so, whether the Chief Secretary intends to take any notice of the practice?

MR. TREVELYAN: Yes, Sir; I find that a representation was made to the Local Government Board by a member of the Board of Guardians to the effect mentioned in the Question, and that the Local Government Board have expressed their views to the Chairman, which were to the effect that when such a resolution was proposed the sense of the assembled Guardians ought to have been taken upon it. With regard to the second paragraph of the Question, the Local Government Board have received a report from the Clerk of the Union, in which he states that the Chairman, with the sanction of the Board of Guardians, authorized alterations to be made in connection with the workhouse infirmary, on the recommendation of the Visiting Committee, but no new works have been executed under his directions. With reference to the third part of the Question, the Local Government Board have obtained a report from the medical officer, from which it appears that he allowed certain persons outside the workhouse—soldiers among others—to be placed in a sulphur bath in an outhouse in the workhouse yard. No expense has been incurred by this proceeding, but the Local Government Board will communicate with the Guardians on the subject.

EGYPT — MILITARY EXPEDITION — COMPOSITION OF THE FORCE—TROOPS FOR EGYPT.

Mr. SCHREIBER said, circumstances had occurred which induced him to alter the Question which he had placed on the Paper, and which was as follows:—

> "To ask the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is the fact that three regiments of the Line (the 50th, 74th, and 87th), now quartered at Aldershot, and which are about to be despached to Egypt, have been found to contain a large number of men in each battalion who, from their extreme youth and other causes, are not eligible to accompany the head quarters; whether the three Regiments above named form part of the 'First Army Corps' described by him in moving the Army Estimates, when he spoke of 'a complete Army Corps ready for service;' whether it is intended to replace these young soldiers by a corresponding number of men from the Army Reserve before the Regiments proceed on active service; and, if so, what further drafts it will be necessary to make on the Reserve before our first Line, under the present system of short service, will be fit to take the field in Egypt?"

He would now only ask how many Line regiments in the First Army Corps would proceed direct to Egypt, and what number of Reserve men would be sent there?

Mr. CHILDERS: As the hon. Member has not given Notice of that Question, I cannot answer it except generally. My answer to the Question on the Paper is as follows:—The hon. Gentleman has been entirely misinformed on this subject. The three battalions to which he refers—the 1st West Kent, 2nd Highland Light Infantry, and 1st Royal Irish Fusiliers—will go to the front and will only require in all 135 Reserve men, after leaving behind all those unfit for active service and all men who, although fit for active service, are under 20 years of age. The total number of Reserve men required to fill up the Infantry battalions going from home on active service is 474; and I think the House will recognize that, considering the very short time which has elapsed since the battalions in the First Army Corps were built up to their new strength, this is a remarkably satisfactory result. I may add that the battalions going for garrison service in the Mediterranean take their recruits and young soldiers, and that we have arranged for their instruction proceeding as efficiently as in camp at home, so that the battalions will be rapidly hardening and becoming fit for service in the field.

CONVICT PRISONS (IRELAND)—UNOFFICIAL INSPECTION.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What steps are being taken to take effective action under the Report of the Penal Servitude Commission with respect to the independent inspection of convict prisons in Ireland; and, what the Government propose to do as to the prison in Spike Island?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, since this matter was last referred to in the House His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant has been in communication with the Visitors appointed to the convict prisons in Ireland, and has expressed to them his opinion that the objects for which they have been appointed would be more fully attained if they paid more frequent visits to the prisons than heretofore. They have also been reminded that they are expected to make a joint Report to the Lord Lieutenant at the end of their year of office, and, collectively or individually, to offer to His Excellency any suggestions that may occur to them. Four out of six Visitors have replied expressing regret that from various causes they have been unable to visit the prisons more frequently heretofore, and the hope that they may be able to carry out His Excellency's wishes by giving more time to the duties of their office in future. At the expiration of the present year of office His Excellency hopes to be able to strengthen the Visiting Commission by adding to it some active local gentlemen, whose duties do not ordinarily require their presence elsewhere; and gentlemen with special acquaintance with prison discipline, if possible. With regard to Spike Island Prison, the matter is still in the hands of the Departmental Committee.

Mr. SEXTON: May I ask if the Government intend to continue in office the two Visitors who have not thought it worth their while to answer the letter of the Lord Lieutenant?

[No reply was given.]

NAVY — THE ROYAL MARINES — BREVET PROMOTION.

Colonel MAKINS asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, If it is intended to give brevet-promotion by length of service to officers of the Royal Marines, similar to that granted to the Royal Artillery; so that they may be placed on an equality with officers with whom they are serving?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I am very sorry, Sir, that I cannot give a definite answer to the hon. and gallant Member's Question at present. There is an obvious difficulty in equalizing promotion in the Royal Artillery and Royal Marines, owing to the different circumstances in which officers enter the two Services, and hence some delay has occurred in settling a plan. The question, however, would probably have been decided before this time had it not been for the pressure of business at the Admiralty and War Office. I can assure the hon. and gallant Gentleman that there is every desire in both Departments to meet the admitted claims of the Marine officers, and I hope the matter will soon be arranged.

Colonel MAKINS asked what would be the position of the Marine officers who were now serving with officers of the Army?

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, that, of course, till a decision on the point was arrived at they would remain in the position to which the Regulations at present entitled them.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881 — MR. DENIS MULLIGAN.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been lately directed to the case of Mr. Denis Mulligan, of Kilrea, County Longford, who has been confined in Kilmainham Gaol for the past six months, under the Coercion Act, and whether he will, in the present condition of the county, recommend his release?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Mr. Denis Mulligan was released on the 25th instant.

INDIA — CONSULS AT THE NATIVE STATES — THE CASE OF MR. SILBIGER.

Mr. ONSLOW asked the Secretary of State for India, Whether it is a fact that, whilst Foreign Powers are not permitted to place consuls at the capitals of Native States of India, the Government of India has refused to facilitate any public inquiry into an alleged grievous injustice suffered by an Austrian subject named Silbiger, at the hands of the Jeypore Durbar, although the Maharajah of Jeypore has himself asked for a public inquiry; whether the Government of India, by its Political Agent at Jeypore, took the case into its own hands, thereby precluding Mr. Silbiger from obtaining redress directly from the Maharajah, and subsequently refused to sanction any hearing of the case; whether, in reply to the representations of the Austrian Government on the subject, the British Government has in effect stated that an arbitration, or what practically amounted to one, had taken place; whether Mr. Silbiger has submitted an affidavit to the effect that this reply of the British Government was incorrect; and, whether any steps have been taken publicly, either to disprove Mr. Silbiger's sworn statement, or to admit the justice of his claim to have his case heard?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Sir, it would be impossible to give a really intelligible answer to these Questions without making a statement of the principal facts of a long and rather complicated controversy. This I shall be ready to do on any fitting opportunity; but I will not now, or unless I find it absolutely necessary, inflict such a statement on the House. I can, therefore, only answer very succinctly and imperfectly the Questions of the hon. Member. It is true that Consuls of Foreign Powers are not admitted at the capitals of Native States; and for this reason the British Government would, I think, hold itself bound to see that no substantial injustice was inflicted on a foreign subject in respect of transactions which he had entered into with a Native Government with the knowledge and approval of the Government. I am not aware that Mr. Silbiger ever asked the Government of India to institute a public inquiry into his case, although he has recently memorialized the Secretary of State in Council on the subject. The late Maharajah expressed his willingness some years ago to assent to a public inquiry; but the Government of India decided that it was unnecessary. So far as we have information, the Government of India has not, through its political agent, taken the case into its own hands. All that it has done has been to express its opinion, after full inquiry into the case, that there was no ground for interference. In reply to official and non-official representations of the Austrian Government, the case has been inquired into both by Lord Cranbrook and myself, and we have both stated in effect that an arbitration, or what practically amounted to one, had taken place. Mr. Silbiger has recently memorialized the Secretary of State in Council, and an affidavit is included among the Papers. I do not understand that he denies that an arbitration has taken place; but he denies that he assented to the Maharajah acting as arbitrator. The Secretary of State in Council has considered this Memorial, but he has seen no reason for re-opening the case. The Papers will, however, go to India in due course, and it will rest with the Viceroy to deal with them as he thinks proper, although I can hold out no hope that he will take any action in regard to them.

TRADE AND COMMERCE—WINE IMPORTS, 1881.

Mr. NORWOOD asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he has any objection to lay upon the Table of the House a statement showing the quantity of wine imported in casks into the United Kingdom in the year 1881 from Spain, Portugal, France, Australia, and other countries, under the heads of degrees of strength, as shown in a statement of importations in 1875 handed by Mr. Seldon to the Select Committee of Wine Duties, 1879?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, the statement could be given, but only with great labour and expense, and it is a question whether my hon. Friend would regard the result as of sufficient importance to justify their being incurred. There are no accounts actually in the possession of the Customs which would enable them to give the figures; but they might be obtained by investigation. I would suggest that my hon. Friend should communicate, and in that way he might perhaps attain the object he has in view.

THE CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSIONERS —SCALE OF FEES ON APPOINTMENTS IN H.M. DOCKYARDS.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Treasury will consent to reconsider the scale of fees charged to established men of Her Majesty's Dockyards on their appointments by the Civil Service Commissioners, power being reserved in the Order in Council for exemptions in certain cases?

Mr. COURTNEY: Sir, the Treasury have received no communication from the Admiralty on this subject; and any suggestion the hon. Member may wish to make should be addressed to the Admiralty, which Department will doubtless communicate with the Treasury if necessary.

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) BILL—THE EMIGRATION CLAUSES—GENERAL EMIGRATION FROM IRELAND.

Mr. RATHBONE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, inasmuch as there has been a discussion in some of the less congested unions of Ireland, showing that there is an idea that they may be able to avail themselves of the emigration clauses of the Arrears Bill, he will take steps to let it be known that no such aid can be given under the clauses proposed in the Bill except to districts in the counties of Donegal, Clare, Cork (West Riding), Galway, Kerry, Leitrim, Mayo, Roscommon, and Sligo; and, whether it is not the intention of the Government to confine such aid exclusively to electoral districts where holdings of £4 and under greatly preponderate?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the point of view expressed in the Question will be carefully kept in mind; but while the Arrears Bill is before Parliament, it is impossible for the Irish Government to commit itself to any statement of the particular course of action it may see fit to take respecting the provisions which the Bill may ultimately contain.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND) — MR. HILL, R.M.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to a paragraph in the "Dublin Weekly News" of Friday last, purporting to give an account of a dispute between a farmer named Manning and Mr. Tobias Hill, J.P., and proceedings consequent thereon before the resident magistrate, Mr. Hill. After which Mr. Manning told Mr. Hill that he had an application to make; whereupon Mr. Hill is reported to have said, "I will hear no application from you," and he positively refused to entertain an application that Peyton should also be bound over to keep the peace; whether the conduct of the magistrate is correctly described in this statement; and, whether, if he is not acquainted with the facts of the case, he will cause inquiry to be made?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am acquainted, Sir, with the facts of this case, and am satisfied that the Resident Magistrate exercised a proper discretion in binding over Manning to keep the peace, and in refusing to bind over Mr. Peyton. Violent language and threats were made use of by Manning towards Mr. Peyton, who is obliged to go about armed and with personal protection. The Resident Magistrate did not refuse to hear Manning's application. On the contrary, he did hear it; but found no reason to comply with it.

POST OFFICE—THE LETTER CARRIERS —THE NEW SCALE.

MR. CALLAN asked the Postmaster General, Why the new scale for the letter-carriers is not retrospective, the same as in the case of the sorters and telegraph engineers?

MR. FAWCETT: Sir, in reply to the hon. Member, I have to state that having fully considered the Memorials of the letter-carriers, I procured the assent of the Treasury to the scheme, the substance of which was lately explained to the House, and which, I think, without retrospective payment, meets the merits of the case.

ARMY—THE GUARDS' REGULATIONS.

EXPLANATION.

MR. CHILDERS: I must ask the permission of the House to make an explanation as to an answer I lately gave to the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) about an Article in the Guards' Regulations. I was obliged, by serious indisposition, to leave the House on Thursday evening, and I understand that at 2 in the morning some reference was made to my reply by the hon. Member. I find, what I did not know when I answered the hon. Member's Question, that the Guards' Regulations, although not a part of the Queen's Regulations, have been printed as an appendix to them. But they stand, in a material respect, on a different footing. They were counter-signed by the senior Colonel of the Brigade, and the Secretary of State was not a party to them. It is undoubtedly in Her Majesty's power to dispense with any of them should She be so advised, and in the case of the appointment of the Duke of Connaught, She has been advised by me to do so.

SIR HENRY FLETCHER: The Queen's Regulations are dated the 1st of July, 1881. The paragraph which has been alluded to is printed with appendix, and, therefore, forms part of them.

MR. CHILDERS: The Queen's Regulations are so dated. The appendix is added for information; but it does not form part of the Queen's Regulations, for the reason I have given—that the Guards' Regulations are signed by the senior Colonel, and are commonly known in the Guards as the Guards' Domestic Regulations.

METROPOLITAN IMPROVEMENTS— HYDE PARK CORNER.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether he will lay upon the Table of the House a Return, containing lithograph plans of the Schemes of his Department and that of the noble Lord the Member for Haddingtonshire, for alterations at Hyde Park Corner?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: With respect, Sir, to the plan which I have submitted for dealing with the Hyde Park Corner difficulty, I may remind hon. Members that a model of it was placed in the Tea Room of the House for many weeks, and gave, I believe, general satisfaction. An alternative scheme has since been devised by the noble Lord the Member for Haddingtonshire (Lord Elcho), and has also been placed by him in the Tea Room. It is only one of many alternatives, and not the best of them; and it is not one for which I could be responsible if the House should disapprove my proposal. I do not think, therefore, it would be well to circulate it among Members with, and as the only alternative to the official plan.

Lord ELCHO wished to state with reference to his plan for the improvement of Hyde Park Corner, which the First Commissioner of Works had spoken of as having been in the Tea Room of the House, that it was still there, and that he should be happy to explain it to hon. Members. He should like to hear from the right hon. Gentleman when there would be an opportunity for discussing the question?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that there would be two opportunities, one on the Motion to go into Supply, and the other on the Vote itself.

SCOTLAND—THE MEDICAL GRANT.

Mr. RAMSAY: With reference to the discussion which took place last Saturday morning, I beg leave to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether the promise of an augmentation of the Medical Grant for Scotland to £20,000, which was made by his Predecessor in Office, and subsequently confirmed by the Prime Minister, is to be fulfilled, and when?

Mr. COURTNEY: Yes, Sir; an additional sum of £10,000 is to be found in the Supplementary Estimates.

PARLIAMENT—ARRANGEMENT OF PUBLIC BUSINESS.

In reply to Sir John Hay,

Mr. GLADSTONE said: It is proposed, as is common in the last weeks of the Session, to resume to-morrow the commencement of the Sitting at 4 o'clock.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I do not know whether the Prime Minister would be able now to forecast the Business of the Session, and the time of its probable termination; if not, I will put a Question to-morrow?

Mr. GLADSTONE: It is proposed to take the Navy Estimates to-morrow, presuming, of course, that we dispose of the Business before us to-night. Further than that, in order to give a more satisfactory Answer, I would rather take until to-morrow to consider the matter; then I will give as clear a sketch as I can of the probable course of Business.

EGYPT (POLITICAL AFFAIRS) — THE CONFERENCE — LETTER OF ARABI PASHA, &c.

Mr. BOURKE desired to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he had any information as to the Conference at Constantinople; whether there was any truth in the statement that the Russian Chargé d'Affaires had withdrawn from it; whether he had again rejoined the Conference; and whether the proceedings of the Conference were likely to be brought to a close before long?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will kindly put the Question down for to-morrow.

Mr. M'COAN asked whether Her Majesty's Government had any reason to believe that Mr. Blunt was in communication with Arabi Pasha; and, if so, whether it was intended to stop such communication?

Mr. GLADSTONE: We have no knowledge whatever upon the subject more recent than that which I communicated to the House recently—namely, that the letter bearing the signature of Arabi Pasha came to me under cover of a letter from Mr. Blunt. That was dated as far back as the 2nd of July. I do not remember the date of the covering letter. Since then I have no knowledge whatever on the subject.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he could lay on the Table the evidence which led him to intimate to the House that Arabi Pasha was guilty of complicity in the preparations for the attack upon Europeans at Alexandria on the 11th of June?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Yes, Sir. The Papers on the subject shall be laid before the House. Of course, they cannot at present be produced in a complete form; but there is a despatch giving a deposition and names of witnesses. With regard to the conduct of Arabi Pasha generally, I do not know whether the hon. Member has seen a long telegram in the Second Edition of *The Times* of to-day.

MR. BOURKE: Does the hon. Baronet mean to convey that the statements in the telegram in the Second Edition of *The Times* are correct or authoritative?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I can only refer hon. Members to *The Times* itself. This is the first detailed statement upon the subject I have seen. We have had a statement from our own Agents in general mentioning the subject; but we have had no detailed statement.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT asked the Prime Minister, whether all that happened in that House and in the country with regard to the Egyptian expedition was not telegraphed to Arabi; and whether, if such was the case, he would take care that important information should not be conveyed to him in that manner in future; also, whether he could give the House any information as to the Turkish expedition, which, it was stated, had been organized by Mukhtar Pasha, and as to the place at which it was intended that that expedition should land?

MR. GLADSTONE: With respect to the telegraphic line, which is a Question of some nicety, particularly as the line crosses the Canal, I had rather answer it a day or two hence. I may say, however, that it has not escaped the attention of Her Majesty's Government, but has been carefully considered. With regard to the Question of a Turkish expedition, the hon. Member not unnaturally refers probably to the statements which he has seen in the newspapers; but his Question is really somewhat premature, for no matter connected with the despatch of a Turkish expedition to Egypt has as yet reached a stage in which it can be the subject of Questions in this House. The preliminary conditions of such an expedition, which in our judgment are absolutely essential, are still unfulfilled.

ARMY RESERVE FORCE.

HER MAJESTY'S ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS.

THE COMPTROLLER OF THE HOUSEHOLD (Lord KENSINGTON) *reported* Her Majesty's Answer to the Address, as followeth:—

I thank you for your loyal and dutiful Address.

I feel assured that I can always rely on your hearty support of any measure that may be deemed necessary for the well-being of My Empire, and the honour of My Crown.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

CUSTOMS AND INLAND REVENUE (*re-committed*) BILL.—[BILL 239.]

(*Mr. Playfair, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Frederick Cavendish.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 28th July.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 2 (Import duties on tea).

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

MR. MACFARLANE said, that when the Chairman reported Progress on Friday, he (Mr. Macfarlane) was calling the attention of the Prime Minister to the question of the duties on tea in reference to a matter which he considered to be a hardship inflicted especially upon the Indian tea importers. The Indian Government—that was to say, the Government of the right hon. Gentleman opposite—within the last few years had compelled the Government of India to give up £1,000,000 which was previously received in the shape of import duties charged upon English goods. It formed a very valuable and important source of revenue in India, and it had been conceded in favour of the English manufacturers by India with no consideration whatever for the loss sustained in consequence. The Government, represented by the right hon. Gentleman, gave up £500,000 which was derived from the same source, so that the concession made to the Manchester manufacturers amounted to £1,500,000. That sum was swept away from the Exchequer without a single farthing being conceded to India by the Custom House in return. He wished to put to the right hon. Gentleman this question—If the Government of India had been an independent Government, and not under the control of the Secretary for India in this country, and Her Majesty's Government proposed to abolish these Customs duties in favour of English manufacturers, what would have been the answer? The Indian Government would probably have said that they were quite willing to take the matter into consideration; but the first question they would naturally ask was, what India was to get in return? That would have been a very fair and reasonable question to ask; and, no doubt, if the Indian Government had been an independent Power, it would have been able to come to Her Majesty's Government and offer to make a concession to the manufacturers of Lancashire in return for the concession they required for themselves, and, no doubt, they would have obtained it. But it so happened that the Indian Government was not an independent Government, and, therefore, was not able to make a bargain with Her Majesty's Government. The people of India were not represented either in the Indian Government or in the House of Commons. Consequently, they had no voice in the matter; and taking, as he did, a deep interest in the people of that country, and feeling that an injustice had been done to them, he thought it his duty to raise his voice on their behalf in that House. He was perfectly satisfied that if the Chinese had approached Her Majesty's Government with an offer similar to that which had been made by the Indian Government—being an independent nation—their offer to admit Lancashire goods into China free, would have obtained for them a similar concession with regard to the admission of their tea into this country. Independently of the mere money injury done to India by this arrangement, he would venture to appeal to Her Majesty's Government on the ground of policy. He would state a simple fact in order to show the extraordinary development which had taken place of late years in the Indian tea trade. In the year 1860, the quantity of Indian tea imported into this country was below 1,000,000 lbs., while last year it amounted to 46,000,000 lbs. What he wanted to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister was, whether he would practice a Free Trade policy which should be real and substantial Free Trade, and not such a proceeding as had been carried out in the case of India? The Government of this country had forced India into Free Trade; but they declined to reciprocate it on their own part. He maintained the proposition to be undeniable that if the Indian ports admitted all English goods free of duty, then, subject to the necessities of the Revenue, English ports should be free to Indian goods. He would say, further, that if the right hon. Gentleman's Revenue necessities did not permit him to make this concession to India, then he should have postponed the demand for the concession which had been made by India to English goods. Hon. Members who represented Lancashire constituencies in that House understood one precept, and that was the principle of "asking and you shall receive." They had asked for this concession. He did not blame them for the course they had taken; but it was quite evident they had placed Her Majesty's Government in a false position. No doubt, the false position was originally brought about by the Government which preceded them in Office, who commenced this system of confiscating the Indian Revenues. He did not propose to take up the time of the House further than to make a protest on behalf of the Indian people against the principle, that the Indian Revenue should be played with for the advantage of this country.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he fully admitted the importance of the question raised by the hon. Member; but it was impossible for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to take the Quixotic view of the case which was taken by the hon. Member. He did not think the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, with his present obligations, dare to establish Free Trade by taking off the Custom duties on Indian produce.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, the free import of manufactured cotton into India, and of Indian tea into this country, had really no connection with each other. The hon. Member had taken advantage of this clause for the purpose of raising the question. He did not say that the hon. Member had in the slightest degree gone beyond his right. What the hon. Member contended was that the Government had no right to enforce upon India the abolition of Customs duties upon English manufactured goods unless they also abolished the import duties in this country upon Indian tea. Now, as far as the tea duties were concerned and the tea trade of India, he agreed with the hon. Gentleman that it was one of the most astonishing developments of modern times. He had not the figures precisely in his mind, but probably the best mode of referring to the wonderful development of the trade which had taken place, was to say that we now imported from India a greater weight of tea than was imported from China 40 or 45 years ago. These were remarkable commercial facts, and still more remarkable when it was borne in mind that the export of tea from India was more valuable now than that from China, and had been so enormously increasing, notwithstanding the enforcement of tea duties. So much in regard to the abolition of the Customs duties of India which had taken place during the existence of the present Administration. The hon. Member was correct in stating that the abolition took place under no pressure whatever. He (Mr. Gladstone) was not cognizant of any pressure or effort being made by the Government at home; and he was convinced that if any had been made in the Indian Department, he would have become aware of it. The abolition of these duties took place in consequence of the free and spontaneous action of the Indian Government itself. Although he believed there had been some pressure in other times from the Lancashire cotton districts, he thought the Indian Government was sufficiently enlightened to know that, by abolishing the duties, they were conferring great advantages upon themselves, and that it was a proper and legitimate object to attain, apart from the abolition of any duties upon Indian commodities in this country. He would be very glad, when the proper time arrived, to give further facilities for the introduction into this country of any articles manufactured in India.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Repeal of customs duties on vegetable matter other than chicory) *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Prohibition of imitations called by names of or mixed with chicory or coffee, 39 & 40 Vic. c. 36), *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Repeal of excise duty on vegetable matter other than chicory, 35 & 36 Vic. c. 20).

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 14, leave out "called by any name of coffee or chicory."—(*Mr. Magniac.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, he should like to have some explanation from the Government of the extraordinary position in which the coffee question had got. From the words of the right hon. Gentleman on a former occasion, it appeared that he proposed to do one thing, and now in the Bill before the Committee he proposed to do something totally different. No explanation had yet been given from the Treasury Bench of the reason why this great alteration was proposed; and he confessed that the idea of introducing every horrible mixture under the name of coffee was so obnoxious that he should like to hear from the right hon. Gentleman if the Ministry were responsible for this alteration, and if he would give the reason why, when his mind had been made up, he now considered it necessary to alter it. He (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) was one of those who had always opposed this arrangement, not because he was connected with the coffee trade, but because he was strongly opposed to adulteration in every shape and form. He remembered some years ago hearing the right hon. Gentleman the late Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright), when President of the Board of Trade, make a very strong speech in favour of adulteration, and he believed that was the only thing the right hon. Gentleman ever did while he was at the Board of Trade. Unfortunately, Birmingham was still connected with the Board of Trade, and he always looked upon everything that came from the right hon. Member for Birmingham with very great suspicion, especially in this matter of adulteration. There was always in the Birmingham policy in this matter a ring of the buttons they had heard so much about in former times, and which produced so bad an effect upon the industry of the country. It was under the right hon. Gentleman who was now President of the Board of Trade, and who also represented Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain), that we had the extraordinary change in the policy of Her Majesty's Government now proposed. As one of the public, he (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) was most desirous that the poorer classes, instead of obtaining the horrible and abominable mixtures now sold under the name of coffee in the coffee palaces, should have an opportunity of obtaining pure coffee; and he was anxious to learn if the Secretary to the Treasury was able to give any explanation on the subject.

Mr. COURTNEY said, he was afraid that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Whitehaven (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) had somewhat misconceived the position taken by his right hon. Friend the Prime Minister, in the statement he had made. Really no change whatever had taken place in the policy of the Government, which was the same in the original statement of his right hon. Friend and now; and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Whitehaven (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck), if he referred to the Budget Speech of the Prime Minister, would find that the policy now pursued was exactly the same laid down in that speech. It was found that the revenue from coffee did not produce what it ought to produce; and it was believed that this was largely owing to the fact that some untaxed beverage resembling coffee was substituted for coffee itself; and, by way of protecting the Revenue, his right hon. Friend in his Budget Speech proposed to prohibit the introduction of the untaxed substitutes. This prohibition was conceived in the interest of the Revenue; but on re-consideration it was found that it would be a better way of benefiting the Revenue to admit these substitutes, and at the same time to tax them. That would enable the Government to recover the revenue they were now losing. The present proposition was really identical in spirit with that contained in the Budget Speech. The Government were anxious to obtain the money which ought to be obtained upon these beverages. They proposed to get it by taxing the articles used as substitutes for coffee equally with coffee itself. At the same time, it was proposed to make the purchaser fully acquainted with the nature of the article he was buying. In that way they would protect the purchaser against any deceit in the nature of adulteration, and, at the same time, would secure the full amount of money which ought to go into the Exchequer; and he thought this explanation fully met the appeal which had been made to him by the right hon. Gentleman opposite. He did not know whether the right hon. Gentleman was desirous of entering into a crusade against the coffee taverns; but, if so, he (Mr. Courtney) was afraid he could not assist him, because, upon the whole, he was desirous of promoting the operations of the coffee taverns, which he considered to have had a very beneficial effect upon the community at large.

Mr. MAGNIAC said, he thought it might save the time of the Committee if he were to mention that he had been in communication with the Government in regard to the Amendments which stood upon the Paper in his name; and he had had to pass through the ordeal of three Public Offices—the Treasury, the Board of Trade, and the Local Government Board. The result of those transactions was the Amendments now upon the Paper, with the exception of one slight alteration to protect the public against adulteration. He believed these Amendments would be found to meet the case, when he came to move the second Amendment, which provided that each packet containing, or purporting to contain, coffee should have a label upon it denoting the substances of which the mixture was composed, and the percentage of coffee contained in it.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury was mistaken in supposing that he desired to enter into a crusade against the coffee taverns. On the contrary, he wished to protect the coffee taverns. He wished that the customers of the coffee taverns were 10,000 times as many as they were; but, at the same time, he was desirous that, as far as possible, they should be supplied with a pure article. It had once been his misfortune to be behind the scenes, and to have witnessed the preparation of what was called coffee for the coffee taverns. He had been so horrified and astonished at what he saw, that he thought it was necessary to do all he could to secure that a pure article should be supplied to every customer.

MR. WARTON said, he confessed that he did not understand the attitude taken by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury. He had expected the hon. Gentleman to repeat the arguments he had used on a previous occasion against adulteration; but he found that the hon. Gentleman regarded the whole question as one of money, and all that he put before the Committee was money and mere money. Everything the hon. Gentleman talked about was the loss to the Revenue, and the best means of making it up. He seemed to care nothing whatever about the morality of the transaction, or the health of the people. He cared nothing whether what they drank was good or bad for them, provided the money was obtained for the Imperial Exchequer. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Whitehaven (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) had quoted one of the aphorisms of the right hon. Gentleman the late Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright) in connection with Free Trade. That aphorism expressed a Free Trade principle that the people were to drink bad coffee so long as something was to be got out of it. He (Mr. Warton) certainly did not understand the morality of that kind of teaching.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

MR. DILLWYN said, that there was a substitute for coffee which was very much used in some parts of the country. It was a beverage called dandelion coffee, and he believed that it was not only extremely wholesome, but that some people liked it very much. He, therefore, desired to move an Amendment if he were in Order. The clause provided that these mixtures should only be sold by weight from half-a-pound upwards, and the Amendment he desired to move was that a quarter of a pound should be the limit.

MR. COURTNEY said, he thought the hon. Member was too late. The Committee had already passed the words "half-a-pound."

MR. DILLWYN said, they had only disposed of the clause down to line 14, and the Amendment he desired to move would apply to line 18.

THE CHAIRMAN pointed out that as the words "half-a-pound" occurred in line 13, the Amendment of the hon. Member was too late.

MR. DILLWYN said, he hoped he would be allowed to move the Amendment on the Report. He thought he should be able to show the Government that it was one of some importance; and perhaps he might be allowed to state his object now. He believed in many parts of the country large quantities of dandelion coffee were sold; but they were sold in very small packets, generally containing less than half-a-pound. This description of coffee was bought by the poorer classes of the population out of their weekly wages, which left but a very small sum at their disposal for the purchase of coffee. Indeed, many of them were so poor that they were not able to buy as large a quantity of this dandelion coffee as half-a-pound at a time. He had been communicated with by some very respectable people at Swansea, who said that the adoption of the limit of half-a-pound in weight would, to a very great extent, shut out practically the use of this article among the poorest classes of the community, who were not able to buy as large a quantity as half-a-pound. The object of his Amendment was to reduce the quantity authorized to be sold from half-a-pound to a quarter of a pound; and the words to which his Amendment applied occurred both in the 5th and 6th clauses. His object was to provide that a quarter-of-a-pound packet might be sold with a halfpenny stamp attached to it. This would place dandelion coffee within the reach of the poorest classes; whereas the Bill, as it stood, would exclude a good many of them from any chance of obtaining it.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, that before the Committee proceeded further in this matter, he wished to take an objection to the proposal of his hon. Friend the Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn), which he believed would be fatal to it. It was this—that what was called dandelion coffee was not coffee at all. He held in his hand the results of the analysis of various descriptions of so-called coffee purchased in different shops.

THE CHAIRMAN suggested that the point now being discussed had better be raised on the Question that the clause stand part of the Bill.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, the remarks he desired to make would come in very well at the present point. He held in his hand the result of the analysis of various kinds of coffee purchased at different shops. There were altogether 37 samples of different descriptions of coffee submitted to the analysts in order to ascertain how much real coffee was contained in each, and among them was a sample of dandelion coffee. Dandelion coffee stood No. 37 on the list, and the report of the analyst was as follows:—"Dandelion coffee, No. 37, estimated percentage of coffee, none at all." There was this further remark attached to the report, "that it was composed of dandelion root, and probably of some other substances;" but it was not stated what those other substances were. It might be that the substances were of a most deleterious character. Instead of enacting a law to facilitate the sale of this and other compounds to the poorest classes of the population, he should like to see the Government propose a law to prohibit their sale altogether. If the Prime Minister would do that, he (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck), for one, would give him his best support.

Mr. RYLANDS said, he did not see the force of the objections raised by the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck). Many representations had been made to him, showing that there was a wide difference between many of the decoctions sold as coffee, and dandelion coffee, which was thoroughly understood not to be coffee at all; but which was, nevertheless, found to be an agreeable, a cheap, and a nutritious beverage. Under these circumstances, he should object to see the sale of it prohibited.

Mr. J. G. HUBBARD said, he thought his right hon. Friend the Member for Whitehaven (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) had brought before the Committee a very strong argument in favour of the proposal of the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn), because he had proved that dandelion coffee was entirely free from the objection of assuming a false name. In point of fact, dandelion coffee was what it was represented to be. It was composed of dandelions only. As far as he was able to go back into his earlier life, he believed it was always understood that dandelion root was wholesome. In the South of Europe it was very largely made use of among the poorer classes of the people. It was said to be highly nutritious, and to have an agreeable taste. He saw no reason whatever for excluding dandelion coffee from the breakfast preparations which were to be introduced in the new Customs and Inland Revenue Bill. He was, therefore, in favour of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Swansea, which he thought altogether reasonable, especially in regard to reducing, in the interests of the smaller class of purchasers, the quantity they would be able to buy.

Mr. COURTNEY said, that, as his hon. Friend the Member for Swansea had raised the question of reducing the quantity to a quarter of a pound upon this clause, he wished to say a few words upon it. His hon. Friend would be aware that this new scheme for the sale of these substances under the name of coffee was introduced to meet the wishes of persons engaged in the preparation and sale of them, and half-a-pound was fixed as the lowest weight to be sold, because it was represented to the Government that the persons engaged in the trade would be perfectly satisfied with the fixing of such a limit. And, although the proposition had been before the public for some time, he had not heard of any serious objection being raised to half-a-pound being the limit. At the same time, he admitted there had been applications asking that the limit should be fixed at a quarter of a pound. With respect to the proposition to substitute a quarter of a pound for half-a-pound, there were some technical difficulties to overcome in regard to the Rules of the House. The Resolutions had already been passed authorizing the duty to be levied upon half-a-pound packets; and he was not quite satisfied that it would be in the power of the Committee to alter that Resolution without introducing another Resolution authorizing the duty to be levied upon packets of a quarter of a pound. He would therefore request his hon. Friend to leave the matter in his (Mr. Courtney's) hands, and between the present time and the Report he would consider whether it might not be right to allow the sale of quarter-of-a-pound packets.

of the mixture in question, instead of half-a-pound packets. If consumers desired that they should be so sold, the Government would do right to fall in with their wishes. It would, of course, give a little extra trouble; but the Government were desirous of meeting not only the convenience of the trade, but the wishes of the consumers.

MR. SLAGG said, he thought that very strong reasons indeed had been given why packets of a quarter of a pound should be sold. He believed that grocers sold mixtures of coffee and chicory to ten times greater extent than pure coffee.

MR. COURTNEY said, that the clause would not apply to coffee and chicory, which would still continue to be sold under the same conditions as at present.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he thought the right hon. Member for Whitehaven (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) had talked sound common sense. His hon. Friend near him (Mr. Dillwyn) seemed to be supporting the interests of the grocers rather than that of the inhabitants of Swansea. As far as he was able to understand his hon. Friend, there was an article called dandelion coffee which was sold very extensively by the grocers of Swansea to the inhabitants of that town; but it appeared that that dandelion coffee contained no coffee at all, and the grocers might sell it by the ounce if they chose so long as they did not endeavour to persuade their unfortunate fellow-townsmen that it was coffee. There was nothing whatever to prevent them continuing to sell it in what quantities they chose as dandelion coffee.

MR. COURTNEY was understood to say that the hon. Member was mistaken, and that there was a prohibition.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, that if the hon. Gentleman assured the Committee that there was a restriction the circumstances of the case were entirely altered.

MR. COLMAN said, he thought that in regard to articles of this sort the consumers should have the power of buying the smallest possible quantity. There was, however, one other matter upon which he wished to make a suggestion. As the Bill now stood, it provided that the provisions in regard to the imposition of this duty should come into operation on the 1st of August. As to-morrow was the 1st of August, it was absolutely impossible that the labels could be prepared or the necessary steps taken to carry out the provisions relating to the imposition of the duty; and he would, therefore, suggest that the 1st of August should be altered to some future date, so as to give sufficient time for arrangements to be made in connection with the preparation of stamps.

MR. DILLWYN said, he was perfectly willing to accept the suggestion of his hon. Friend the Financial Secretary. He would be glad to see his hon. Friend before the Report, and he thought he could make a case out that would satisfy the Government in regard to the necessity of making this alteration.

MR. MACLIVER was able to confirm what the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) had stated, that the article of dandelion coffee was in great demand among the poorest class of the population, and that it was very extensively consumed.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Clause 6 (Provision against sale of imitations of coffee, cocoa, or chicory).

THE CHAIRMAN asked if the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) intended to propose the Amendment to leave out "half-a-pound," and insert "a quarter of a pound," of which he had given Notice in reference to this clause?

MR. DILLWYN said, he did not. He presumed his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury would consider the question in connection with this clause, as well as with the previous clause.

MR. COURTNEY replied in the affirmative.

MR. MAGNIAC said, the Amendment he was about to propose had been placed upon the Paper by an arrangement with the right hon. Gentlemen the President of the Local Government Board, and the President of the Board of Trade; but he had slightly altered the terms of it as it stood upon the Paper. The Amendment would now read—

> "Provided that each such packet containing or purporting to contain coffee, with any other article or substance mixed therewith, shall have affixed thereto a label in manner hereinbefore provided denoting in letters of not less size than the largest letters affixed to or imprinted on such label the proper name of the several articles or substances of which such mixture is composed."

The alteration consisted in inserting, after the word "coffee," the words, "with any other articles or substance," and in striking out the words, "requiring to be specified in the case of coffee the percentage contained in the packet." He believed he had described the other night, to the satisfaction of hon. Members opposite, the necessity for an Amendment of this kind, and the cases which it would probably meet. It was not necessary to repeat the same details over again, as the facts of the case were thoroughly well known. He trusted that the Amendment, having been accepted by the Government, would be accepted by the Committee. In support of the view he took, he might mention that there was a general feeling throughout the country that people ought to know what it was they were buying. The Agricultural Commission, in their recently-presented Report, stated—

> "We also recommend that steps should be taken to insure that all agricultural products, whether manufactured at home or abroad, for consumption by the public or for use by the farmer in his business, should be sold under such designations as will accurately indicate their true composition."

That applied to all articles of trade, and he quite agreed with the Commission that all persons ought to know what it was they were buying, and, in his opinion, it was the duty of the Government to secure that result.

Amendment proposed,

> In page 3, line 10, after "visible," insert—"Provided that each such packet containing or purporting to contain coffee, with any other article or substance mixed therewith, shall have affixed thereto a label hereinbefore provided denoting in letters of not less size than the largest letters affixed to or imprinted on such label the proper name of the several articles or substances of which such mixture is composed."—(*Mr. Magniac.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, the passage which had been read from the Report of the Agricultural Commission contained a very valuable recommendation; but he was afraid that at the present moment, owing to past legislation, persons were not able, in any case, to distinguish between coffee, and coffee and chicory, and in some cases they might be purchasing, under the impression that it was coffee, an article that contained no coffee at all. Of course, as this legislation took place some years ago, the present Parliament was not responsible for it. He would, however, propose to amend the Amendment by adding the words which originally appeared upon it, requiring the packet to specify the percentage of coffee contained in it.

MR. LABOUCHERE wished to put a question to the Government, and said that a great deal would depend on the answer he received. His hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury told him just now that if there was no coffee whatever in the mixture, that mixture, nevertheless, would have to pay duty, because it was a substitute for coffee. Now, supposing, for example, that he took the substance termed dandelion coffee, did his hon. Friend mean to say that if a person who had to sell the powdered root of dandelion, or dandelion beer, it would be charged as coffee, because it was a substitute for coffee?

MR. COURTNEY: Yes.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, his hon. Friend assured him that that was so. Then, what was meant by the words "a substitute for coffee?" Was beer a substitute for coffee? They all believed at present that coffee was a substitute for beer. Where did the hon. Gentleman draw the line? What beverage might be sold without being liable to pay the duty? He had hitherto thought that the distinction was where the word "coffee" was used; and he thought the public ought to know what the distinction was between the article itself and the substitute for it.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, it seemed to him that the hon. Member for Bedford (Mr. Magniac), in striking out the last part of his Amendment, had run away from the best part of his proposition. He was told that a substance called "French coffee" was very largely sold, and particularly among his own constituents. Now, this French coffee frequently contained as much as 90 per cent of chicory, and perhaps only 5 per cent of real coffee. It was, therefore, very desirable that persons who bought French coffee should be aware of the amount of chicory it contained, because the relative prices of chicory and coffee made a difference of considerable importance, the highest price of chicory being 10*d.* a-pound, whereas good coffee was worth 2*s.* a-pound.

Consequently, it was the very essence of any legislation upon the matter that every packet purporting to contain a mixture of coffee with any other article should state the exact percentage of coffee contained in it. It, therefore, seemed to him that his hon. Friend the Member for Bedford (Mr. Magniac) had left out the most important part of his Amendment, and that the only security the public would have as to the honesty of the dealer depended on the relative proportions of the various substances contained in the packet being specified on the label.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed,

To insert at the end of the foregoing Amendment, the words "and in the case of coffee the per-centage thereof therein contained."—(*Mr. Cavendish Bentinck.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. DODSON said, he had had, as representing one of the Departments concerned, occasion to consider the Amendments; and he had come to an agreement with his hon. Friend the Member for Bedford (Mr. Magniac) as to what was desirable and what the Government ought to accept in fairness to the dealer on the one side and the public on the other. It appeared to him that the words now proposed to be added, and which had been struck out of the original Amendment, carried the matter beyond what they were entitled to require. He did not think it fair to require the seller to guarantee the percentage of coffee contained in a packet, when the packet itself professed to be only a mixture; because if the dealer said there was 10 per cent of coffee, and it should subsequently appear that there was only 9½ or 9¾ per cent, he would be liable to a penalty, although he might have acted perfectly honestly in declaring it to contain 10 per cent. Especially might this happen in the case of a retail dealer. It appeared clearly to him that everything that could be reasonably demanded for the protection of the public against adulteration was secured by the words of the Amendment already passed. It declared that any packet containing or purporting to contain coffee with any other article or substance mixed therewith should have affixed thereto a label in manner before provided denoting, in letters of not less size than the largest letters affixed to or imprinted on such label, the proper name of the several articles or substances of which such mixture was composed. The effect of the present Amendment would be to require that in addition each packet should specify the percentage of coffee contained in it. It might not always be so simple a matter to determine this accurately, as to preclude some differences of opinion and obviate disputes. Moreover, the Amendment was so vague that it did not say whether the percentage was to be measured by bulk or by weight. On the other hand, the ingredients of such a mixture—certainly the fact of its being a mixture—admitted of being demonstrated beyond doubt. By the Amendment already agreed to, when a person purchased a packet which did not contain pure coffee, but simply a mixture, he would see at once the nature of the compound, whether it was coffee and chicory, or coffee and malt, or coffee and acorns, or whatever the mixture might be. He would have the fact clearly before his eyes that it was not coffee, but a mixture of two, three, or four different substances. That would be quite sufficient to put him on his guard. He would receive notice of the nature of the compound he was buying, and that was all the Legislature ought to require. The addition proposed would simply lead to a good many prosecutions, and the result would be not so much to protect the public or to do good to the dealer as to bring grist to the mill of the attorney.

MR. R. N. FOWLER said, his right hon. Friend only required that the bulk or weight of coffee should be stated on the label, and he thought it would be very easy to carry out such a stipulation.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD said, he was afraid that, in altering the Amendment from the form in which it was originally placed upon the Paper, his hon. Friend the Member for Bedford (Mr. Magniac) had rendered the matter somewhat involved, and that some further explanation was required. The proposition, as it originally stood, was plain enough—namely, that each packet was to declare conspicuously on the label what the contents were; but his hon. Friend now struck out a portion of the proposal, and in so doing he rendered the declaration of the contents of the packet simply illusory. They might say—"This is a mixture of dandelion and coffee;" but what advantage would that be to the purchaser unless the proportion of each was clearly stated? Surely, the purchaser was entitled to know whether the coffee contained in the packet was 1 per cent in 100 or 1 per cent in 10.

Mr. MAGNIAC said, the matter had been very carefully considered by those who were interested in it; and it was felt that if this system of labels were honestly carried out, and sufficient prominence given to the nature of the compounds, nothing further was required. It was distinctly understood that a specification on each packet of the nature of the substance of which it was composed would be quite sufficient to warn the public that they were not buying a pure article. The sufferer, if anything further was demanded, would be the unfortunate retail dealer. The same thing occurred every day in the case of milk. The unfortunate milk seller, who bought the milk to sell again, had no means of ascertaining whether the milk was pure or not, and he was fined if the slightest adulteration could be traced. In the same way, the grocers had no means of ascertaining the precise composition of the goods they sold; and, under those circumstances, it would be sufficient for the packet to say what it was the purchaser was paying for. The Amendment already adopted carried that requirement out, and the Government were of opinion that it contained all that was necessary for the protection of the public.

Mr. WARTON said, that hon. Members cared very little for any bargain between the Government and the hon. Member for Bedford (Mr. Magniac). They only cared for the interests of the public, and their only desire was to secure the health of the public. He could not understand upon what principle the hon. Member for Bedford was running away from his original proposal. He (Mr. Warton) would certainly support the addition of his right hon. Friend the Member for Whitehaven (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck). What was the position in which they found themselves? They had struck out from the 5th clause all the words applying to a mixture of chicory and coffee. The hon. Member for Bedford did that as part of the bargain; and yet the hon. Member, in the Amendment just passed, used the words "each packet containing, or purporting to contain, coffee," after having struck out the words "coffee and chicory." Then, what was the result of the bargain as it came down to the Committee? It was that they were to have something put before the public purporting to contain coffee which might not have more than 1 per cent of coffee in it, and that fact was to be concealed from the public on account of the bargain between the hon. Member and the Government. He thought that was a very wrong bargain indeed. His right hon. Friend the Member for Whitehaven (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) proposed that, in the case of coffee, the percentage contained in the packet should be specified; but, as the public bought by weight, he would propose to add to the Amendment the words "in weight." The public who bought this coffee, or mixture of coffee and other substances, whether it was contained in a half-pound packet or in a quarter-pound packet, bought it by weight, and they would like to know whether it contained an ounce of coffee or not. They knew nothing about any metaphysical questions of bulk or weight, but they bought so many pounds of something called coffee, and they would like to know whether in the purchase they made they got an ounce of coffee, or a quarter of a pound, or how much. He thought it would relieve the matter of some difficulty if after the word "percentage" in the Amendment his right hon. Friend would consent to add the words "in weight."

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment, after the word "per-centage," to insert the words "by weight." —(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'by weight' be there inserted."

Mr. Alderman W. LAWRENCE apprehended that the object of the Government in submitting the Bill was to add to the Revenue of the country, because the Bill proposed to tax articles which had never been taxed before. Therefore, it became the duty of the Government to take extra care to protect the consumers. They had to look to the consumer more than to the dealer or the manufacturer, because, as had been stated by his hon. Friend behind him

(Mr. Magniac), when goods were sold by the wholesale dealer to the retail dealer, the retail dealer had no means of testing the purity of the goods he bought, but had to trust to the honesty of the wholesale dealer from whom he bought them. Then how could the purchaser tell what he was buying, when he had to depend entirely on the label, or the statement made to him by the retail dealer? A man bought a packet purporting to contain a mixture of coffee and other substances—perhaps coffee and dates, or coffee and acorns, or coffee and horse beans, which was at one time a famous mixture. He did not see how the purchaser would be in the slightest degree protected by the Bill as it stood, although he did not dispute that the Revenue would be protected. At the same time, he thought that it was of far greater consequence to protect the consumer even than the State. The Government could always find out the means of protecting themselves; and he, for one, thought that no packet ought to be labelled as coffee which did not at least contain 50 per cent, or a third per cent of pure coffee. If they passed the Bill as it now stood, and allowed the dealers to include in a mixture of coffee and other substances any small amount of coffee they chose, they would soon find the wholesale dealers underselling one another, and reducing the quantity of the genuine article. The retail dealers would have no means of testing the nature of the compound, and the purchaser would certainly have no means of testing it, unless the percentage of coffee was clearly stated on the label. He thought it unfair to leave the public to get over the difficulty themselves. His own impression was that the Government ought to prohibit the use of the word "coffee" upon every mixture whatever, unless it contained 50 per cent, or at least 30 per cent, of coffee.

MR. COURTNEY said, the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton), who frequently discoursed eloquently in that House upon the evils of grandmotherly legislation appeared to have turned round, and to have insisted upon advocating great-grandmotherly legislation in supporting the Amendment. The hon. and learned Member complained of the unfairness of the Government when they were dealing with liquors calculated to produce intoxication; and yet he seemed in this case to consider that the people of this country ought to be treated as if they were so absolutely deficient in the power of self-management as not to know, or be able to test, what they were buying. He advised the Committee to consider what had been the nature of the arguments addressed to the Committee by several hon. Members. He was surprised that Gentlemen sitting upon the Liberal Benches, who had accepted Mr. Cobden's doctrines, should be found supporting the Amendment, and treating the people of this country as if they were totally deficient in all the powers of self-management and self-control. They were asked to provide that a person, on going into a shop to purchase a mixture, should be told not only of what articles the mixture consisted, but the proportion of every article contained in the mixture.

MR. COLMAN said, he wished to point out what he considered to be a fallacy in the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck). The right hon. Gentleman was of opinion that it was necessary to state the proportions of every article contained in the mixture. Now, it would be all very well to state the proportions if, at the same time, they could state the quality as well. The proportion of gold in a sovereign could be very easily stated; but when they came to deal with raw material it must be borne in mind that it differed very extensively in quality. They could not, therefore, state the proportions or value without stating the quality. He might give this illustration. Suppose an hon. Member went into the Lobby and asked for a cup of tea, and suppose it took an ounce of tea to make a cup, the tea might be worth 1*s.* a-pound, or 4*s.* a-pound, so that the proportion of tea contained in the cup would give no indication of the value.

MR. ALDERMAN COTTON said, that coffee was the article the purchaser expected to buy, and coffee was the article every grocer was to sell. It was not, therefore, too much to ask how much coffee was being sold in a particular packet. It might be great-grandmotherly legislation; but it was legislation for the benefit of the public, whose interests it was their duty to protect.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he strongly objected to hon. Members putting down

Amendments upon the Paper, and having made private arrangements with the Government to emasculate them, then asking the Committee to pass them in an emasculated form. His hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury asserted that if they differed from the proposals of the Government they differed from the principles of Mr. Cobden. He was as thorough a Free-trader as any man; but if Mr. Cobden's principles were against the Amendment, then he did not agree with Mr. Cobden. What would be the real and practical effect of the Amendment? Their object could not be to protect the grocer against the public, but to protect the poor against the grocer. What the grocer did was this —and he happened to know something of the matter practically. The grocer wanted to make as much as he possibly could out of what he sold. If he sold coffee, he made, perhaps, 1*d.* or 2*d.* a-pound; but if he sold one of these mixtures, in which there might be a fractional part of the best article, and a large proportion of fig-dust, or beans, or chicory, he gained 4*d.*, 5*d.*, or 6*d.* a-pound. Thus the way in which it worked out was that, whereas the grocer gained a small profit by selling a genuine article, he got a much larger profit by selling a mixture containing 75 per cent of chicory and 25 only of coffee.

Mr. COURTNEY wished to remind the hon. Gentleman that a mixture of coffee and chicory was dealt with in a different manner.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, the principle was just the same; but to satisfy his hon. Friend he would take a mixture of coffee and dandelion, or of coffee and dates, or of coffee and acorns, which would be worth about the same as a mixture of chicory or coffee, or, perhaps, even less—that was to say, 3½*d.* a-pound. Seventy-five per cent of dates, or fig-dust, or acorns, or dandelions would, therefore, cost about 2¼*d.*, and 25 per cent of coffee 5*d.*, so that the mixture would cost 7¼*d.* a-pound, and by selling it at 1*s.* a-pound the grocer would obtain a profit of 4¾*d.* a-pound, whereas if he sold the genuine article he would not get more than 1*d.* a-pound. It was, therefore, to the interest of the grocer to pass off a mixture whenever he could. His hon. Friend asked why, with the views they entertained of great-grandmotherly legislation, they had assented to the clause at all? The clause told them that the articles sold were adulterated, and what the Government now declined to tell the purchaser was the extent of the adulteration. He could understand the Secretary to the Treasury standing up and saying that if a man liked to purchase dandelion coffee he must take the consequences; but when he consented to state what the mixture contained, he (Mr. Labouchere) certainly could not understand why his hon. Friend should refuse to say what the amount was. He hoped that the right hon. Member for Whitehaven (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) would stick to his Amendment; and, so far as the proposal to add the weight to it was concerned, he had no doubt the right hon. Gentleman would accept it. He believed the right hon. Gentleman was acting entirely in the interests of the public and the poorer classes of the population, and he would therefore support him.

Mr. MACFARLANE asked the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Dodson) whether, if a man purchased a mixture of these substances, as described in the Bill, and had reason to suspect the existence of excessive adulteration, it was not essential, under the Sale of Food and Drugs Act, that he should take a sample to the public analyst and pay a fee of 10*s.* as a preliminary to the analyzation? If that was the case, it was a sufficient barrier against any poor person availing himself of the provisions of the Sale of Food and Drugs Act. He thought the poor ought to be protected, and he supported the Amendment, because he was of opinion that it was required for the protection of the poor. Hon. Members of that House were not likely to be poisoned by coffee of this description; but he stated, without the smallest hesitation, that the poor would be continually cheated by adulteration, and poisoned by it as well. He did not see how the adoption of this Amendment would affect the Government or the Revenue in the slightest degree. He should like the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Dodson) to confirm the statement he made, that a poor person, suspecting adulteration, was obliged, as a first step, to pay the prohibitive fee of 10*s.* to the public analyst.

MR. DODSON said, there was no doubt, if a person bought an adulterated article and suspected the article to be adulterated, that, under the Sale of Food and Drugs Act, if he took it to the public analyst, in order to have it analyzed, he would have to pay the fee mentioned; but he wished to point out that the clause as it now stood, instead of tending to facilitate adulteration, as some hon. Members seemed to think, was really an extension, with respect to this one article, of the provisions of the Sale of Food and Drugs Act, because it required that wherever a mixture was sold the substances of which the mixture was compounded should be distinctly specified. Every substance with which coffee was mixed in any particular packet must be mentioned on the label affixed to the packet in letters as large as the word coffee itself. Now, that was an advance upon the Sale of Food and Drugs Act in regard to this particular commodity. Did hon. Members, not satisfied with this extension of the Sale of Food and Drugs Act, want to have the exact percentage of adulteration specified on the label? He had listened very attentively to the arguments which had been advanced in favour of the proposition; and he must say that the more he had listened to them the more he was of opinion that it would be unwise to attempt to adopt so subtle and so refined a distinction. Surely it was for the consumer to judge whether he had got a good or bad mixture. If he found he had got a bad mixture, he must go where he could get a better one. All that could reasonably be required to be done the Government proposed to do. The tradesman had to notify to the consumer that it was a mixture, and what were the ingredients of the mixture he was selling.

MR. T. C. BARING said, he could not help thinking that the difficulty raised by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dodson) was absolutely imaginary. How could the ingredients of the mixture be described except by way of percentage? He thought that this was not a question of bulk, but of weight.

MR. DODSON said, he pointed out that under the Amendment it was not stated whether the percentage was intended to be one of bulk or weight.

MR. T. C. BARING said, he could not understand why the Government, having made up their minds to take a very good step in the right direction, should not make that step positively effectual, and that could be done by the adoption of the Amendment.

MR. BUXTON said, that last winter 21 samples of coffee, or samples of what was sold for coffee, were obtained from the same number of shops in London. One sample was found to be pure coffee, 18 were more or less adulterated, and two contained no coffee at all. Under such circumstances, it was not to be wondered at that the consumption of coffee had very much diminished. He trusted the Government would take every possible means to protect the public against such a state of things.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND said, the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Dodson) had asked how they could expect the retail dealer to guarantee a certain percentage of coffee. He did not see why he could not declare that that which he sold was made up of certain materials. He was dependent upon the wholesale dealer just in the same manner as he would be for the percentage.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he was not in favour of grandmotherly legislation; but it seemed to him that if they sought to protect the poor man the protection must not be a sham.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD said, the hon. Gentleman the Financial Secretary to the Treasury said—"Let the consumers be their own protectors." But the hon. Gentleman did not follow up his own proposition. The Government had in this matter interfered in a very remarkable manner; they charged a very heavy tax upon an article which might be absolutely valueless, and all that was asked of them was that the public should know what they bought. It was obvious that the test could not be by price, but that it must be by weight; and weight, he believed, was mentioned in the clause. When percentage was spoken of, what was meant was that in every pound of mixture there should be so many ounces of this material and so many ounces of the other. If the Government accepted the Amendment they would discharge a public duty, and would relieve themselves of the charge of throwing a false character over some of the trades of the country. Personally, he should prefer to see no mixture at all.

Mr. ONSLOW said, he was glad this subject had cropped up, because it had been a common remark of the poorer classes that for years past it had been impossible for them to get good coffee. The complaint was not altogether confined to the poorer classes. Hon. Gentlemen who had households must know how difficult it was to get good coffee, so that, in this matter, both the rich and the poor required protection. The hon. Member for Norwich (Mr. Colman), who had addressed the Committee, sold a compound which was most delightful to the palate; but he did not tell them the exact proportions of the ingredients. They all knew that mustard pure and simple could not be eaten. It had been argued that it would be unfair to come down upon the retail dealer if he sold a compound, the proportions of which were not specified. He did not approve of such an argument. This was a matter which affected the health of the people, and it was incumbent upon the Legislature to see they were not cheated. The clause as it stood really formed a premium to fraud. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman would listen to the appeals made from both sides of the House, and, even at the eleventh hour, do something to prevent the poorer classes of the country being cheated.

Mr. SLAGG said, the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken did not seem to give the working classes any credit for common sense. The working people of England were very well able to distinguish between a good and bad article, and it was not at all likely they would be cheated. He wholly objected to the Amendment, on the ground that it set up an entirely new principle with regard to trade. He did not know a single article to which such a restriction as was proposed applied. He doubted whether any hon. Member could mention a single article sold by grocers or others in respect to which there was any obligation to declare the exact proportion of the component parts. Deleterious mixtures were not contemplated. [An hon. Member: Horse beans.] He did not consider horse beans were at all injurious. It seemed to him that in a very short time the public would be able to discriminate between the establishments in which coffee was sold, and they would trade with the man who sold the best article.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, the discussion had lasted a long time, and he wished to do all he could to bring it to a close. He thought it better to withdraw the Amendment, in order that the sense of the Committee might be taken on the proposition as it originally stood. He did not wish to occupy time in answering the last speech. He did not think the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Slagg) had read the Amendment, or else he would have found that the objections he had raised to the Amendment existed to the clause itself. His (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck's) experience of the habits of poor people was that they would always buy in the cheapest market; regardless of the quality, they were buying tea at 1*s*. 8*d*. a-pound in preference to that at 2*s*. or 2*s*. 6*d*. a-pound. Parliament, by grandmotherly, or grandfatherly, or by some legislation or other, ought to do its best to protect the poorer classes. One point had been raised which the Government had not attempted to answer; and that was that there was no guarantee that the mixtures would contain coffee at all. There was not that distinction between coffee and chicory which ought to exist. He had been an anti-chicorist all his life, and he was most desirous there should be some specification of the ingredients of the mixture sold as coffee. He was sorry hon. Members had not attended in large numbers upon the present occasion; but he trusted that as the speeches had proceeded from influential Members of the House the debate would make some impression on the Government. If a division were taken by those who had heard the debate the division would be all one way; but, unfortunately, the bell would be rung, hon. Members would flock in, and they would be told which way they were to go, and he and his hon. Friends would find themselves in a minority. Nevertheless, they had right on their side; and he hoped that, sooner or later, right would prevail.

Mr. Alderman W. LAWRENCE said, the hon. Member for Manchester (Mr. Slagg) had stated that this was a new departure, and it was sought to establish a new principle. It was certainly a new idea to levy taxes upon adulterated articles. The hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) had said it was impossible for the consumers to protect themselves. It was quite possible for the people to protect themselves against adulteration if they would only use a coffee mill. There was another argument more important than that of the hon. Member for Guildford. The House was very much occupied with the question of the sale of intoxicating drink. Motion after Motion was made to prevent people drinking intoxicating liquors. To advance their cause the advocates of temperance ought to do all they could to secure that the non-intoxicating drinks were not only harmless, but good and nourishing; and they could do this, in some measure, by supporting the Amendment before the Committee.

MR. WHITLEY said, he felt inclined to agree with the hon. Gentleman the Member for Manchester (Mr. Slagg) in that matter. It was very difficult indeed to define the exact proportions of the ingredients in the mixture. He contended that if people knew what they were going to purchase the House would not do wisely if they were to endeavour to decide the exact compounds of the mixture. He should support the original Amendment, because he considered it was a very proper one, and one which would meet with the approval of the public generally.

Amendment to the proposed Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 73; Noes 114: Majority 41.—(Div. List, No. 302.)

On the Motion of Mr. MAGNIAC, Amendment made, by adding after Subsection (3)—

"(4.) Provided, That nothing in this Act contained shall in any way affect any Act or Acts now in force relating to the Adulteration of Food."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 7 (Penalty for buying, &c. labels before used) *agreed to.*

Clause 8 (Repeal of Section 5 of 43 Geo. III. c. 129) *agreed to.*

Clause 9 (Grant of duties for carriages) *struck out.*

Clause 10 (Provision as to return of increase of duty to coachmaker lending during repair of carriage) *struck out.*

PART II.

INCOME TAX.

Clause 11 (Grant of duties of income tax).

Amendment proposed,

In page 4, line 39, leave out "fivepence," and insert "sixpence halfpenny."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Question proposed, "That 'five pence' stand part of the Clause."

MR. J. G. HUBBARD said, that before this Amendment was agreed to he wished to say a few words upon the subject of the Income Tax. This tax, amongst its other inequalities, had this special one—that it favoured wealth and oppressed poverty, it favoured capital and oppressed industry. Its incidence was often very unjust and anomalous. It might be fairly said that a very large proportion of the landed and house property of this country was heavily mortgaged. Let them suppose that any given house or piece of land was of the nominal value of £2,000 a-year. For the purposes of local rating it might be assessed at £1,800; but the Income Tax would be charged upon £2,000. If the property were mortgaged for £1,600 the owner would, to that extent, recoup his Income Tax; but he would still be chargeable on £400, having a residue of £200 only. This was an anomalous state of things, and he had hoped that something would have happened to have induced the right hon. Gentleman to place this very important subject under the consideration of the very able administrators of the Inland Revenue, and of the Local Government Department, and that measures would have been introduced to mitigate the inconvenience attaching to the present law.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the observations of the right hon. Gentleman would be more pertinent if made upon the whole clause. The Question now before the Committee was simply the substitution of the words "sixpence halfpenny" for "fivepence."

Question put, and *negatived.*

MR. MAGNIAC proposed to insert, in page 4, after line 39—

"Provided, That in the case of any Company established in the United Kingdom with the object of carrying on business wholly or in part abroad, Schedule D of the said Acts shall apply only to such proportion of the annual profits or gains of such Company as shall be actually received and distributed in the United Kingdom."

He proposed this very reasonable Amendment with the consent of the commercial community. If a Company were established in England, but carried on business in a foreign country, and if the only operation connected with the Company in which English people were concerned was the transmission of the necessary money to pay dividends to the English shareholders, it had been lately held that the whole of the profits of the Company were liable to pay Income Tax. There might be very good reasons for it; but those persons who were concerned did not understand them. Foreign shareholders asked why they should pay Income Tax to the English Government; and, on the other hand, the few English shareholders asked why their profits should be diminished in order to pay the Income Tax which was levied on the foreign shareholders? A Judge who lately tried a case of the kind made some very strong observations. He said that, with excessive reluctance, he felt bound to decide against the Company and in favour of the Treasury. If there were good reasons why the Income Tax should be exacted under such circumstances, the mercantile community would be found, as in the past, perfectly ready to bear the burden.

Amendment proposed,

In page 4, line 39, insert—"Provided, That in the case of any Company established inthe United Kingdom with the object of carrying on business wholly or in part abroad, Schedule D of the said Acts shall apply only to such proportion of the annual profits or gains of such Company as shall be actually received and distributed in the United Kingdom."—(*Mr. Magniac.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. COURTNEY said, he was afraid it was impossible to accept the Amendment of his hon. Friend; indeed, he thought that, on examination, there was very little to be urged in its favour. The words of the Amendment were—

"That in case of any Company established in the United Kingdom with the object of carrying on business wholly or in part abroad,"

—he would give his hon. Friend (Mr. Magniac) the benefit of the doubt, and say that business was carried on wholly abroad—

"Schedule D of the said Acts shall apply only to such proportion of the annual profits or gains of such Company as shall be actually received and distributed in the United Kingdom."

The Company was formed here, and the Company and the foreign shareholders acquired the position of shareholders in an English Company. The protection and advantage a foreign shareholder had in being a shareholder in an English Company made up the whole case. The foreign shareholder might be an Englishman who had lived abroad, but who sent home his capital to a Company here. Was that Englishman to be relieved of the taxation which he ought to pay because he lived abroad? Whether an Englishman or foreigner, it made no difference. A Company which was domiciled here was protected by the English law; it depended upon its domicile for the maintenance of its position; and, therefore, the shareholders must pay a fair share of taxation.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, the case was not altogether as the Financial Secretary to the Treasury stated. He knew a Company which carried on business in the Mauritius, where local shareholders resided, on whose local profits a tax was levied in England, though these shareholders were taxed in the Mauritius for the Island Revenue; thus, though only a portion of the profits were sent home, all the profits of the shareholders living in the Mauritius had their incomes taxed at the same rate as the shareholders living in England. His hon. Friend the Member for Bedford (Mr. Magniac) drew a very proper line. Whatever money came to England ought to bear a fair amount of English taxation; but not so with the other portion of the profits of a Company which never came to England, but were distributed locally where created.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD said, his hon. Friend the Member for Bedford had raised an exceedingly interesting question. It was one which was worthy of the consideration of those who had the arrangement of the incidence of the Income Tax. His hon. Friend (Mr. Courtney) had omitted to say that the legal position of the taxpayers was simply this—whether it was a firm or an individual, it made no difference; if the individual or firm were located here, domiciled in the United Kingdom, they were under the protection of the Government; and they were, therefore, subject to the taxation of the country. There was another portion of the question which was alluded to by the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (General Sir George Balfour), and in respect of which some legislation would be requisite—he referred to those institutions and firms which were not located here at all. They were not English firms, but firms which, from vanity or other motives, desired the name of London establishments. They inscribed their names upon their doors and in the Trade Directory, and the consequence was they were called to account, and challenged to pay Income Tax. They pleaded, perhaps with truth, that all their profits were made abroad, and that all their accounts were kept abroad. Their case was a problem which the Commissioners had not as yet been able to solve. He thought the only solution of the question was that such a portion of the profits made by such institutions should be charged as would equal the commission they would pay to competent and authorized agents in this country. He thought his hon. Friend must agree that if Companies were domiciled here, they must be subject to ordinary obligations, and make a return of their profits, and be taxed accordingly.

Mr. MAGNIAC said, the Companies he had in view were not governed by the English law, but by the law of the country in which their operations were conducted. He would not, however, press his Amendment. The question would grow, and attract public attention at another time.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

On the Motion of Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, Amendments made, in page 5, line 4, by leaving out "two pence halfpenny," and inserting "three pence farthing;" in page 5, lines 5 and 6, by leaving out "one penny three farthings," and inserting "two pence and three-eighths of a penny;" and in page 5, after line 6, by inserting—

"Provided always, That, where any dividends, interest, or other annual profits or gains are due or payable half-yearly or quarterly in the course of the said year, the first half-yearly payment and the two first quarterly payments shall be deemed to have been or be chargeable with the duty of five pence, and the other half-yearly payment and the two other quarterly payments shall be deemed to be chargeable with the duty of eight pence."

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, the right hon. Gentleman had asked them to grant 3*d.* in the pound extra Income Tax, and the whole of the money was to be charged upon the last half of the year, so as to enable the right hon. Gentleman to raise £2,300,000 for the war expenses in Egypt. The right hon. Gentleman had stated very clearly and distinctly that if, unfortunately, affairs should go on in Egypt, and the condition of things there should not be settled during the next three months, he would have again to come to the House and ask for a further Vote of Credit with which to carry on the war. He would like to know how the right hon. Gentleman meant to raise the money? It had been stated by the Prime Minister, and by the Secretary of State for War, that they did not like to ask for more money at one time than was required. If it was necessary for the Government to come to the House in the month of October and ask for more money, the question he wished to put, and which he hoped the Prime Minister would fairly consider, was that in view of the fact that the Income Tax was paid by a very small proportion of the people of the country—especially by a very small proportion of those who now had great political power—he would not see whether all, or, at any rate, some portion of the money to be raised might not come from some other tax, so that all the people of the country might be called upon to bear their fair share of the burden of the war. He put the question to the right hon. Gentleman in order that it should not be said that no warning was given him by anyone with regard to the taxation in respect of the war.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, that since the question as to providing the means for meeting the expense of the Egyptian Expedition had been raised by his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), he (Mr. Newdegate) would, with the permission of the Committee, avail himself of the opportunity of correcting an error into which he had fallen on Friday last, during a discussion on the taxation of luxuries in this Committee. He had then stated, in answer to the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney), that £16,000,000 of Customs duties, exclusive of those imposed upon prime necessaries and the principal materials for manufacture, had been repealed or reduced up to 1861. At the time he stated this he was speaking from memory without the means of reference; and his memory, he regretted to find, had betrayed him as to the date, but not as to the amount. He begged to apologize to the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury, and to the Committee, for the error into which he had lapsed. He had now in his hand the calculations to which he had intended to refer; they were all taken from the Statistical Abstracts of 1870 and 1878, and he found that these constituted the amounts of Customs duties repealed or reduced more than imposed during the several periods to which he would now refer. From 1840 to 1854 inclusive, £10,092,719; from 1855 to 1869 inclusive, £9,255,526; from 1870 to 1874 inclusive, £6,924,245; total diminution, £26,272,490; so large was the amount of annual revenue abandoned in deference to the dogma of free imports; but he would cast out of his statement the first period, that from 1840 to 1854 inclusive, when the amount of Customs duties abandoned was £10,092,719. He abandoned, in his present statement, the Customs duties abrogated during this first period, because the duties abandoned during that period included the repeal of the principal Customs duties formerly imposed upon prime necessaries, and upon the principal materials for manufacture. He should, therefore, take the two subsequent periods, that from 1855 to 1869 inclusive, when £9,255,526 of Customs Revenue were abandoned; but with the above period he should take the period from 1870 to 1874 inclusive, during which £6,924,245 of Customs Revenue were abandoned. These two periods taken together formed a period from 1855 to 1874, wherein an aggregate of £16,179,771 of Customs duties was abandoned. This was the aggregate period to which, on Friday last, he had intended to refer as that during which £16,000,000, in round numbers, of Customs duties had been abandoned, although a very small portion of those Customs duties were imposed upon prime necessaries, or upon materials necessary for manufacture. He (Mr. Newdegate) begged to call the attention of the First Lord of the Treasury to these facts, because if this country should become exposed to the demands of a heavy war, it should not be forgotten that other resources than an increase of the Property and Income Tax were available; it would be neither just nor politic to limit the taxation necessary for the maintenance of such a war to the direct taxation levied upon property and income—the burden ought to be more generally distributed, for then it would be more easily borne. He thanked the Committee for having allowed him to call its attention to these important facts.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. GLADSTONE) said, it would be a great calamity if we should ever be driven into a position in which it would be necessary to re-impose charges upon articles that had been liberated from taxation. But the question put to him by the hon. and gallant Baronet was a very fair one; and in answer to that he had to observe that the Income Tax, as at present constituted, undoubtedly fell upon a very limited portion of the population of the country—in his opinion, upon too limited a portion. The tax was at first imposed upon all incomes of £150 and upwards, and in 1853 a proposal was made and accepted by the House that the sum subject to taxation should be £100. Reflection confirmed him in the belief that this was a wise proposal; and he had to confess, with some regret, that during the existence of a Government for which he was responsible, retrogression was made from that position, which, to his mind, was distinctly a step in the wrong direction. But a still wider measure—not a step, but a stride—was adopted by the late Parliament when, to his great astonishment, and in spite of the best protest he could make, it immensely restricted the number of persons liable for the tax. He regarded it as extremely doubtful whether the time would come when this would be retrieved; but he hoped it might come. Although it had happened on more than one occasion, and might happen again, that when a sudden emergency like the present arose, recourse should be had to the Income Tax on the ground that it produced the minimum amount of disturbing effect, yet he perfectly agreed with the spirit of the hon. Member's remarks—that it would not be right for any Government or Party, in the event of the prolongation of the present operations or of the aggravation of the burden of cost, to look to the Income Tax alone, and not to other sources of Revenue.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he had a strong conviction that by far the greater number of wars in which the country had been engaged were brought about by the class of persons who paid Income Tax. All recent wars, at any rate, had been made by this class. Who were the people who supported the newspapers that cried out for war; who supported the "Jingo" policy and raised the cry that British prestige was being endangered all over the world? It was certainly not the working-classes of the country who did all this; and he believed there was no more effectual means of checking this tendency to create war than by throwing the cost of war upon the class who paid the Income Tax.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he had no wish to detain the Committee for any length of time upon the present question; but he was afraid if he allowed this clause, as amended, to pass without any comment, his attitude with regard to the policy of Her Majesty's Government might be mistaken. To the original clause he should have had no objection; but the clause, in its amended form, made provision for a condition of things which had been brought about, in his opinion, by the fault of Her Majesty's Government. The House had, however, endorsed the action of Her Majesty's Government—at least, the great majority of Members had done so. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, following, with a fidelity that was extraordinary, the foreign policy of his Predecessors, which he once denounced as confiscation, had consented to the bombardment of a large commercial city without any declaration of war, and was now prepared to go as far as his political opponents in the way of aggression. He did not wish for a moment to appear to agree with the majority of the House with regard to the present war—on the contrary, such protest as he could make he desired to offer against the aggressive conduct of Her Majesty's Ministers. The hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) said he believed that the wars of this country had been brought about by the class of persons who paid Income Tax, and he argued that, if possible, the cost of those wars should fall upon that class; but he (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) went further and said—

> "Let those who make the quarrels
> Be the only men to fight."

He was inclined to think that if this principle were applied there would be very few wars. For his own part, he should be glad to see Her Majesty's Ministers sent out to settle the Egyptian Business with an equal number of Egyptians; and he would be more inclined to vote for the impeachment of the Ministry than he was for the application of public money in support of a policy which he regarded as ignominious and cowardly.

MR. MAGNIAC said, he was sure the hon. Member for Queen's County, whose remarks were always so fair, could not wish to convey, in an absolute sense, that the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government intended to have a commercial city bombarded.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the hon. Member could not discuss this point on the Question before the Committee, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he submitted, of course, to the ruling of the Chair, although he had been under the belief that Members were allowed to make personal explanations.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause 12 (Provisions of Income Tax Acts to apply to duties hereby granted, 44 & 45 Vic. c. 12) *agreed to.*

Clause 13 (Provisions as to duty on dividends, &c., paid prior to passing of this Act).

On the Motion of Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, Amendment made, in page 5, line 18, by leaving out "hereby granted," and inserting "at the rate of five pence;" in line 26, by leaving out from "in" to "deduction," in line 27, and inserting—

> "Or have made an insufficient deduction in respect of income tax, he shall be authorised to make the deduction or a sufficient deduction to make up the deficiency;"

and in lines 30 and 31, by leaving out

"hereby granted," and inserting "at the rate of five pence."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 14 (Provisions of Income Tax Acts to apply to duties to be granted for succeeding year) *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report this Bill, as amended, to the House."

MR. SCLATER - BOOTH said, he would not detain the Committee by moving the new clause of which he had given Notice with reference to the maintenance of main roads; but he would be glad to learn whether a Supplementary Estimate would be presented before the end of the Session extending the amount which the Government intended to assign to local authorities?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GLADSTONE) said, that there would not be a Supplementary Financial Estimate; but a redistribution would take place in the current financial year.

MR. WARTON pointed out that, through what appeared to be an arithmetical error, the occupiers in Scotland and Ireland would be charged four-fortieths of a penny more than was their correct proportion under Schedule B.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Wednesday.*

EAST INDIA (EXPENSES OF MILITARY EXPEDITION TO EGYPT.)

RESOLUTION. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [27th July],

> "That, Her Majesty having directed a Military Expedition of Her Forces charged upon the Revenues of India to be despatched for service in Egypt, this House consents that the Revenues of India shall be applied to defray the expenses of the Military operations which may be carried on by such Forces beyond the external frontiers of Her Majesty's Indian Possessions."
> —(*Secretary Sir William Harcourt.*)

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Mr. Speaker, as this Resolution has as yet only been formally moved, perhaps it will be convenient if I begin the remarks which I shall have to make by repeating the terms of the Resolution itself—

> "That, Her Majesty having directed a Military Expedition of Her Forces charged upon the Revenues of India to be despatched for service in Egypt, the House consents that the Revenues of India shall be applied to defray the expenses of the Military operations which may be carried on by such forces beyond the external frontiers of Her Majesty's Indian Possessions."

Although the form of this Resolution is financial—although the Resolution itself is only an assent to the charge on the Indian Revenues for the expenses of this expedition—I conceive the purpose with which the Resolution is moved is not mainly, or, I may say, at all, of a financial character; but it is rather of a political and Constitutional character. The necessity for the Government to move this Resolution is contained in the 55th section of the Indian Government Act, with which Members of the late Parliament are perfectly familiar, and as to which there has been, at different times, a good deal of controversy. The terms of the section are as follow:—

> "Except for the purpose of preventing or repelling actual invasion of Her Majesty's Indian Possessions, or in other circumstances of urgent necessity, the Revenues of India shall not, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament, be applicable to any military operations to be carried on beyond the external frontiers of Her Majesty's Indian Possessions by forces charged upon such Revenues."

Sir, but for this section it would be possible—I do not say it would be probable, or even conceivable—that a Government might carry on its military operations through the agency of the Government of India, by means of troops maintained on the Indian Establishment, and at the charge of the Indian Revenues, without having to come to Parliament for its consent at all. I do not say such a case is probable under any circumstances. But if it were not for this section, such a contingency would be possible. But it is not only to prevent such a contingency as that, that the section of the Act was framed. This section has the additional effect of reserving to Parliament the power of deciding upon the question whether, in the case of operations, or of a policy which has been assented to, or in principle decided upon, by Parliament, such a policy is to be carried out by means of the agency of

Indian troops, or only by the agency of troops on the British Establishment. It is quite conceivable that cases might arise of wars carried on in Europe, or even in Asia or Africa, where Parliament might be ready and willing to assent to the policy of the Government, and might signify that assent by means of a Vote of Credit, or whatever other Constitutional method might be adopted; but, at the same time, might be of opinion that, for political or military reasons, that policy was not one which ought to be carried out by the agency of Indian troops. A case somewhat in point arose in the time of the last Parliament and the last Government in 1878. Parliament had given a general assent to the policy of the Government; but when, without asking for the previous assent of Parliament, the late Government advised Her Majesty to order the expedition of a certain number of Indian troops to be sent from India to Malta for the purpose, if necessary, of taking part in military operations to be carried on in Europe, many of those who accepted the general policy of the Government objected to that measure being taken by the Government. We raised, on that occasion, Constitutional questions of some importance. But the question suddenly became more involved, and turned ultimately on the point whether an additional number of troops not voted by Parliament might be employed within the Dominions of the Queen. In this case there are no circumstances of that kind. But, over and beyond that Constitutional question, many of us thought that it was an error of policy to employ or contemplate the employment of troops of the Indian Establishment, more especially of Native Indian troops, in a European war, and when the question was one of European policy. Now, it appears to me that this section reserves to Parliament full control over all cases in which it may be possible to employ Indian troops beyond the frontiers of India. On this occasion, there can, I think, be not the slightest doubt, both legally and Constitutionally, that it is necessary for us to come to Parliament. As to the question of the general policy of our intervention in Egypt, as it was debated at great length last week, it is not necessary that I should say anything. The decision of the House was, I think, finally and conclusively given by the Vote taken on Friday morning. The only question, it seems to me, we have to decide is whether, having adopted the general policy of intervention in Egypt recommended by the Government, this House assents to the employment of a portion of our Indian troops for the execution of that policy. Sir, I must say I know of no reason why the employment of Indian troops should not take place on this occasion. On the contrary, it appears to me that there are many political as well as military reasons for the course which we are adopting. India is, in my opinion, more greatly interested, both directly and indirectly, in the policy which has been recently under discussion than she has been on many previous occasions on which her troops have been employed. It may be desirable that I should state shortly to the House on what former occasions Indian troops have been employed beyond the frontiers of India. At the beginning of the present century an expedition of Indian troops took place to Egypt, in circumstances and at a time about which it is not necessary that I should say anything to the House. Indian troops were employed beyond the limits of India in the China Wars of 1839-40, in the second China Expedition of 1856-7, and in the third China War of 1859. They were similarly employed in the Persian Expedition of 1856, and presently I shall ask the House to bear in mind that the Persian Expedition was carried out entirely by means of troops on the Indian Establishment. Indian troops were also employed beyond the limits of India in the Abyssinian War of 1867-8, and nearly the whole of the troops engaged in that campaign were on the Indian Establishment. Again, they were employed in the Perak Expedition; moreover, they were brought to Malta for the purpose of taking part in military operations in 1878; and again very recently they had been employed beyond the frontier of India in Afghanistan, although, of course, that was an operation of a different character, and might be considered as a frontier war. Sir, my contention for my present purpose is simply that India is more interested in the policy involved in the Egyptian intervention than she has been on many of the former occasions when Parliament has approved the employment of her troops beyond the frontier. I need waste very little time in pointing out in what manner India is interested. It is impossible to separate the interest of the people and the interest of the Government of India. The Government of India are indirectly interested in this policy, because, ruling as they do over many millions of Mahomedan subjects, it is of the highest importance that in a country like Egypt, in which Mahomedans take a deep interest, and in which we have for some time past exercised a great influence, that influence should not be summarily destroyed by the pretensions of a military adventurer, relying on the support of the Army alone, or, as he erroneously supposes, on the fanaticism of the Mahomedan world. It is of very great, though perhaps indirect, importance to the Government of India that pretensions such as these should not be admitted, but should be summarily suppressed; and, therefore, the Government of India has, in my opinion, a very strong interest in this policy. Then it is of great importance that we should be able to proclaim to the world that we can trust our Indian troops, whether they are composed of Mahomedans or of adherents of any other religion. It is important besides that we should be able to proclaim to the world that our Military Forces in India are maintained not solely as a garrison, but that they form part of the Forces of the Crown, and are able to support the policy of this country, at all events in all cases in which the interests of India are concerned. Then the Government of India is also directly as well as indirectly concerned in what has occurred in Egypt. The relief of the British portion of our troops in India is carried on through the Suez Canal. Different opinions, I am aware, are held as to the importance of that Canal as a means of maintaining our military communications with India. Whether we may, at some time or other, revert to the former system of relieving our garrisons *viâ* the Cape of Good Hope, at all events the fact remains that at present our military communications with India are made by means of the Suez Canal. But it is not only from a military point of view that the Canal is important as the highway between this country and India. A great part of our commerce, our postal communication, and part of our telegraphic communication with India depend on the Canal. Again, the Suez Canal is the channel through which the ruling class of India proceed to that country, and by means of which all the intimate relations between that ruling class and the country at home are maintained. In these ways the Government of India is greatly interested, both directly and indirectly, in the internal affairs of Egypt. It may, perhaps, be said by some that the interests of the people of India are not in any way concerned with those of the Government of India. Those who think that our Government do not rule India for the good of the Indian people may be entitled to hold that opinion, and they may seek to establish some difference between the interests of the Government of India and the interests of the people of India; but those who, like myself, and I believe the great majority of the Members of this House, believe that our rule in India has conferred and is conferring great benefits and prosperity on the people of India, know that it is impossible to draw any such distinction between the interests of the Government of India and the interests of the people of India. But even those who may be disposed to draw such a distinction must admit that there is one point in which the people of India are deeply interested in the free navigation of the Suez Canal and in the internal condition of Egypt. Whatever may have been the commercial effect of the Suez Canal upon the trade of this country—and I believe there are some who maintain that although we have made great use of the Canal, it has not been altogether an unmixed advantage to our commerce —whatever, I say, may have been the effect to this country, it is undoubted that the opening of the Suez Canal has been an unmixed benefit to India and its trade. In the year 1880-1, the last year for which we have a Return, out of £143,000,000, the total trade of India, £88,000,000 passed through the Suez Canal. Therefore, considering how deeply the people of India are interested in its prosperity, it cannot be denied that the people of India are directly interested in the condition of Egypt. Then, if the Indian Government and the Indian people have a strong and direct interest in our policy in Egypt, I think it may also be shown that there are distinct and clear military reasons for the employment of Indian troops in Egypt. It will be a distinct advantage in putting us in possession of a double base of operations, so that we shall not be forced exclusively to rely on our base of operations in this country. Again, one of the chief difficulties which we are called upon to contend against is not the formidable character of our opponents. I do not wish to disparage any of the difficulties which may be opposed to us; it would be very unwise to undervalue the enemy we may have to contend against; still, I think our chief difficulty at first will be found in the nature of the climate of the country in which our operations are to be conducted. It must be evident that the British troops who have been on service in India, who have been inured to a climate not very dissimilar to that in which they will now be called to serve, and that the Native troops, to whom that climate is a natural one, will be admirably fitted, in a military point of view, for the service which is now contemplated. Now, as regards the question of cost, that, as I have said, is not raised by the present Resolution. When a similar Resolution was moved by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Stanhope), in the case of the Afghan War, he said that his Resolution did not in the smallest degree prejudge the question of the cost, and that if the House should think fit at any time to declare that a portion of the expense incurred in the war, or even the whole of it, should be borne by the Imperial Exchequer, there was nothing in the Resolution which would place any impediment in the way of the adoption of such a course. The statement, it seems to me, is perfectly true, and applicable to the present case. If it was the view of the Government and the House that every sixpence of the charge should be borne by the Imperial Exchequer, nevertheless it would be necessary, in our view, that this Resolution should be moved, because it is necessary that the previous assent of Parliament should be obtained, and that, in the first instance, that charge should be temporarily borne by the Indian Government, even though it were the intention that the whole charge should be ultimately repaid. Referring again to former precedents, I may point out to the House that different courses on different occasions have been followed. In the case of the China Expedition, the ordinary charges —that is to say, the ordinary pay of the troops—was on two occasions borne by the Indian Government, although on one occasion the whole charge was defrayed by the Imperial Government. The extraordinary cost of the two expeditions to which I have referred was defrayed by the Imperial Government; and the general course in these expeditions has been that the ordinary charges have been defrayed by India, and all the extraordinary charges by the Imperial Government. In the case of the Persian Expedition, in which the interests of India were more directly concerned, all the ordinary charges were defrayed by the Indian Government, and one-half the extraordinary charges. The effect of that is that more than one-half the whole cost was borne by India, because all the military operations were conducted from India. In the Abyssinian Expedition, where the interests of India were not directly concerned, the ordinary expenses only were charged to India, and this country bore all the extraordinary charges. In the case of the Malta Expedition, the interests of India were not held to be directly affected, and the whole cost, ordinary and extraordinary, was borne by this country. In Perak, the ordinary charge was borne by India and the extraordinary by the British Government. These are the recent precedents which are applicable to this case, and, as I have stated, they show that a considerable variety of practice has prevailed; but the rule apparently has been that, where the interests of India were not directly concerned, India bore no charge, and, in other cases where they were concerned, there was a division of the charge between the Indian and the Imperial Governments. In such a matter, it is evidently necessary that the opinion of the Government of India should be taken, and that it should have great weight. In this case, the Government of India have been consulted; there has not been time to obtain a detailed expression of their opinion; but I should not be dealing frankly with the House if I were not to state that the Government of India have informed me by telegraph that they object to India bearing the charge of her contingent, and that they are sending home a despatch upon the subject. I had stated, a fortnight ago, by telegraph that the view of Her Majesty's Government was that India should bear the whole charge of her contingent, including both ordinary and extraordinary expenditure.

Mr. ONSLOW: Will the noble Lord read this telegram and the answer?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I have not got them at hand, but the facts are as stated. It is very necessary, before the House comes to a final decision, that it should have before it the grounds on which the Indian Government bases its dissent. It would also be necessary to know what the amount of the charge will be. I have asked the Government of India to provide me with an estimate of the cost of the despatch of the troops from India; but they have not been able to provide me with that information. It will also be necessary to know in what way the Indian Government propose to raise the Ways and Means for this unexpected charge on the resources of the year. These are elements in the consideration of the question, without which it is impossible to come to a final decision; and the Government do not ask the House to come to a final decision by this Resolution, which only sanctions the employment of Indian troops. It is the Amendments which have been placed on the Paper which ask the House to come to a final decision opposed to the view of the Government. They wish, without waiting to hear the opinion of the Government of India, without knowing what charge will be thrown upon the resources of India, to decide that in no case shall any charge at all with respect to the Indian Contingent be thrown upon the Indian taxpayer. The proposal of the Government is, that from India there ought to be a contribution in aid of these operations. If India is to make a contribution at all it can be made in only one of two ways. India may be called upon to pay a certain share of the total expenses, or she may, as we propose she shall, be called upon to pay the total expenses of her own share of the operations. Whatever opinion may be entertained by the House as to the justice of calling upon India to make any contribution at all, I have no hesitation in saying, as Minister for India, and in some degree responsible for Indian financial matters, that if India is to be called upon to make a contribution in any shape or form, it is greatly to her interest that she shall be called upon to make it in the latter of the two ways, for this reason—the share of the work that can fall upon India must, from the circumstances of the case, be limited. India can only be called upon to contribute from her military resources such a part of the expedition as may be convenient and safe as regards her internal condition. She cannot, under any circumstances, be called upon to make great sacrifices in this undertaking. The primary object of the maintenance of a large force in India is the security of our rule in India. It is not conceivable that in any circumstances the security of that rule could be allowed to be endangered or imperilled by calling upon her to move an undue portion of her garrison for any purpose whatever. Therefore, the share which India can be called upon to take in the actual operations, and consequently in the cost, can only be very limited, while for this country no such limit is possible. The share which this country will have to bear in this undertaking will only be limited by what may be necessary for the requirements of the successful completion of the operations. The share, in fact, of this country will be only limited by the necessities of the case, while the share of India will be limited by her convenience and her own need. Therefore, it is fair and advantageous, if India is to make any contribution, that she should bear a certain proportion, and that she should pay the charge for that limited part of the undertaking which we are asking of her. The only question that remains is, whether India should be called upon to make any contribution at all; it is raised, not by the Resolution, but by the Amendment. If it is necessary that it should be discussed at any length on this occasion, I prefer to reserve any detailed observations until I have heard by what arguments the proposition is going to be supported that India on such an occasion shall be asked to make no financial contribution at all. The proposals which we make, subject to the consideration of the opinions of the Indian Government, are based upon our view of the great and vital interest of India in this question. If it was just that India should pay, as was proposed by the late Government, the whole cost of the operations in Afghanistan, amounting to £20,000,000, without receiving any contribution from this country; if it was just, as we proposed, and as Parliament has agreed, that £15,000,000 of the expenditure shall be paid by India, and only £5,000,000 by this country, we consider it is infinitely more just that she shall be called upon to make that limited contribution from her resources which is involved in the part she is called upon to take in the expedition. It would not be desirable that I should state in detail the actual amount and composition of the forces coming from India. The call we have made is a very slight one; the number of men under orders does not amount to 5,000, with a reserve of about 1,500. It is not likely that the number of men will be greatly increased, and the proportion of charge for that limited contingent will be comparatively small. We consider it is not unjust that India should bear a burden financially so limited. We call upon her to bear this because it is an expenditure incurred in defence of a policy in which the honour and interests of the whole Empire are involved, and in which, in our opinion, the honour and material interests of India are still more directly and enormously concerned. For these reasons, I have to move the Resolution of which I have given Notice.

MR. ONSLOW, in rising to move, as an Amendment—

> "That the whole charges which may be thrown upon the Revenues of India by the Military operations proposed to be undertaken in Egypt should be repaid out of the Revenues of this country,"

said, he must disclaim any wish to impede the Government in the prosecution of their policy to restore law and order in Egypt, and to guarantee the perfect safety of the Suez Canal. A month ago, foreseeing that Indian troops would have to be sent to Egypt, he asked the Prime Minister whether India was to pay any portion of the expenses of the war; and now they were told that the Viceroy and his Council objected to India doing so. The Government, foreseeing that a necessity would arise for the employment of Indian troops, ought to have asked the Indian Government whether they would sanction the requisite expenditure for the force which the Government might think proper to order from India. The noble Lord had made an appeal that they should not come to a final decision until a despatch had been received from the Viceroy; but, in his opinion, it was rather late in the day for such an appeal. If India were to pay, he maintained that it ought long ago to have been consulted in this matter. He (Mr. Onslow) personally held strong opinions with regard to the payment by India of troops for Imperial purposes. To a certain extent, he thought the Government had hoodwinked the House, because it was unquestionable that if the war went on the £2,300,000 would have to be augmented; and he supposed that few Members of the House for one moment thought that that sum would be sufficient even for the expenses of the English portion of the expedition, putting altogether on one side any portion of the re-payment to India for the necessary expenses incurred by that country. He had no hesitation in accepting the statement of the noble Lord, that the interests of India were undoubtedly wrapped up in the Egyptian Question; and, that being so, the Indian Government should long ago have been consulted on the subject. He did not wish to traverse the noble Lord's remarks about the necessity of sending Native troops to Egypt. Indeed, he believed the Mussulman and Hindoo troops would be found loyal to the Crown, and they would gladly assist the Government of the Empire and fight its battles. The policy was that of the late Lord Beaconsfield; and, though strongly disapproved of at the time, yet they now saw Her Majesty's Government following out that policy to the letter. With regard to the Amendment, no one, he hoped, would think that he wished India to make any profit by the employment of these troops; he only thought that their transport and similar charges ought to be defrayed out of the Revenues of this country, but that the ordinary pay for officers and men, and the ordinary payment for victualling the various regiments—a payment which the Indian Government would have incurred had the regiments remained in India—should be met from the Revenues of India. There was no analogy between the present case and the Afghan War. In the former every despatch was known to the Viceroy and his Council. That was a purely Indian war, undertaken for Indian purposes—as he maintained, for the integrity of the Indian Empire; but this was a war undertaken for European and Imperial purposes. He hoped, therefore, that the House would not, on the strength of the imagined resemblance, lay down the doctrine that India and the Colonies ought to be called upon to pay for Imperial wars. He might notice the manner in which the Prime Minister's opinion on this subject seemed to have changed since the year 1878. In that year the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett) moved an Amendment to the proposal of the then Government, somewhat similar to that which he (Mr. Onslow) was now moving; and the ground the right hon. Member for Hackney took was that, as the late Afghan War was, in his judgment, a European war, undertaken in furtherance of the Imperial policy of Lord Beaconsfield, India ought not to be charged the cost of it. The right hon. Gentleman was seconded on that occasion by the present Prime Minister, who declared that the Indian people had had nothing to do with the war—

> "That they were wholly guiltless, and had washed their hands in innocence as far as that war was concerned."

Whether that was right or wrong he did not now challenge; but he asked the right hon. Gentleman how he could come back on his words, when he was defending a policy which the Indian people knew nothing about, and a war in regard to which they had not been consulted? On December 16, 1878, the right hon. Gentleman said—

> "Those who make war for purposes, whether they be or be not Indian purposes, are the right persons upon whom should rest finally the charges."—[3 *Hansard*, ccxliii. 904.]

["No, no!"]

MR. GLADSTONE: It is nonsense.

MR. ONSLOW: Nonsense or not, he was quoting from *Hansard;* it might be nonsense, but that was the only record they had to go by; and, for the purposes of his argument, he was justified in assuming the correctness of the words.

MR. GLADSTONE again said the words as quoted were nonsense.

MR. ONSLOW said, he was aware of the dexterity of the right hon. Gentleman in explaining away his own words; but here they were recorded in *Hansard*, and without, so far as he could see, anything in the context to modify them. Again, in the course of the same speech, the right hon. Gentleman had said—

> "I am not surprised that there is a difference of opinion upon this subject. It is a very puzzling one."

That seemed to be still the Prime Minister's opinion, for these words appeared still to be very puzzling to him. The right hon. Gentleman continued—

> "We have made our protest against the war, and, having done so, we will not now proceed to place the burden of it on the people of India." —[*Ibid.*]

The hon. Member for Orkney (Mr. Laing) also spoke as strongly as possible against India paying anything for the Afghan War, because the finances of India were in an unsound state. But he failed to see that they were in a more unsound state than they were now. The Amendment was supported by the present Chairman of Ways and Means (Mr. Lyon Playfair), by the right hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella), and, in fact, by the whole strength of the Liberal Party. If they called upon India to pay for this, which he contended was a European War, they ought to call upon Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon, and the Straits Settlements to contribute, for all these Colonies were much interested in the maintenance of that great international highway, the Suez Canal; at the same time, he did not deny that India was more interested in the free passage of the Canal than, perhaps, any other Colony. When the Control was established in Egypt, India was not consulted any more than Australia, Ceylon, Singapore, or any other of our Colonies. The right hon. Gentleman had also delivered among his memorable speeches in Mid Lothian one at the United Presbyterian Church at Penicuik, in which he talked about the acquisition of Cyprus.

MR. GLADSTONE inquired whether the hon. Member was quoting from an authorized report?

MR. ONSLOW said, it was impossible to tell what was an authorized report of the right hon. Gentleman's words—he seemed to object to *Hansard*, which was generally considered an authorized report. This particular extract was from a pamphlet which was distributed very largely throughout the country, and which was also circulated one evening at a meeting at Exeter Hall to denounce Her Majesty's late Government, and presided over by a Gentleman whom the Prime Minister, no doubt, knew very well. The right hon. Gentleman said then that the only way to maintain the position of the Suez Canal was by supremacy at sea. He supposed he did not deny that he made use of that remark. It was in a speech denouncing the then Government for the acquisition of Cyprus, and he used these words—

> "There is no greater folly than to suppose that it is by multiplication of your garrisons and your islands that you guard the road to India."

But that was what the right hon. Gentleman was going to do at the present time. He was going to garrison the whole of the Suez Canal; and, in fact, the policy of the Government was to have garrisons from Gibraltar right away to Aden. He defied the right hon.Gentleman to deny the truth of that assertion, for they knew that Her Majesty's Government had been in correspondence with the French Government for the joint occupation of certain strategic positions along the Canal. He was not saying anything against that policy; but he pointed out that, to use a common expression, the right hon. Gentleman had not only eaten his own words, but had taught his Party to do the same. When he was talking about these garrisons, the right hon. Gentleman said—

> "More double-distilled nonsense could not be administered to a set of idiots."

[Mr. GLADSTONE dissented.] The Prime Minister shook his head, but he was quoting from his own speeches. In another speech the right hon. Gentleman said—

> "The road to India is perfectly safe so long as you retain the command of the sea."

But were we not now sending an expedition to Egypt to fight on the mainland? The noble Lord said that India was to pay only a very limited sum. He hoped that might be the case; at present, however, the House had not the slightest idea what that limited sum was to be. But were they sure that when they defeated Arabi they would be able to withdraw their troops? Many months would elapse before this country would be able to withdraw a single soldier that she was sending out; and were they to call upon India to pay for the Indian troops for an indefinite time? The noble Lord had somewhat startled the House by the telegrams which he said had passed between him and the Viceroy. It was a very serious thing for the Government of this country to ignore what the Viceroy and his Council had said against being compelled to pay anything towards the expenses of the war. It might be the case that Her Majesty's Government, with their numerical majority, might overrule the decision of the Viceroy and his Council; and it was because he (Mr. Onslow) thought that such a course would be perilous to the interests of India, and to the authority of the Representative of the Queen there, that he wished to make this strong protest against the decision of Her Majesty's present Advisers. In conclusion, he begged to move the Amendment which stood in his name on the Paper.

MR. PUGH said, he rose to second the Amendment. He could not agree with the noble Lord that the House had endorsed the policy of intervention in Egypt. The affair having gone so far, the House could not have refused to vote the money which the Government had asked for in connection with the operations in the Mediterranean; but with regard to the general policy of the Government the House had expressed no opinion, and he, for one, was anxious to guard against it being thought that he sanctioned the policy which had preceded the war. The noble Lord had reminded them that Her Majesty the Queen ruled over a large Mahomedan population. He could not agree to the argument which the noble Lord had founded upon that fact, believing that if it should become necessary for us to wage war against a Mahomedan population it would be unwise to ask the Mahomedans over whom we rule to contribute to the expenses of that war. The late Lord Derby had said that in the case of a war which was chiefly or solely an Indian war the charge ought to be borne by India. The present, however, was neither solely nor chiefly an Indian war; and, that being so, India ought not to bear a large share of the expenses. Under the Resolution which the Government wished the House to adopt the whole cost of the expedition might be thrown upon India when the £2,300,000 voted by the House should have been exhausted. It would, in fact, be in the power of the Government to recall the English troops, and to carry on operations with Indian regiments only. It would be said that to suppose such an eventuality would be absurd. It ought, however, to be borne in mind that when the actual war should have been brought to an end, it would not be at once possible to withdraw our men. Troops would be required for police or protection duty, and the Government might possibly not be disinclined to employ Indian troops for that purpose. The Afghan War afforded a pertinent illustration. He was always averse to India's bearing any portion of the expense of that war; and he thought the war was unjust. But there was much force in the arguments used in support of the Government. We were told that from every part of India a cry arose against our inaction, and offers of assistance were made by every Native Prince. It was said in India on all hands that steps ought to be taken to vindicate the honour of the country. But nothing of the kind had been urged on the present occasion, and it could not be said that there was any such feeling as was then described in India. During the late Government there was no point upon which there was so much unanimity among the present occupants of the Treasury Bench. Was it reasonable that there should be such a partnership between this country and India, that India had no means of guessing what would be the limit of liability to be finally imposed upon her? We had not heard from India. He could understand the noble Lord's asking the House to stay its hand until he received a despatch from the Viceroy. As he understood, the noble Marquess had sent a telegram to the Viceroy to ask if the Viceroy approved of throwing the burden on India, and the Viceroy had said that he did not approve of it, and there was no reason to expect that there would be a single word in that despatch which would justify the Government in that matter. During the late Government the Postmaster General had been the Mover and the Prime Minister the Seconder of a Resolution adverse to the Government. The Prime Minister on that occasion said—

> "I think we are entitled to know whether, so far as the Government are concerned, this is a definitive proposal to lay the expenses of the war upon India, or whether it is a proposal to hold over the whole question until they may find it more convenient to make some final proposal on the subject. I say it ought not to be held over; there is no reason for holding it over. We ought to decide, and decide now, whether India or England is to bear this charge."—[3 *Hansard*, ccxliii. 902.]

If it was right that the House of Commons should make an immediate decision then on the question, it was so on the present occasion. The Secretary of State for War, in the same debate, had expressed himself in the same sense, and said that the Natives of India were entitled to know what their real position was. Similar language was used by the Postmaster General, and Lord Northbrook denounced the proposal of the Government in strong language. Lord Lawrence took the same view. He could only add one word as to how the money was to be provided. The noble Lord had said that there was no need of coming to a conclusion on the subject at once. But he, on the contrary, thought that the question ought to be immediately dealt with in Ways and Means. Although India was in a better condition than formerly, and was improving, she was not in a position to bear the charge of any portion of the expenses of the operations in Egypt. To make India bear such charges was not only unjust to her; but lowered this country in the eyes of other Powers. In fact, he might say, as the Postmaster General had said at the time of the Afghan War, that it made England appear, "a mean, grasping, and selfish Power." Not only were we now driven to raise money from opium and salt; but we derived a large revenue in India from the administration of justice. It was a fact not generally known to the people of this country that every man in India who was sued for a debt had not only to discharge the liability to his creditor, but had to pay a certain amount to the State over and above the costs incurred in the litigation. Under these circumstances, they ought to hesitate before imposing an additional burden on the heavily-taxed people of India, and he appealed to the House to do justice in this matter, regardless of Party considerations altogether. Let India send the number of troops required, pay them at the same rate as if they remained in India, and bear the responsibility of any steps that might be taken to reinforce the Native Army in that country. That would be a substantial contribution, and as much as could reasonably be expected from India; but any extra expense incurred ought to be paid by England. The hon. Member concluded by seconding the Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "the whole charges which may be thrown upon the Revenues of India by the Military operations proposed to be undertaken in Egypt should be repaid out of the Revenues of this Country,"—(*Mr. Onslow*,)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL, who had the following Amendment on the Paper:—

"That the expenses of an intervention in the internal affairs of Egypt cannot be justly charged on the Revenues of India, which has absolutely no concern in the internal affairs of that country,"

said, he understood that the Forms of the House prevented his moving the Amendment which stood in his name; but he should like to make a few observations in the sense of that Amendment. Unlike some hon. Members, he did not take a highly sentimental view of the position of India with regard to this country, nor did he go so far as the right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General used to go with respect to the rights of the people of India; but, steering a middle course, he thought it would be very unfair to the taxpayers of India that the cost of war—undertaken to support the policy of the Government—should fall upon them. He was one of those who wished they had never gone to war in Egypt, as he thought it would have been much better to have left Egypt alone, and certainly not to have taken isolated action; but having gone to war, he did not object to the employment by the Government of Indian troops. Instead of objecting to that, he was rather in favour of the proposal; but the question raised was, who should pay the expenses of this expedition, and in that respect he was of opinion that the Resolution before the House placed an unfair burden upon the Indian taxpayer. For his own part, he objected to placing any burden on the taxpayers of India, except so far as the object of the war was the defence of the Suez Canal. This, however, was not the object of the expedition. It was to secure payment to bondholders through the Control, and to establish good government in Egypt; and these were matters in which India had no concern at all. In fact, so far from India being concerned in the question of the good government of Egypt, it was just the opposite, because Egypt was in some sense the rival of India in regard to cotton, corn, and other commodities; and, therefore, if she were crippled and hampered it would be to the benefit of India. In regard to the establishment of good order in Egypt, India had absolutely no concern, and for that reason it would be unfair to call upon her to contribute one farthing of the expense. Putting aside the Suez Canal, he was wholly unable to find in the speech of the noble Lord any reason why England should be interested in the internal affairs of Egypt. The noble Lord said that England ought to interfere in this Mahomedan country because she ruled over 40,000,000 Mahomedans in India; but that appeared to him to be a very singular argument for carrying fire and sword into Mahomedan Egypt; indeed, he altogether failed to see why India should be taxed for such an object. India might, no doubt, be properly called upon to contribute towards the expense of guarding the Canal; but who had threatened the Canal? It was unquestionably not in danger when the Government resolved to employ Indian troops. If they took the whole history of this question, they would find there was no real question as to the danger of the Suez Canal until the bombardment of Alexandria took place, when the question became prominent. The interest of India in Egypt was, he thought, infinitesimal; and it seemed to him that as regarded the present war, if we had had no Control and no bombardment we might have had no Arabi and no question which might have occasioned the war. Arabi himself had given us no reason to suppose that the Canal would be threatened if we left him alone. Admitting that the Canal was, to a certain extent, endangered by the operations incidental to the war we had now undertaken, he would ask what was a fair share of the cost of that war which India ought to pay? Under the Resolution before the House the effect would be that the control of this expedition from India would pass away from the House; and it would be in the power of Her Majesty's Government to send not only 5,000, but 50,000 troops from India to Egypt, and to maintain them at the expense of the Indian Exchequer, not for three months, but for three years or 30 years. This country was embarked in a policy which might lead to terrible consequences, and the difficulties were not only great in bringing the war to a conclusion, but greater in dividing the chestnuts which we might pull out of the fire. It would be a grave mistake to regard the war from an Indian standpoint, and to ignore the experience of the French in Tunis, where the invaders had had to contend with very great difficulties. One word as to the Canal, the safety of which was at once the object of the Government, and their justification. Of its great commercial importance he was well aware; but he was not equally ready to admit that its possession was a thing of absolutely vital consequence to the country. It was not so long since it was believed that if the Suez Canal were made it would ruin this country. That was the view of Lord Palmerston and others of the "Rule Britannia" school of politics. We had survived the making of the Suez Canal, and if the Suez Canal were stopped we should survive that too. But the interests of Europe in the Suez Canal were too great for the Government in Egypt, whether that of Tewfik or Arabi, or anyone else, to stop the Canal. As the interests of India in the Suez Canal were in some respects involved, he thought she might on that account bear some small portion of the expense; and, therefore, he could not vote for the Amendment of the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow). The Secretary of State for India had told the House that they were not to take the question as finally decided that the whole of the cost would be thrown upon the Indian Revenues in the first instance; but that arguments were coming from India which might induce the Government of this country to repay the charge. But why should not this country bear the whole of the cost first, and afterwards the Government might consider whether India should repay any portion of it? The Secretary of State was in the habit of drawing bills upon India every month for large amounts. Why should he not, by buying his own bills upon that country, supply it with the means of sending the Indian troops to Egypt? He would suggest that some words should be inserted in the noble Lord's Resolution to show that the cost was not finally saddled upon the Revenues of India; but that the matter would remain open for consideration. If the Resolution were not amended in that way, he could not vote for it.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, that he had not the experience of the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell); but he would undertake to be more brief in his observations. He would pass over the legal questions, turning upon the proper construction of the Act of Parliament, which had been referred to by the noble Marquess; and he would not discuss the question whether the Egyptian policy of Her Majesty's Government was right or wrong. He entirely agreed with the noble Marquess that the employment of Indian troops in Egypt was highly desirable. Those troops were thoroughly acclimatized and accustomed to the kind of work which would have to be done in Egypt. But the simple question before the House was, who was to pay for the troops? Now, in considering this point, the first questions to be asked were those asked in 1878 by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Stanhope), then Under Secretary of State for India—namely, What was the real interest of India in this matter? Was India vitally interested in the results which it was hoped to obtain by the present war? To which questions he (Sir Henry Holland) would venture to add a no less important one—namely, Whether India had taken any part in commencing hostilities, or had, by any action of her Government or people, led up to the present hostilities? Now, he thought no one could contend for a moment that India had in any way by her action created, or even added to, the present difficulties. The war was the direct consequence of a state of affairs in a country quite removed from India, and it had not arisen from anything directly or indirectly connected with the Indian Empire. Of course, he (Sir Henry Holland) would not take up the time of the House by attempting to prove this by pointing out in detail the origin of the present hostilities in Egypt; but, briefly, it might be said that Arabi Bey, having gradually gained power, used that power and influence against the Anglo-French Controllers, who had set themselves, amongst other things, against the increase of the Army, and of the salaries of officers and men, which he advocated; that, ultimately, he managed practically to defeat the Controllers and the Khedive, and revolted against the authority of the latter. This short statement showed that the war was not connected with the Indian Empire, but arose from strictly local causes. He might, therefore, cite Lord Northbrook and Lord Derby, and, indeed, other Members of the present Government, as authorities against laying the charge on India, as proposed by the Resolution of the noble Marquess. Lord Northbrook, in December, 1878, spoke as follows:—

> "It would have been just and generous to have decided that no portion of the expenses should fall upon India. I consider the war to be the direct consequence of the state of affairs in Europe, and not to have arisen from anything immediately connected with the Indian Empire. For that reason India should not be called upon to bear the cost."—[3 *Hansard*, ccxliii. 478.]

And Lord Derby said, on the same occasion—

> "If this is an Imperial war, the charge ought to be borne by England; if solely or chiefly an Indian war, the charge should be borne by India."—[*Ibid.*]

No one could assert that this present war was solely or chiefly an Indian war, and, therefore, the charges proposed should not be borne by India. The second question he (Sir Henry Holland) would ask was, How far India was interested in the result desired? He would, however, in passing, observe that if India had not commenced the war—that was, if the war was not commenced solely or chiefly on her account—the result desired, though favourable, in fact, to India, could not properly render her liable to pay any part of the cost of the hostilities which led to that result. Her liability was not to be tested by the result of the war. This point he would venture to press strongly on the House, as he had heard it frequently argued that India ought to pay some part of the charge, because she would benefit by the result of the war. The results desired were peace in Egypt, and the suppression of the military revolt; but as India had done nothing to disturb the peace which formerly existed, and did not excite the military revolt, the restoration of peace in Egypt could not make her justly liable for any charges connected with the proceedings which had secured that peace. Moreover, India was not vitally interested in the result of these hostilities. Her interest could not be put higher than this—that the stoppage of the Suez Canal would affect her trade with this country, and render the transport of troops more difficult. Well, a temporary stoppage of the Canal would not seriously affect that trade; and, indeed, a permanent stoppage of the Canal would only affect the trade temporarily, though for a time the loss might be considerable. He did not at all desire to underrate the importance and advantage of the Suez Canal, and he thought that it had been unduly diminished a few nights ago by the hon. Member for Carnarvonshire (Mr. Rathbone); but it must be remembered that the trade would find its way by the old route round the Cape of Good Hope, and that, as a set-off against the loss of time consumed in the voyage, we might fairly consider the extraordinary improvement in steamships, both in their speed and carrying powers. But, again, it appeared to him (Sir Henry Holland) questionable whether any danger to the Suez Canal need be anticipated. It was against Arabi's interest to damage it; and, if the papers might be believed, he had engaged with M. Lesseps not to do so. There appeared also to be some hopes that the Canal might be neutralized under the protection of the European Powers. He (Sir Henry Holland) trusted that he had shown to the satisfaction of the House that India had in no way, by the action of her Government or people, led up to the present state of things in Egypt; that, therefore, although the result of the war might be favourable to India, that fact alone would not make it just or equitable to call upon her to bear any portion of the expenses beyond the pay of the troops, whom she would have had to pay in India if they had not been summoned to Egypt; and, thirdly, that India was not so vitally interested in Egypt, and the result of the war, as to make it just to lay the proposed charges upon her. He would now only refer very briefly to the case of the Afghan War in 1878, which had been more than once referred to in the course of the debate. There was then the question of a safe frontier for India. There was then the question of the peace of India, for it was not unnaturally feared that troubles in Afghanistan, unless speedily quelled, might lead to troubles in India itself. There was then the question of staying Russian intrigue and Russian interference, which might cause the Ameer to become a hostile neighbour, and which might dangerously extend over the Indian frontier. And, lastly, there was direct action on the part of the Viceroy and Government of India in the different negotiations, and in sending the Mission to the Ameer, the repulse of which might be said to have been one of the direct causes of the war. Such, rightly or wrongly, were the views of the late Government; and it could hardly be denied that the grounds for charging India in 1878 were far stronger than those now put forward in support of the present Resolution. But the course pursued by the late Government was declared by the present Postmaster General to be—

> "A course characterized by meanness and the absence of anything like generosity, and he believed it would be repudiated by every constituency in the Kingdom." — [3 *Hansard*, ccxliii. 894.]

He had seen the right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General in his place during the evening, though he was just now absent; and he hoped that the House might have an opportunity of learning from the right hon. Gentleman whether he still adhered to the opinion which he expressed with reference to charging India for the Afghan War. He hoped the Postmaster General would have the courage to state his opinion, and that the possession of Office—an Office in which he (Sir Henry Holland) gladly recognized the excellent work he had done—would not keep him silent. He especially hoped this, as no one had more earnestly fought for India than the right hon. Gentleman; no one had done more to resist the inequitable imposition of charges upon the Revenue of India for Imperial purposes. He (Sir Henry Holland) would venture to read to the House some words of the present Prime Minister in the debate in 1878, although the exact accuracy of some part of his speech on that occasion had been impugned. He was reported to have said—

> "The Indian people have had nothing to do with this war; they are wholly guiltless; they wash their hands in innocence, so far as this war is concerned. . . . Can I bring myself to vote that the expenses of this struggle, which is wholly our act, shall be placed upon India? I say 'No,' and I will go freely into any assembly of Englishmen and tell them I say 'No,' and appeal to them whether they will not say 'No' also. Nay, I am persuaded . . . that when they thoroughly understand the facts of the case, they will say distinctly that those who make the war should pay for the war."—[*Ibid.*, 904.]

But he would not attempt to ask the Prime Minister to reconcile his present conduct with his past words. The Prime Minister was the very Proteus of politics. He readily changed into fire, and from fire into water, and no chains would hold him. He (Sir Henry Holland) felt bound to support the Amendment, unless some concession was made by Her Majesty's Government.

Mr. BLAKE said, he was surprised that three speakers who had preceded him, having extensive knowledge each of portions of India, from official connection with it, had not touched at all on the most important point involved in the Resolution—the capability of the people of India to bear a share in the expenses of the war in Egypt. He contended that they were not able, and, therefore, should not have any portion of the cost imposed on them; and to that part of the subject he would confine his remarks. He regretted very much that the Secretary of State for India, in addition to the high qualifications he possessed for his Office, did not add a personal knowledge of India—as he had little doubt if he had travelled through it he would arrive at the same conclusion that he (Mr. Blake) had come to from personal observation—that so miserable was the condition of the great body of the people that it would be an injustice, even a cruelty, to add anything to their present burdens. He could furnish the House with most harrowing recitals of the wretched state of the ryots as a rule; but as his experience in India was under a year he would prefer to give the statements of gentlemen who had been a much longer time in the country, and had been officially connected with it. Had the Prime Minister allowed him to proceed with his Motion a week ago, calling attention to the condition of the peasantry of India generally, and especially those of Oudh and Behar, he would have produced a large mass of official evidence, in the way of Reports of Commissions and the utterances of officials, regarding the wretchedness of the people, which would, he believed, have gone far to convince Parliament that he was correct in his assertions. He would not now trespass on their patience by going so deeply into the matter, and would confine himself to a very few quotations from the statements of Indian Civil servants. Amongst the pamphlets which lately appeared on the condition of the people was one from a distinguished Indian official, who recounted, in feeling and eloquent language, the wrongs and sufferings of the ryots of Behar, in a pamphlet entitled *The Ruin of an Indian Province*, addressed to the noble Marquess the present Secretary of State for India. He would read a few extracts showing the present state of things in Behar. [*Cries of* "Name, name!" "Who is the author?"] The author was Mr. Charles James O'Donnell, Justice of the Peace for the Province of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!"] He was not surprised that the mention of that name elicited great dissatisfaction from certain quarters; but it was that of a man who still held an important official position, which he had won by his ability, and who had the courage, independence, and humanity, at the risk of disadvantage to himself, to stand up for the unfortunate Natives, and to recount, in telling language, the inhumanity and injustice to which they were subject in Behar. Here is what he says—

"It would be no impossible task to prove that Indian progress, such as it is, has not been attained without much cruel suffering on the part of our Native subjects, and that from various causes English government has, in some instances, inflicted an amount of misery that is almost incredible. The condition of the agricultural classes in Bombay will immediately present itself to your mind. Permit me to lay before you a description of that condition as given in the pages of a journal the most favourable in India to every form of Governmental action. *The Pioneer*, in 1877, felt that any further cloaking of the facts and causes of agrarian discontent in Bombay fell not far short of the act of a disloyal citizen, and that it was wise, and necessary, and just, to tell the truth, and the whole truth. Its vigorous, candid language in this instance is an honour to Anglo-Indian journalism. 'Worried by the revenue survey,' it wrote, 'for heavily enhanced public payments, enslaved by his private creditor, dragged into Court only to have imposed upon him the intolerable burden of fresh decrees, without even the resource of flight which was open to his forefathers before the kindred scourge of Holkar, the Deccan ryot accepted, for the third of a century, with characteristic patience and silence, the yoke of British misgovernment. For 30 years, as we now learn from the Papers published, he had been at once the scandal and the anxiety of his masters. Report upon Report had been written upon him; shelf upon shelf in the public offices groaned under the story of his wrongs. If anyone doubts the naked accuracy of these words, let him dip into the pages of Appendix A (Papers on the indebtedness of the agricultural classes in Bombay). A more damning indictment was never recorded against a civilized Government. From 1844 to 1874, successive Administrations have been appealed to, have been warned, or have been urged. Each, in its turn, has replied—as the present will doubtless answer to the late Committee's importunities—with a suave sigh of *non possumus*. The hospitalities of Dapooree or Ganeshkhind—the Palaces of the Bombay Governor—have for 30 years been lavished in graceful and generous profusion; while the ryot, who paid for them, lay hard by in enforced and ruinous idleness, a debtor in the Poona gaol; or ate at their gates, in the field of which the fruits had once been his own, the bitter bread of slavery.' It is true that this seems the language of exaggeration; yet, after making every allowance for the influence of a just indignation, it is impossible to assert that the history of this century presents many more fearful pictures of maladministration by a European nation than does this paragraph from one of the most Conservative journals in the Empire. 'So,' it continues, 'the survey officers (of the land revenue) came and went, adding each his thousands and tens of thousands to the public assessments. Marwaris (money lenders) swarmed up, in ever-increasing flights, from the far North-West, and settled down on the devoted acres. Honourable Justices visited India, to carry off after a while to their homes, also, some trifle from the ryot's hands, leaving him in exchange their precedents and their rulings; leaving also, in a thousand desolate homesteads, a monument, to those who sought it, of the wisdom of the system over which (always, of course, at the ryot's expense) it had been their pleasure to preside. Decrees of the Courts flew like arrow-flights into the thickest of the population, striking down the tallest and the most notable. Stupidity, blindness, indifference, greed—inability, in a word, in all its thousand forms—settled down, like the fabled harpies, on the ryot's bread, and bore off with them all that he subsisted upon.'"

There were other important testimonies besides *The Pioneer* quoted by Mr. O'Donnell. He said—

"Truly and piteously did Sir George Wingate, a distinguished Bombay officer, exclaim—'What must be the state of things which can compel cultivators, proverbially patient and long-suffering, accustomed to more or less of ill-usage and injustice at all times, to redress their wrongs by murder, and in defiance of an ignominious death to themselves? How must their sense of justice have been violated? How must they have been bereft of all hope of redress from law or Government before their patient and peaceful natures could be roused to the point of desperation required for such a deed.'"

Sir George Campbell, late Governor of Bengal, declared—

"Nowhere have the rents of a peaceable, industrious, and submissive population been more screwed up than in Bhagulpore. It was the same action of the zemindars that was leading to rebellion in the Sonthal pergunnahs."

According to the same authority—

"The result of Mr. Kemble's—he being magistrate of the great district of Burmah—inquiries on the Nepaul frontier is discouraging, in that, after very fairly weighing the respective advantages and disadvantages of both, he comes to the conclusion that the condition of the Nepaul ryot (peasant) is, on the whole, better than that of the British ryot. Although the smaller rent taken from the former by the Nepaulese Government is supplemented by forced labour and the purveyance system, on the other hand the illegal cesses and exactions of zemindars, middlemen, &c., and other vexations, turn the scale against the British cultivator."

He (Mr. Blake) would now quote an authority which he expected the House would regard as important, that of Sir Richard Temple, formerly Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, a man more accustomed to depict everything relating to India in a roseate hue than otherwise—

"Was forced to admit that 'undoubtedly the condition of the peasantry is low in Behar—lower than that of any other peasantry, with equal natural advantages, in any Province in which Sir Richard Temple has been in India. A system of rack-renting prevails in some parts of the division; the zemindaris (great estates) are let either wholly or in part to farmers or lessees, who are thus middlemen, standing between the landowners and the actual cultivators of the soil. It is reported that the object of the rent receivers is to exact from the ryots as much profit as they can. Rents, including therein the innumerable cesses by which they are supplemented, are limited in the case of the majority of agriculturists by little else than their inability to pay more.'"

Sir Richard Temple was succeeded in 1877 by Sir Ashley Eden, who occupied that position up to March of the present year, and was now a Member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India. Soon after his accession the following, issued from his Secretariat, in the shape of a Resolution:—

"The majority of the zemindars in Tirhoot are unfavourably mentioned, being described as grasping and oppressive to their tenantry. In the present Report of the Commissioner of the Bhagulpore division a lamentable account is given, by the sub-divisional officer, of the state of things in the Banka sub-division, two-thirds of which are leased out in farms to non-resident speculators, while in the remaining one-third at least half of the landlords also are non-resident. The farms run usually for seven years, and are only renewed on the payment of a heavy and increasing premium, which falls entirely on the ryots. The tenants are said to have no rights, to be subject to the exaction of forced labour, to illegal distraint, and to numerous illegal cesses, while the collections are made by an unscrupulous host of up-country peadahs—bailiffs of the fierce races of Northern Hindustan. There can be no doubt whatever that the combined influence of zemindars and ticcadars (land speculators) has ground the ryots of Behar down to a state of extreme depression and misery."

In a speech to the nobles and zemindars of Behar, in Durbar assembled, he subsequently said—

"It seems to me that the time has come when Government must come forward and endeavour to take substantial measures for ameliorating the condition of the Behar peasantry."

The Lieutenant Governor had then occupied for nearly a year the high position which he still held; and he declared that, having devoted much attention to Behar administration, he had come to the conclusion that it was his clear duty to interfere on behalf of the tenantry of Behar, whom, in language of honest and temperate indignation, he described as—

"Poor, helpless, discontented men, driven about from village to village by the extortion of underlings or the exactions of irresponsible under-farmers—tenants who never know whether they will possess next year the land they occupy this, and who feel that any attempt to grow more profitable crops will only end in increased demands from the ticcadar."

A short time before the delivery of this speech, in rebuking the evils of indigo planting as carried on by Europeans, he had denounced the farming system of holding land—known as the ticcadari system, on which their industry depends—as "the great curse of Behar," adding—

"It is this mainly which makes the ryots of the richest Province of Bengal the poorest and most wretched class we find in the country."

Mr. SPEAKER said, that the hon. Member for Waterford should confine himself more to the subject immediately before the Chair, instead of making a statement, as he was doing, of the condition of the peasantry of India.

Mr. BLAKE said, he considered that, in quoting authorities to prove the wretched and impoverished condition of the people of India, he was strictly keeping himself within the subject of the Motion before them, which was to charge on the finances of India a portion of the cost of the war in Egypt. His contention was that the people were so poor that they could not bear any more imposts, unless at the cost of being deprived of the means of providing themselves with the bare necessaries of life —the late famine being due, to some extent, to the impoverishment caused by high rents and heavy assessment for taxes. Of course, if the Chair ruled against him, he could not help submitting. He would, however, venture on one more quotation from a most important authority to prove that the people should not be taxed for carrying on this war. It was from the pen of Mr. W. G. Pedder, in *The Nineteenth Century* for September, 1877. Mr. Pedder had occupied a high position in the Revenue Department of India, and was now, he believed, in something of a similar position in the Indian Office here, having been transferred to it owing to his great abilities and knowledge of India. In the concluding portions of his interesting and important article he says—

> "It is to be hoped that the Report of the Deccan Commission will receive the most serious consideration of the Indian Legislature before a Revised Code of Civil Procedure becomes law. It is not too much to say that British honour, and the character, if not the stability, of our Empire in India are at stake. We justly reprobate Ottoman misgovernment, and pity the unhappy peasantry of the Turkish Provinces. It is a serious reflection that almost equal misery is being inflicted over a far wider area under the best meaning of Governments and through the most scientific of systems."

Now, there was the testimony of the condition of things in India from a most trustworthy source. He was very sorry that he would not be allowed to quote other authorities in the same direction. He would have much wished to have read a few extracts from a work of great ability by Mr. Irving, a most distinguished Indian official, published last year, entitled *The Garden of India*, dealing with the wrong-doing of the Talukdars of Oudh, and showing the state that the peasantry of a Province designated the Garden of India were brought to by bad landlordism. As he had been through the principal part of Oudh himself, he would also bear testimony to the deplorable condition of its peasantry, notwithstanding the fertility of their country, and their inability to bear further pressure, as the last coin was wrung from them, sometimes by torture, by their hard tax-masters. He had ample materials with him to prove that what he stated with regard to the portions of India he had been allowed to deal with held good with regard to nearly the entire of the country. Within a few years 4,000,000 had perished from famine, which would not have happened if they had been in anything like the state of prosperity they ought to have been in; and fully 40,000,000 were at that moment in a state of chronic starvation. Notwithstanding this, they had put on them nearly the entire cost of the Afghan War. And now it was proposed to saddle them with a contribution for the Egyptian War, the extent of which could not be measured, and against which, as they had heard from the noble Marquess, the Government of India had protested. Twenty years ago England was startled by the dreadful revelations contained in the Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the effects of indigo planting in Eastern Bengal. The sufferings of the ryots to gratify the greed of the planters were shown to be so dreadful, that indigo planting in that part of Bengal was killed; but the evils that existed then were still in force elsewhere, and resulted in misery to the Natives. There were some in that House ready, he believed, to defend even the planters of Behar; but when opportunity came he was prepared to show up the iniquitous system they defended. He had been over India, from Afghanistan to Mysore, and, taken as a whole, he never beheld in all respects so poverty-stricken a people; and it was on these that, directly or indirectly, for the most part, the cost of the war would come. Many of the tenants held under the Crown, and were in numerous instances rack-rented. If India became liable for part of the expenses of a costly war, what little chance then would there be for those poor people to seek a reduction? One way that probably would be resorted to, to meet the quota of India for the war, would be to stop much of the public works that had been contemplated to aid the peasantry to recover from the effects of the late famine. What a deplorable expedient that would be. He most earnestly besought the House to pause before it affirmed the principle of adding to the burdens of a people who were already so oppressed that their toil, with rare exceptions, gave them scarce enough to keep them alive of the poor food on which they subsisted. So satisfied was he of the inhumanity, injustice, and impolicy involved in the Resolution proposed for their acceptance, that if the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) went to a division on his Amendment he would support him; and, if not, he would vote against the Government in the, he was sorry to think, vain effort to defeat the Resolution of the noble Marquess.

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, he thought that the Government was very much inclined to under-estimate the importance of that debate. They seemed forgetful of the fact that a similar Motion was brought forward four years ago. The discussion on that occasion lasted for three nights, and the same discussion came on again after the original Motion was disposed of. Yet the Government were now quite willing to push that debate to the end of the night. [The Attorney General: A quarter past 7.] He was referring to what the Prime Minister said about bringing the debate on at any hour of the night. The Resolution of the Government seemed to contain two propositions of great importance. First, it committed the House to the employment of Indian troops in conjunction with the English forces of Her Majesty; secondly, the Resolution gave the assent of the House to the application of the Indian Revenue, temporarily or permanently, for the expenses of the expedition. With regard to the first proposition, he thought he was expressing the views of most hon. Members on his side of the House in giving it cordial approval. The employment of Indian troops in conjunction with those of England on proper occasions was an advantage to both countries. But he could not but listen with astonishment to the speech of the noble Lord, for every proposition contained in it was in direct contradiction to the statements made by him four years ago, and to statements made since that time by his Colleagues now sitting on the Treasury Bench. It was also true that the main question then raised in opposition to their proposal was the Constitutional one, whether they were entitled to bring troops to Europe from India without first obtaining the assent of Parliament? Yet no one could deny that that was only one of the many questions which were raised. Every charge that human ingenuity could suggest was hurled at their unfortunate heads, and the greater part of the objections had no reference whatever to the employment of Indian troops in Europe. One objection was as to whether the Articles of War followed Indian troops when they were employed out of India. Another was whether Indian troops could, without certain formalities, be legally employed outside the territorial limits of the old East India Company. The opposition raised to their proposal was carried beyond that House, and was to be found in the speeches of right hon. Gentlemen in all parts of the country. He would not now go through them, but would rather direct attention to some remarks made by the Prime Minister. He thought the right hon. Gentleman was a little hard on the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) when he told the hon. Gentleman he had quoted from an unauthorized report. As the Prime Minister apparently objected to the quotations from *Hansard* and his Mid Lothian speeches, he would refer, not to speeches delivered, but to articles written by the Prime Minister in *The Nineteenth Century*. The passages he was about to quote applied to the employment of Indian troops in any part of the world out of India. The Prime Minister wrote—

> "It is quite impossible to work out this strange outlandish project of employing the Indian Army in common stock with our own, and yet to maintain the present distribution of charge between England and India. It would be a depredation and a swindle—a swindle perpetrated by a guardian upon his ward, whose interest he is specially bound to protect. England must prepare to assume a sensible, a just, a handsome share of the enormous charge of the Indian military system, and it could hardly be counted in less than millions."

Yet the right hon. Gentleman came down to the House to-day, and, by the mouth of the Secretary of State for India, asked for permission to perpetrate what he formerly called a swindle. And then the right hon. Gentleman went on—

> "The number of subsidiary questions which come up in connection with this headlong operation is already great, and must hereafter multiply. Will it be extravagantly costly?

Is the Suez Canal equitably available for such a purpose? Will it not be a mercenary system, and is a mercenary system safe? Who and what are these 'followers' of the Native troops carried in their train at the public charge, and allowed for in the expenses of the expedition?"

He did not desire to dwell upon this for the purpose of making an attack on Her Majesty' Government; but he did wish to express their satisfaction that the arguments they used on a former occasion had converted right hon. Gentlemen opposite. The noble Lord the Secretary of State for India told them, as if it were a new discovery, that they could trust our Indian Army; and hon. Gentlemen opposite seemed also to have discovered that the co-operation of Indian and English troops might, in certain circumstances, add strength to our military system. He now came to a much more important question — namely, if the House sanctioned the employment of Indian troops in Egypt, what proportion of the charge ought India to pay? As he understood the matter, the object of the war was two-fold—to establish a good and stable Government in Egypt; and to do that for the purpose of securing the safety of the Suez Canal. But for the Suez Canal the internal affairs of Egypt would be of comparatively small concern to this country, and of no concern at all to India. The construction of the Suez Canal altered the whole position of affairs. The maintenance of that highway was of the utmost importance to this country, and nobody could reasonably doubt that it was also of the greatest possible importance to India. His hon. Friend the Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland) had cited certain words which he used in the course of a debate in 1878. One of the tests he then desired to apply was whether India was vitally interested in the matter. He thought he should now go so far as to say that India was vitally interested in the maintenance of the Suez Canal; and, therefore, he came to the conclusion that India might be fairly asked to contribute something towards the cost of the operations to be carried on in Egypt. Consequently, he could not vote for the Amendment of the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow). There was another objection to the Amendment that ought to be stated. It was that if it was carried it would defeat the Resolution of the Government. He, for one, could not be a party to defeating that Resolution, because it was important that at a crisis unexampled in our time the Government should be armed with the fullest powers for which it asked. As to the proportion of the cost that ought to be contributed by India, that was a much more difficult question. The proposition of the Government appeared to him to be one of the shabbiest ever brought forward in that House, considering the quarter from which it proceeded. Indeed, he was not surprised to hear that the Indian Government had put down its foot and declared that proposal to be entirely inadmissible. He might here observe that the proposal made by the late Government in 1878 was urged upon them by the Government of India, which desired the Home Government to adopt it. But the present proposal was to charge upon India the whole cost of their part of the expedition, whatever the duration of the campaign, and however extended its operations. For his part, he thought that at the present stage they could not possibly come to a final decision as to the proportion of the cost to be borne by the Government of India. One argument, which went strongly to support this view, was that we did not know to what extent, in what quarter, or by what means the Suez Canal might be threatened in the contemplated operations. All the more, therefore, did he say that it was quite impossible to foretell what was the real extent of the interest of India in the war; and we ought to wait before we arrived at a final decision, so long as it was certain that the question was really left open. Did the Resolution really leave the question open? It would be easy to raise a doubt by arguing from former speeches of right hon. Gentlemen opposite. They had then contended that the question was absolutely concluded by the use in the Resolution of the word "defray;" and the word "defray" was in the present Resolution. What the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for War had formerly said was that the word "defray" almost necessarily implied not a temporary but a permanent charge, and that, therefore, a Resolution identical with this imposed a permanent charge on India. When it was urged that the matter ought to be postponed for further consideration, right hon.

Gentlemen opposite said—"No; we will decide it now; we expect an absolute decision at once as to the proportion India is to bear." He was glad that to-night the Secretary of State had made a declaration which was satisfactory; he understood him to say that the question was not to be prejudged by the passing of the Resolution. Unless they had a perfectly distinct declaration that the House was in no way committed, he should submit an Amendment to the Resolution; but upon the distinct understanding that they reserved entirely their freedom of action, and did not give the smallest countenance to the absurd proposition shadowed forth by the noble Lord, he would give his support to the Resolution. The noble Lord had told them that the Resolution was not a financial, but a political one, hoping, no doubt, to avoid the necessity of discussing the cost of the expedition; but, in 1878, the Government was pressed for an Estimate, and gave it as nearly as they could. An hon. Member asked—"Do you call that an Estimate?" In reply he would say it would have been an insult to the Government of India not to have accepted the Estimate which it sent to this country; and he might add that the estimate of the cost of bringing the Indian troops to Malta was singularly accurate. He hoped that before the discussion of the Indian Budget, some details of the cost to be incurred would have been obtained by telegraph from India. In 1878, it was said that the assent of the Opposition to the Resolution depended upon the condition of Indian finances, and they called upon the Government to declare at once how the proposed expenditure was going to be met. When they came to discuss the Indian Budget, he should be prepared to describe it as courageous, but as leaving much too narrow a margin. The surplus was £285,000, and all experience suggested that it ought not to be less than £500,000. A small extraordinary expenditure upset the framework of the Indian Budget, while in England a screw of the Income Tax, or an ingenious financial operation, would provide what was required. In India increase of taxation was very difficult, and could only be accomplished with caution and by slow degrees; and it was utterly impossible to look to increased taxation to provide any additional sums which might be required. Therefore, the amount had to be raised either by loan or by a reduction of expenditure. Three years ago the view of the House was strongly expressed in favour of wholesale reduction. Three years ago, a large reduction was made, and the only criticism made by Members of the present Ministry was that it was not large enough. The Home Secretary, speaking in the country, said that a reduction of Indian Expenditure was accepted by all Parties in the House, and that Indian Revenue was inadequate to meet Indian Expenditure. With that statement he was not disposed to quarrel; but the Government had largely reduced the income of India, and had enormously increased the Expenditure. Since 1880, the expenditure had been raised £3,500,000. This increase was alarming; and the first step the Government must take, if they asked India to pay any part of the cost of this war, must be to apply the pruning knife with no unsparing hand. When the Indian Budget came on the noble Lord ought to tell them how the expenditure was going to be met. He had not made any quotations from the speeches of the Postmaster General, whose pluck and courage he had always admired; but he believed the right hon. Gentleman would be glad to be able for a few minutes to speak from an Opposition Bench, and criticize the speeches of his Colleagues.

Mr. CROPPER said, he thought there were others interested in Egypt besides England and India who might contribute to the cost of the war—the bondholders, for instance, the speculators in Egyptian funds, the Sultan, and the Lancashire cotton spinners. His fear was that war would become popular in England if others were made to pay for it; and, of all whom it concerned, those who were wholly unrepresented, the Indian taxpayers, ought to be the last to be called upon to contribute. For these and similar reasons, therefore, he was unable to support the proposal of the Government.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON said, that although very few hon. Members were in the House when the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India moved his Resolution, all must have admired the equanimity with which he had to-day supported that remarkable proposal. In his present position of responsibility, the noble Lord seemed to be fully alive to the force of those reasons which, when in Opposition, he had ignored. He had now given very cogent reasons for the employment of Indian troops in Egypt, and had also expressed the deliberate opinion of the Government that the whole cost of the expedition should be defrayed out of the Revenues of India. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister and the noble Lord had stated that it would be in the power of the House, after the passing of the Resolution, to decide how the expenditure should be distributed between the two countries. It was very easy to say this; but hon. Members knew well what was the present fixed intention of the Government. The Vote, it was said, was to be applied for a certain number of troops during a period of three months. But if the Resolution were passed any number of troops might be employed for any length of time, and the moment the Government obtained the assent of the House to their proposal they might legally impose an unlimited amount of expenditure upon the people of India. The Indian Government might protest against this, but they would protest in vain, because it would be in the power of the Government to override their objections; and, that being so, it was simply throwing dust in the eyes of the House to say that if the Resolution were passed it would still be in the power of the House to decide upon the distribution of the expenditure between the two countries. His hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope) had alluded to a number of speeches made by Members of Her Majesty's Government when they were in Opposition; and he was, therefore, unwilling to trouble the House with any further quotations. The noble Lord, as he had already remarked, had given very good reasons for the employment of Indian troops at the present time; and all these, with one exception, would have applied with equal force in 1878. The analogy between the position in 1878 and that at the present time was in one respect incomplete, because if the soldiers and taxpayers of India were to be consulted and asked which object more roused their sympathy and enthusiasm—the collision averted by Lord Beaconsfield's foresight or the contest provoked by the Prime Minister's timidity and blindness—there could be no doubt that their reply would be that they were more deeply interested in the events of 1878 than they were in those that were now taking place. The noble Lord, however, admitted that he had been wrong on the former occasion.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: When?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: In 1878.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: In the Spring or in the Autumn?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON ventured to say the noble Lord's admission related to both the Spring and Autumn. If he were to recapitulate the reasons given by the noble Lord for the employment of Indian troops in Africa, it would be found that the whole of them held good with regard to Lord Beaconsfield's despatch of Indian troops to Malta in 1878, of which the noble Lord complained.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I never complained of the Indian troops being brought to Malta.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, the noble Lord was at that time the Leader of a Party nearly all the Members of which had objected to the despatch of Indian troops to Malta. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had objected in the strongest possible way; and although he had said he was unwilling to trouble the House with further quotations, if hon. Members desired it he would read a passage from an article by the right hon. Gentleman in *The Nineteenth Century*. In that article the Prime Minister said—

> "All this is radically changed by the recent proceeding. A force has been brought beyond the old Eastern limits, and brought to assert, by way of earnest, that we possess in India an Army such as will make good our numerical deficiencies in Europe. This is not a question of five, or seven, or ten thousand men; if it were, the case would fall, for the purpose of my argument, mainly within the ancient categories. But the whole meaning of the measure is that India, with her scores and her hundreds of thousands, is to be introduced into partnership in our European wars. In and upon this view of the matter a multitude of questions will arise, of which I will now specify two. In this partnership the effusion of blood will fall largely to the Indian share. But the policy will be ours. The command ours. The reward and the promotion ours. India will be as much at the beck of our will as the elephants whom, perhaps, with the aid of a little winter clothing she may send us. We shall use her as we use a steam engine, and shall consult her just as much. She will have just as large a control over the expenditure of her own blood as the

locomotive over the consumption of fuel; at least, this alone will be her share unless and until she explodes. In the disasters of our wars she will be involved. In their successes she will have no concern. We may conquer territories, but not for her."

And then the right hon. Gentleman went on to say—

> "Is it possible that this can work? Will India be content? In distant and, to her children, ungenial climes, in lands of usage, tongue, religion wholly alien, the flower of her youth are to bleed and die for us, and she will have no part but to suffer and obey. This is injustice, gross and monstrous injustice; and those who are parties to its perpetration must prepare for the results to which injustice leads."

A little further on the right hon. Gentleman added these words—

> "We are to bring them from their homes, associations, kindred, from all that ever makes life to be truly living; in order to exhibit them to the nations of Europe, be these allies or be they enemies, as a soldiery of an inferior order to whom every high reward for valour is denied, every avenue of hope for eminence and fame jealously and irremediably closed . . . . But were this financial question ever so liberally disposed of, and the British taxpayer already fitting his back as best he might to his burden, this would not in the least degree meet the political, social, and military grievance of India, nor requite her for the blood of her children drunk up by foreign lands, in foreign quarrels, and under alien command."

Now, he asked, would not every one of those statements apply even with greater force to the present situation than they did to the situation in 1878? The noble Lord the Secretary of State for India had said that, as the Vote of Credit had been sanctioned, the policy for which it was asked had also been sanctioned; but he (Lord George Hamilton) did not understand that by sanctioning the Vote of Credit the House had endorsed the action of Her Majesty's Government. On the contrary, he understood the position to be, that in a great national emergency the House had consented to place funds at the disposal of Her Majesty's Government in order to extricate them from the difficulty in which they were involved, without expressing any opinion as to the policy which had led to that difficulty. If they were now asked to pass this Resolution upon the understanding that Indian interests were involved to an extent which would justify that action, they would be bound to investigate more closely the cause of the quarrel. The noble Lord, amongst the precedents to which he referred, had cited that of the Persian Expedition in 1856. When that dispute arose between the Persian and Indian Governments with respect to the possession of Herat an expedition was sent from India which was attended with success, and a Treaty was eventually negotiated between the two Governments, the Imperial Government defraying a considerable portion of the cost. But here the noble Lord proposed that in an expedition for purposes totally outside Indian policy India should bear the whole cost of every soldier which the Home Government might ask the Indian Government to send into Egypt. The Government of India, as he had before mentioned, might protest; but the fact remained that although we had created a Government in India it was in the power of that House to overrule or even to ignore their opinion. It seemed to him that Her Majesty's Government did not fully estimate the variety of interests involved in Egypt. We had enormous interests in the East, not because we were an European, but because we were an Asiatic Power. We had two great interests in the Eastern Question—one in common with the other European Powers, which consisted in a desire to promote commerce and good government in the territories of the Sultan, and the other, the paramount interest arising from our possession of India. But was it fair or right, on the one hand, to employ in this expedition Indian troops and Indian money on the ground that the interests which those troops defended were so purely Asiatic as to justify their employment, and yet, when the expedition was brought to a conclusion, to submit the whole result to an European Congress? The European Conference, as Lord Beaconsfield contended, was not a fitting Assembly for the settlement of questions affecting countries outside Europe. The only Power interested in the East besides England was Russia. The interests of these two Powers were antagonistic, and, therefore, he said it would be absurd to subject our interest in the East to an European Conference; and if Indian troops and Indian money were asked for by the Government the result gained by their employment ought not to be subjected to the control of such a Conference. The Prime Minister had alluded the other night to the great change effected in 1879 in the position of the officers who exercised the control over Egyptian finance. But the really great change in their position was made in December, 1881. He was sorry to go at length into this matter, but he felt it directly affected the question before the House. The reason why he came into such immediate collision with the leaders of the Egyptian Army and Chamber of Notables was that M. Gambetta was determined to alter the position which our Agents and our Controllers General had up to that time occupied in Egypt; and he put them into an exactly similar position as that which in India an English Resident occupied at the Court of a Native Prince. Now, that system was known as the subsidiary system. It was one under which the Resident was partly Minister and partly Ambassador; he had the right to interfere in internal affairs of State, and to make his interference effective he had always a force behind him. But the Government had allowed M. Gambetta to entrap them into such a position as brought their Representatives into direct collision with the National Chamber and the National Army at a time when they had no force behind them. Would anybody contend that this was done in the interests of India? It was done, as they all knew, for a very simple purpose—namely, in order to obtain, if possible, a renewal of the Commercial Treaty with France. Hon. Members were aware of the result of those negotiations. As soon as the official news arrived that the French Government had backed out of their position, the Government came down and put India in the place which France had occupied in relation to Egypt. Her Majesty's Government were now in this extraordinary position. They took isolated when they ought to have taken concerted action with the Powers of Europe; and when they ought to have taken separate action, they submitted their proposed action to a Conference. The result of this was that we had failed diplomatically in almost everything we desired to succeed in, and succeeded in everything in which it was desirable we should fail. He was bound to say that the difficulties in which we were involved did not arise from our possession of India. They arose, in his opinion—first, from our desire to get a Commercial Treaty from France; and, secondly, because, having been entrapped into a position which we ought not to have taken up, the Government had not the courage to act decisively, owing to a certain number of Mid Lothian speeches which stood in the way, and a certain number of Liberal Members who were opposed to intervention in Egypt. If he were right in his view, then it seemed to him a most unfair thing to propose to burden India with the results of a year's vacillation on the part of the English Government. Everyone would admit that India had a great and direct interest in the maintenance of the Suez Canal; but it would also be admitted that the present warlike operations in Egypt were operations against Arabi Bey. In those operations the French Government had from the first declined to take any part; but they did propose to take part in the operations for the protection of the Suez Canal. These two objects were, therefore, perfectly distinct from each other, and in the latter only had India any interest. Therefore, it seemed to him fair and legitimate to suggest that Indian troops and money should be employed in the defence of the Suez Canal. But the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War had said it was necessary to effect such a state of things there that Egypt should cease to be a Military Power, and upon that point two important questions presented themselves. First, would the Vote of Credit be sufficient for the purpose the Government had in view, seeing that it was to cover a period of three months only—that was to say, would Egypt cease to be a Military Power in three months? If not, what troops would be best fitted to continue the operations in Egypt? The Indian troops, undoubtedly; and this the noble Marquess had himself admitted. That being so, he repeated that if the Resolution were passed in its present form, there would be nothing to prevent the Government sending Indian troops into Egypt when they pleased, and charging the whole expense upon the Revenues of India without obtaining the sanction of Parliament. But there still remained the question—What was to be done? And on this point he was bound to say that the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) did not, in his opinion, quite meet the case. He was sure that no one in that House would wish to deprive Her Majesty's Government of the money or the forces which they declared to be necessary to extricate the nation from its present difficulties; but the Amendment of his hon. Friend would, as he understood it, prevent this Resolution being carried at all; and, therefore, it seemed desirable to add to the Amendment some words which would make it perfectly clear that the House, in giving its consent to the Resolution, did so on the distinct understanding that a certain number of soldiers on the Indian Establishment were to be temporarily employed in Egypt, and that the question as to whether the Imperial or Indian Revenues should bear the cost would be again brought before the House. His own opinion was that a proposal in that form would meet with general approval. If some Amendment, such as that of the hon. Member for Cardigan (Mr. Pugh), could be substituted for the Amendment of his hon. Friend, he believed it would meet the wish of the great mass of hon. Members on both sides of the House, which was that in this emergency Indian troops might be employed in Egypt, but that the question as to the apportionment of the cost of their employment should be considered hereafter. He believed he had shown that this quarrel, which was entered upon in defence of English and French interests, was one in which *primâ facie* India was not concerned; and it only remained to him to apologize to the House for the length to which his observations had extended.

Mr. MACFARLANE said, he should not enter upon the wide subject which had been discussed by the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton), but would direct his remarks towards another aspect of the question. He had held for a great many years that the best thing that could happen to this country would be that the Suez Canal should be silted up, and that the next best thing would be that it should be left open. The question, however, which they had to consider was not the creating of the Canal, but the maintenance of it as it now existed. And they had to consider whether the Indian Exchequer should or should not bear the expense of that maintenance. Now, it seemed to him a fair question for Members of that House to raise, whether the Imperial or the Indian Exchequer should bear the expense; because, if Her Majesty's Government had correctly stated their position, they had not invaded Egypt for any other purpose than that of restoring order. And if, through the default of the Porte, we had undertaken the task of restoring order in Egypt, he considered that upon the Porte and upon Egypt jointly the cost of that undertaking should fall. That, it seemed to him, was a self-evident proposition. But the question, in its present form, was whether the Indian Revenues should bear an undefined proportion of the expense; for the Resolution of the noble Marquess had this serious defect—that it neither limited the number of men, the amount of money, nor the length of time over which the operation might extend. He repeated that he should not go into the political question; but he desired to say a few words with regard to the policy of employing Indian troops in the operations in Egypt. He had heard many dispiriting prophecies made in that House and elsewhere as to the danger of employing Indian troops in Egypt; but the experience gained during his residence in India convinced him that Mahomedan troops were quite as ready as Christian troops to cut Mahomedan throats—that Mahomedan troops who remained loyal had no greater pleasure than to cut up their disloyal brethren. It was a very important fact to be remembered that only one-fifth or one-sixth of the population of India was Mahomedan, and that for every Mahomedan we had under our rule in India five Hindoos. With regard to the justice of charging India with the expense of preserving the Suez Canal, unless it could be shown that we ruled India solely for selfish purposes, and not for the benefit of her people, then, he said, India had a very solid and substantial interest in the maintenance of the Canal; because, after many years' experience in that country, he believed that, in spite of blunders, there was never a Government in the world that ruled with better intentions towards the people it governed than the Government of India. An hon. Gentleman who had spoken in the course of the debate had condemned the Government of India because the people were poor. But he reminded the House that poverty was the normal condition of the people of India, although, in this respect, their condition was better now than it was before; and he took that opportunity of repeating that, in his opinion, no Government had ever ruled a people with more conscientious and disinterested motives than the Government of India. He had observed that the noble Lord who spoke last was much more anxious to prove the Prime Minister in the wrong in 1878 than he was to prove his country in the right in 1882. Notwithstanding this, he was quite sure that the noble Lord had no objection, either in principle or in practice, to the employment of Indian troops in Egypt. He was not sure whether a Conservative Government was in power at the time of the Abyssinian War; but he remembered that the Government of the day charged India with the ordinary expenses of the troops employed, and that the Imperial Exchequer was only charged with the extraordinary expenses. There was another case which occurred to him; and here, again, he did not remember what Government was in Office. A few years ago the Sultan of Turkey paid a visit to this country; his arrival was celebrated by a grand ball, and the cost of his entertainment was put upon India, on the ground that he was the head of the Mahomedan Power. As he had stated, the noble Lord was very anxious to prove the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister in the wrong; he had alluded to certain speeches of the right hon. Gentleman; but hon. Members all knew that it was impossible to get through any debate, be it short or long, without a reference to the utterances of the right hon. Gentleman at Mid Lothian. Those speeches seemed to him like the Apocalypse—you could make anything of them if you went to them with a preconceived notion. He did not suppose, however, that the right hon. Gentleman in 1879 considered himself a prophet, or that he was able to say then what the Government would do in 1882. He was dealing with matters quite distinct from those now under consideration; and hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House would bear in mind that speeches made in Office and speeches made out of it were totally different things. His object, however, in rising, was to state emphatically his opinion, founded upon considerable experience, that the theory advanced by some hon. Members that it was dangerous to employ Indian Mahomedans to cut Egyptian Mahomedans' throats was a complete delusion.

MR. CHILDERS: Sir, I have listened with great attention to most of the speeches which have been delivered since my noble Friend moved his Resolution, and especially to those delivered by hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House in Opposition—I may say, not so much to the intention as to the wording of that Resolution. I paid careful attention to the speech of the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton), and I am bound to say that I considered it very ingenious, inasmuch as the noble Lord has discovered as many mare's nests in this Resolution, in the course of a few minutes, as are generally discovered by many hon. Members in the course of a whole debate. Starting from the assumption that there was something in the Resolution proposed to-day connected with the action of the French Government a few days ago, he carried us back to the Dual Note, and what happened about that time; and he seemed to have connected the policy of the Government with something proposed by M. Gambetta, which Her Majesty's Government did not accept, and with the negotiations relating to a Commercial Treaty with France which took place about the same date. Now, I must say that all this imaginary connection has nothing whatever to do with the case itself. The present proposal of the Government is entirely unconnected with the negotiations with France during the last week; it stands on its own basis, and has been supported by arguments, one of which I will venture to repeat in the course of the observations I shall have to make, and which, I think, will have great weight with the House. There has been a great deal said—very much indeed by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope)—as to the events of 1878 in connection with the discussions in Parliament, during that year, upon the subject of the employment of troops out of India for the benefit either of India or of this country. But I noticed—and no one who was in the House at the time could have failed to notice—that two quite distinct transactions were mixed up in the argument of the hon. Gentleman. It would have been the impression left on the mind of anyone who on that occasion heard the subject discussed for the first time, that but one question was involved—namely, the employment of and the charge for troops outside India; whereas there were two distinct questions raised with reference to the Indian troops in 1878. But, Sir, the question of the despatch of Indian troops to Malta, and the charge connected with them, is one thing, and the question of the employment of Indian troops in Afghanistan is a thing totally different. As to the first, the question which was discussed at some length, and with some degree of warmth, was the Constitutional question—that is to say, under what circumstances Indian troops could be employed in Europe, and also under what circumstances Indian troops could be employed outside India. The question of expense did not occur, because the cost was defrayed by this country. But the question was raised subsequently as to whether the expenditure for the Indian troops employed in Afghanistan should be borne entirely by the Indian Exchequer; and those who now appear before this House and the public as the friends of India, and anxious to maintain her credit by refusing to charge the cost of the troops sent to Egypt upon her Revenue, should remember that it was the Liberal Party who, in spite of the hon. Gentleman opposite, who represented the late Government, that this country should bear its fair share of the cost of the war in Afghanistan. And we did this because the war in Afghanistan was waged, to a great extent, on account of Imperial interests—because it was not purely an Indian war, the cost of which should fall upon India. It was on the ground that the war was, to a great extent, ours that we insisted, when we took Office, in charging a large portion of its cost upon the Imperial Revenues. That being the case, let me speak of the present position with regard to Egypt. We are now engaged in operations of a warlike character, though not, strictly speaking, of war, for a special purpose, in which, we say, both India and this country are concerned. We say that these warlike operations in Egypt are the result of a policy which has for its object the maintenance of the great line of communication between this country and our Eastern Possessions. We maintain that there should be in Egypt, which is, perhaps, the most important part of that line of communication, a stable Government, and one not subject to military despotism, which shall keep that line of communication open; and we say that India may properly bear a certain share of the cost of securing that result. If we go back to 1840, when this country took an active part in a war in connection with Egypt, we shall find the case to be quite different. The object of that war was the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire against the ambition of Meheme Ali; and if we had on that occasion brought Indian troops to Suez, and used them in Naval operations in the Mediterannean, it would have been altogether unjust to charge the cost of them upon the Indian Revenues, because it was not an Indian war. But we are now engaged in operations in which the interests of this country and of India are involved; and we therefore ask Parliament to determine that India, being interested, should bear a certain share of the expenditure. The noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) and the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope) have both, over and over again, spoken of the Indian Revenues being charged with "the whole expenditure" on account of the Indian troops to be employed in Egypt. But let me remind the House what the proposal is. We are sending from this country—speaking in general terms—something like 24,000 men, while from India we are getting a force of between 5,000 and 6,000 men. The proposal, then, is that India should bear about one-fifth of the expense, whereas the Imperial funds are about to bear four-fifths of it. If we were to do what many have recommended—that is to say, carry on these operations in Egypt solely with Indian troops — and were then to call upon India to bear the whole expense, that, I venture to say, would be unjust towards India. But we are only asking India to bear a small proportion of the cost of the troops acting in Egypt, and we say it is not unfair to charge her with that proportion. The House, I trust, will clearly understand that there is no idea in the mind of Her Majesty's Government of overcharging India in respect of these Egyptian operations, in which she is interested. We are only asking her to bear a fair proportion of the charge. But the noble Lord and other hon. Gentlemen who have criticized the Resolution say that it is not sufficiently definite. They say that—"Under these words you may carry on an unlimited expenditure, and employ any number of men for any number of years"—that Her Majesty's Government might, for instance, withdraw the whole of the European troops from India; that, after a short campaign, they might be under the necessity of occupying Egypt with troops, and that Her Majesty's Indian Forces were most suitable for such an operation. We have no intention of acting upon any device of that sort. My noble Friend the Secretary of State for India has stated plainly what the Government propose. They propose that, assuming the duration of this campaign to be such as they have declared to Parliament, India shall bear that proportion of the expenditure which is represented by her troops, and that our Exchequer shall bear the rest. We propose, after the words, "this House consents that the Revenues of India," to insert "subject to any future decision of Parliament." That will establish the fact that we consider that India ought to bear a share of the expense, and will express the opinion of the great majority of the House.

MR. R. N. FOWLER said, that he had supported the Government on the proposal to put on the Imperial Revenues a portion of the expense of the Afghan War. India was a very overtaxed country; and, under these circumstances, he had a great objection to anything which would add to the taxation of that country. The people of India were not represented in that House; but they were taxed by a despotic Government; and he thought it was not desirable that that House should exercise such power as was now proposed in making India pay the expenses of her troops. As this was an Imperial war the expense ought to be borne by this country, and he should vote for the Amendment.

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, it seems to be quietly assumed that I have departed from, or am ready to depart from, speeches I have previously made; and the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Macfarlane) makes the charge that I consider that Gentlemen out of Office are entitled to make all sorts of speeches. If there is one view which I more thoroughly abhor than another, it would be that view. Therefore, I wish to say that I adhere to what I have written and said on this matter. The hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) said he had quoted from *Hansard*. I have great respect for *Hansard*, but no man is to be bound by *Hansard* when he has no connection with reporting his own speech. The hon. Member said it was nonsense, but still it was my speech. What I say is this—unless I am very much mistaken my contention was that the Afghan War was an iniquitous and guilty war, and I wish I could in any degree efface the language I used in disapprobation of that war; but I cannot do it. It was monstrous to charge that upon India. That is a contention which I still maintain, and the whole question is whether this is a right and justifiable proceeding. The second question is whether it is one in which India has a substantial interest. If India has a substantial interest, then, as has been explained by my right hon. Friend, we make a proposal which, if effected, comes to this—that India shall pay one-fifth of the charge, so far as we can estimate that charge, subject to what we may hear from India. We hold ourselves perfectly free to alter our view; but we do not wish the House to commit itself to the extent to which we hold ourselves committed. All our anxiety is to obtain from the House that which will give to our position and action full legality. We are compelled to proceed upon what we believe to be the law, and to defray the charges under the sanction of Parliament; but without committing Parliament to the ultimate charges to be met. With respect to the most fanciful connection established by the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton), between the Egyptian Correspondence and the Commercial Treaty with France, there is an old story of a connection between Goodwin Sands and Tenterden Steeple. People did say there was a connection, though remote, between the Sands and Tenterden Steeple, because the monks were so busy building the steeple that they forgot to fence in the Goodwin Sands. The two things are totally distinct. In the Egyptian Correspondence there are complications and difficulties, but in the Commercial Treaty we had nothing to do but to take our stand upon principles and abide by them. While the Egyptian Question is one of the most involved we ever had to deal with, the Treaty Question is one of the most simple. I have been glad to repeat these admissions, as they are called, but they are not admissions; and what we would desire to put forward is that, in view of our future action, Parliament shall give us legal powers and place beyond all doubt the perfect legality of our proceedings.

Mr. ONSLOW said, he had not used a word as to the legality of the position of the Government. He had agreed to the employment of troops, and he would accept the proposed Amendment. He was perfectly prepared to withdraw his Amendment, on the condition that the Resolution adopted by the Government did not pledge the Indian Government ultimately to spend one halfpenny towards the expenses of the war. The Amendment proposed by the Secretary of State for War would not pledge the House to call upon the Indian Government to pay an iota of the expenses of this expedition; and, therefore, he should be happy to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, after the word "shall," to insert the words "subject to any future decision of Parliament."—(*Mr. Secretary Childers.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Main Question, as amended, put.

The House *divided:* — Ayes 140; Noes 23: Majority 117.—(Div. List, No. 303.)

Resolved, That, Her Majesty having directed a Military Expedition of Her Forces charged upon the Revenues of India to be despatched for service in Egypt, this House consents that the Revenues of India shall, subject to any future decision of Parliament, be applied to defray the expenses of the Military operations which may be carried on by such Forces beyond the external frontiers of Her Majesty's Indian Possessions.

SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

LAW AND POLICE—THE LATE MYSTERIOUS DISAPPEARANCES AT WEST HAM.—RESOLUTION.

Colonel MAKINS said, he would not detain the House many minutes; but the Motion to which he desired to call attention had been so long on the Paper that he proposed to take this opportunity of calling attention to it. The question was one of a local character; but it had caused a great deal of feeling in the part of the country which he represented. Rather more than a year ago, a young girl named Eliza Carter disappeared from West Ham under somewhat extraordinary circumstances. She was a child of 15 years of age, and she left home for the purpose of visiting a sister, and never returned. He wished to give every credit to the police authorities for the exertions they had made to discover the child, although, hitherto, those exertions had been entirely without success. A reward at first of £5, and then of £25, was offered, and since then it had been raised to £50; but all to no purpose. This was, of course, a very alarming occurrence in the East of London; but within a year a second disappearance of a similar kind had occurred. Another child about the same age had disappeared in the same mysterious manner. Every possible effort had been made to discover the whereabouts of these children—their bodies had never been found—nothing had ever been seen or heard of them by those conducting the inquiries. These two occurrences had caused a wide-spread feeling of alarm in West Ham and the Eastern part of London; and that alarm had been heightened, for not only had these disappearances taken place, but also a considerable amount of insecurity had existed for a long time amongst the young people of the neighbourhood, especially amongst the young females of that part of London. There was a large open space at West Ham purchased by the City, and kept as a park for the recreation of the inhabitants, and it was near this open space that these occurrences had taken place. He thought that probably the main cause of this state of things was the inefficiency of the police—he did not mean the inefficiency of the police who were on duty in that part of London, but their inefficiency so far as regarded numbers. They were not sufficient in number for the protection of the largely increased and increasing population. The population of West Ham in 1871 was 63,000, and the police force was 99. In 1881, the population had increased to 127,000, but the police force had only increased to 162. He did not wish to trouble the House at that time of night by going into particulars of many of the occurrences which had caused the alarm to which he had referred; but he believed the Home Secretary was fully aware that there had been a considerable amount of almost consternation caused by the insecurity of the streets in and about that part of the Metropolis. He (Colonel Makins) wished to tender to the right hon. and learned Gentleman the thanks of the inhabitants for the way in which the police had endeavoured to assist those who had unfortunately suffered from this insecurity; and, no doubt, it was only necessary for attention to be called to the fact in order to have the matter still further looked into. He would simply, therefore, take this opportunity of moving the Resolution of which he had given Notice, for the purpose of enabling the right hon. and learned Gentleman to deal with the matter. The Resolution was—

> "That, as the population of West Ham and the adjacent parishes has been and is rapidly increasing, it is desirable that the police force should also be increased, so as to maintain its relative proportion to the population."

He had letters from people of West Ham detailing assaults, alarms to servants—young girls and others—but, as he had said, at that late hour he would not trouble the House by going into them. He would leave the matter, with confidence, in the hands of the Home Secretary; and he would only say that the reason he had so long delayed bringing the question forward was, because, on the one or two occasions on which he had had the opportunity, the right hon. and learned Gentleman had not been present, and he (Colonel Makins) had not thought it right or desirable to trouble the House with the subject in the absence of that Member of the Government.

Amendment proposed,

> To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "as the population of West Ham and the adjacent parishes has been and is rapidly increasing, it is desirable that the police force should also be increased, so as to maintain its relative proportion to the population,"—(*Colonel Makins,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I am much obliged to the hon. and gallant Member for having called attention to this subject; but these questions on Supply are very uncertain, and frequently come on without our being prepared for them. I have a box containing documents and references in regard to this subject; but as I was not aware that the question was likely to come on to-night, I did not take the precaution to provide myself with it. However, these matters are not controversial, and it is not necessary that I should enter into minute details upon them. Of course, in dealing with such a vast population as that of London, we experience an immense difficulty in apportioning the police—unless we were to increase the numbers to an extent that would be burdensome to the population, we should experience great difficulty in apportioning the police exactly to meet the requirements of all districts. There are some districts that require a larger proportion of police than anyone would, at first sight, calculate that the Metropolis needs. There are parts that are comparatively thinly populated in the outskirts of the police district, and these require a larger number of police than do the other parts of the town. All these things are matters of great difficulty. As the hon. and gallant Member will easily understand, the character of the population has a great deal to do with the question. Some districts are more disturbed than others, and a district may be more disturbed at one time than at another, consequently there will always be places and times in which the number of police will appear inadequate; and it is almost impossible always to reach the exact proportion in order to meet the wants of a district. The circumstances to which the hon. and gallant Member has referred are matters well deserving of attention, and I have already called the attention of the police to them. The hon. and gallant Member may rest assured that his Motion will not be without fruit; therefore, I hope he will not think it necessary to go on with it further. I can promise him that it shall receive the careful attention of the Government.

COLONEL MAKINS said, he was satisfied with the answer of the right hon. and learned Gentleman, and would ask leave to withdraw the Motion.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) £353,450, to complete the sum for Stationery and Printing.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND said, there had been some Resolutions passed by the Public Accounts Committee this Session, at the instigation of the head of the Stationery Department, which he hoped would be productive of a very beneficial effect. There were also points on which Resolutions had been proposed; but it had been considered advisable to leave the Department to further consider these matters. The main question had been whether it would not be possible very largely to lessen the supply of Blue Books and other Papers.

MR. COURTNEY was understood to say that the matter was under the consideration of the Government.

MR. R. N. FOWLER said, he thought it might be inconvenient to lessen the supply of Blue Books and Papers to hon. Members. Some hon. Members took an interest in one subject and not in another, and probably all the Blue Books were interesting to one section or another of Members of the House, and he should be sorry to hear that their circulation was to be stopped.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND said, he thought great expense would be saved if the Blue Books in print were named in a schedule, so that hon. Members could ask for those they wanted.

Vote *agreed to.*

(2.) £15,187, to complete the sum for the Woods, Forests, &c. Office.

(3.) £30,480, to complete the sum for the Works and Public Buildings Office.

(4.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That a sum, not exceeding £13,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for Her Majesty's Foreign and other Secret Services."

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, it was a time-honoured custom for Irish Members to oppose this Vote, and he did not think they should depart from the custom on the present occasion. He was afraid a good deal of Secret Service money had found its way to Ireland during the past six or 12 months. He did not suppose the Secretary to the Treasury — the only Representative of the Government on the Front Ministerial Bench—was responsible for the manner in which this money was employed, or was aware that the Government were, at the present moment, employing a man who was known to be an assassin for the purpose of prosecuting men and getting them sent to penal servitude, for if the hon. Member was acquainted with this circumstance he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) thought that even he would hesitate to countenance the voting of this money. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) knew perfectly well, from what had happened on other occasions, that no information would be vouchsafed the Committee as to the precise manner in which this Secret Service money was expended; but he thought the Irish Members had a right to know how much was spent in Ireland, and whether any of it was used for the purpose of suborning perjury. How, he should like to know, could the Secretary to the Treasury or any honourable man take part in voting this money when the questionable purposes to which it was put were so well known? He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) did not say that Secret Service money was not a necessary adjunct to Government. Some of it, he supposed, was required in Egypt to produce evidence to enable the Government to make out that a foreign invader like England was more pleasing to the Egyptian people than a chief of their own country; but what he and his Friends did object to was that part of this money should be spent in Ireland for the demoralization of the people. If the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury could assure him that none of the Secret Service money was spent in Ireland, his opposition would cease. He invited the hon. Member to make some declaration on that point—to say whether or not, since he had been in Office, large sums of this Secret Service money had been spent in Ireland, as it had been in the time of his (Mr. Courtney's) Predecessors. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) begged to move the reduction of the Vote by £5,000, which, to hazard a conjecture, he should say was about the sum which had been spent within the past year in Secret Service money in Ireland.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £8,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for Her Majesty's Foreign and other Secret Services.—(*Mr T. P. O'Connor.*)

MR. SEXTON said, he wished, in a few words, to support the Motion made by the hon. Member for the City of Galway. The hon. Member had necessarily been under a difficulty in moving the reduction of this Vote, for the reason that no such information was afforded the Committee as would enable the hon. Member to gauge the amount by an accurate knowledge of the facts. If the Committee had been placed in a position to know for what purpose the money had been spent in Ireland, they would have been able to form some idea as to how much of the amount of the Vote had been spent legitimately, and how much had been spent for purposes of demoralization; and they would have been able to say with greater certainty by how much the Vote should be reduced. There was no Vote ever presented in such a vague, shadowy, and unsatisfactory form as this. They were told it was for Secret Service, and though they were informed that it was required for "Her Majesty's Foreign and other Secret Services," the Government did not give them such information as enabled them to see how much was given for Foreign Secret Service, and how much was given for Secret Service at home. There were circumstances connected with politics in Ireland which rendered it desirable that they should understand this Vote a little, and which increased the obligation on the part of the Irish Members to make inquiries into the subject, with a view of ascertaining, as far as possible, how the money was spent. When the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) was Chief Secretary for Ireland a Circular was sent round to the Constabulary, offering money rewards for information of sums ranging from £10 to £100. It had been said that this had led to a system of spying, and to taking people into public-houses and making them drunk for the sake of getting information from them. He was not aware of any valuable results to the Public Service which had sprung from these vile and discreditable practices; but he knew that, in two instances at least, shameful perjury had been caused. He should like to know how the Government defended this system, and he should like the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury to tell them whether or not, in his opinion, such expenditure of public money had been attended with useful or beneficial results? He (Mr. Sexton) was inclined to think that such had not been the case—that it had resulted in demoralization of the individual character, but not in any useful consequences to the Public Service. It was a serious thing for the Government of a country like England to embark in an expenditure of public money which induced the baser characters in a political conflict to depart from the ordinary sources and fields of information, and to debauch people and make them drunk in order to obtain information. Such expenditure, even if it did nothing more than demoralize individuals, must be put a stop to. He (Mr. Sexton) would ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether any of this money now to be voted was used for shameful purposes of that kind? They had heard of the departure of Colonel Brackenbury from Dublin, and had heard that it was because, when he had been appointed to his office, he had used the public money for purposes of which the Lord Lieutenant did not approve—in the employment of Belgian and French detectives, for instance, in the use of lady spies, and in the adoption of all the features of the Continental police system. It was a source of gratification to him (Mr. Sexton) to see that Lord Spencer had declined to agree to such a scheme, and that Colonel Brackenbury had found himself under the necessity of precipitately abandoning his post. It would be useful if the Secretary to the Treasury would inform them what were the arrangements Colonel Brackenbury proposed, and whether, under the present system of Secret Service in Ireland, any such arrangements were adopted? Such things had been held to be abhorrent to British opinion and sentiment. The question at the present moment was one of special and significant importance in face of the rumours they had heard of late; therefore, he thought the hon. Member for Galway had raised a timely opposition to the Vote.

MR. ANDERSON said, he had always been opposed to this Secret Service Vote, holding that it was one with which no Liberal Government should have anything to do; but here they were asked to vote for an arbitrary reduction of the Vote by £5,000, which sum hon. Members thought might probably be spent in Ireland. Hon. Members, without attacking the principle of Secret Service, simply wished to offer opposition to that which they considered about the amount expended on Secret Service in Ireland. It did not appear to him (Mr. Anderson) that that was at all the proper thing to do; therefore, he was obliged to decline to follow those hon. Members in their opposition. If they had adopted the other course, and had gone against Secret Service altogether, he should have supported them.

Mr. COURTNEY said, he was sorry to say he was not in a position to give any very satisfactory answer to hon. Members on the subject of this Vote. As had been before stated, when questions of this kind had arisen, this sum for Secret Service was distributed amongst the heads of Departments, who gave no vouchers for the amounts they received, the money being left to be spent at their discretion. It was perfectly impossible for him to say how any amount given to the head of a Department had been expended by that Gentleman; and as to what had been said about Earl Spencer and Colonel Brackenbury, the fact was, as had been stated by the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, Colonel Brackenbury had left his post for a personal reason having no connection whatever with the Public Service. That, he (Mr. Courtney) thought, was a sufficient answer to the scandal the hon. Member had referred to.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he hardly thought the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Courtney) could be right when he said that no vouchers were rendered by the Secretary of State as to the manner in which they expended the moneys received under this Vote. As a matter of fact, last year there was an item of £110 first of all granted under this head, and then returned to the Exchequer. This sum came before the notice of the Controller and Auditor General, and was certified by him as having been refunded; therefore, there must have been a voucher as to the expenditure of the money. He agreed with the course taken by his hon. Friend (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) in moving the reduction of the Vote by £5,000. The adoption of this Motion would not prevent the Government from making use of this iniquitous fund in Ireland, because it was well known that the sum voted was more than was needed, and was not always expended. Besides the £23,000 voted in the Estimates, there was a fixed sum of £10,000, which the Government obtained for Secret Service from the Consolidated Fund. That sum they always used; but the amount claimed from the Estimates was not always expended, and in the year 1881 there was a balance of between £7,000 and £8,000 left, which was returned to the Exchequer. Unless the plan of proceeding of the Government was getting worse from year to year, it was reasonable to suppose that there was a sum of at least £7,000 by which this Vote might be reduced, without in the least curtailing the power of the Government to manufacture witnesses, or do anything else they wished to turn their resources to. There was one point connected with the fund upon which he would ask the Secretary to the Treasury to give him some information; and he was sorry the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld) was not in his place to put the question instead of him. The right hon. Member concerned himself with the question of public morality in a very remarkable manner, and that not only in regard to the people of this country, but in regard to people living in such a place as Hong Kong. A charge had been made—supported, he (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) believed, by official Correspondence which no one seemed to be entitled to make public—that some of this Secret Service money was used for most infamous purposes in Hong Kong—for purposes that had seriously to do with the question of morality. He would like to ask the Secretary to the Treasury to give the Committee an assurance that no money from this fund was being employed in the dissemination of immorality in Hong Kong, and also whether he could give an official disclaimer that the Secret Service money was then being employed in Ireland by the police for the manufacture of evidence. At a trial which had taken place recently in Ireland, a person, whose evidence was not shaken in cross-examination, testified that a constable named Dalton told him that a constable was authorized to offer £1,000 for evidence to convict persons falsely accused. He hoped the hon. Gentleman would give a denial to the statement that the police were authorized to offer Secret Service money to Crown witnesses in Ireland.

MR. COURTNEY said, although he rose to reply, as far as he could, to the questions of the hon. Member who had just sat down, he was really in a position to add little, or nothing, to the answer he had given to the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton). He had already explained that he had no control over, or any knowledge of, the way in which the Secret Service money was disbursed by the heads of the various Departments of State. From his knowledge, however, of the Departmental accounts, he was perfectly confident that no such sum as that of £1,000 had been paid by any Department for the purpose indicated by the hon. Member. The manner in which the Secret Service money was disbursed was known to the responsible officer at the head of each Department alone, and at the end of the year that officer made a declaration, which was sent to the Office of the Controller and Auditor General, in this form—

> "I hereby certify that the actual amount expended by myself or under my direction in the year ending on the 31st day of March, —, was £—."

The hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) had also referred to supposed transactions with the Secret Service money in Hong Kong. With regard to that, he believed the hon. Member was under a misapprehension, because it had been proved that the money spent in Hong Kong had reference to the Revenue only, and could not have been applied to purposes which he need not further particularize.

MR. SEXTON wished to draw attention to the case of the two brothers Flanagan, tried for firing into a dwelling-house. The chief witness against them was a young farm servant named Malony, 17 years of age, who swore that he saw them firing into the house. The Judge who presided at the trial told the jury that the case rested on the evidence of Malony alone; but the jury found the prisoners guilty. One of them was released; but, upon the evidence of this wretch Malony, the other was still suffering penal servitude. He asked whether it was by the use of the Secret Service money that the Government had been able to get the evidence of this man, and whether it was also out of that fund that he had been maintained in England, and finally sent to America?

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, as he had always a desire to meet the wishes of hon. Members, he would, after having brought the objectionable nature of the Vote before the Committee, ask permission to withdraw his Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 77; Noes 12: Majority 65.—(Div. List, No. 304.)

(5.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That a sum, not exceeding £4,171, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of the Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in Exchequer, Scotland, of certain Officers in Scotland, and other Charges formerly on the Hereditary Revenue."

MR. BIGGAR said, that this Vote had been the subject of much discussion in former years, on account of the objectionable character of some of the items included in it. In the first place, it was most objectionable that the large sum of £500 a-year should be paid as salary to the Lyon King-of-Arms. This money was really thrown away, for it was perfectly well known that the office was a sinecure, and that whatever was done in connection with it was of no public utility. He hoped, therefore, the Government would give an assurance that when the present occupant of the office died, they would not fill up the vacancy. Then there was the items of Queen's Plates, which included the plate to be run for at Edinburgh, the plate for the Caledonian Hunt, and the plate for the Royal Company of Archers as the Queen's Body Guard. Now, the money asked for under this head was practically for no other purpose than the encouragement of gambling, and he had always objected to this portion of the Vote, because he entertained the belief that the encouragement of gambling by any Government was in itself thoroughly immoral. They were quite aware of the general argument put forward in support of this practice of offering plates to be run for in different parts of the country—

namely, that it tended to improve the breed of horses; but it was notorious that its tendency was rather in the direction of injuring the breed of horses than improving it. He was so satisfied in his own mind that the practice of horse-racing ought not to receive encouragement from the Legislature, for the reasons he had given, that if no Member of the Committee moved the reduction of the Vote by the amount of the item in question, he should do so himself, and should, in that case, certainly divide the Committee unless some satisfactory statement were made by the hon. Gentleman in charge of the Estimates.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that an assurance was given in Committee on the Estimates last year, by the noble Lord the then Financial Secretary to the Treasury, that the office of Historiographer to Her Majesty in Scotland, which was charged for in this Vote, should not be filled up after the next vacancy occurred. The gentleman who held the post having since died, according to the engagement he had referred to, the charge of £184 ought not again to have made its appearance in the Estimates; and he therefore begged to move the reduction of the Vote by that amount.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £3,987, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of the Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in Exchequer, Scotland, of certain Officers in Scotland, and other Charges formerly on the Hereditary Revenue."—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor.*)

Mr. COURTNEY said, he had personally no knowledge of any statement made by the late Financial Secretary to the Treasury with regard to the office of Historiographer of the kind referred to by the hon. Member for Queen's County. He was bound to say that the office had not been abolished; on the contrary, the vacancy caused by the death of the late Historiographer had been filled up, and hence the charge for the salary in the Estimate.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY said, the promise was certainly made last year that when the office of Historiographer became vacant it should not be again filled up. It was not to the amount of salary, but to the absurdity of the office that he objected. It really ought not to continue in existence. It was upon these grounds that he opposed the Vote last year, and opposed it now.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he did not, as a rule, take any part in the discussion upon Scotch Business. He thought that those who claimed Home Rule for Ireland might very well concede the principle to Scotland of managing their own affairs. However, the application of public money under this Vote called for some remarks on the part of his hon. Friends and himself. He regarded it as a disgraceful thing that such an office as that of Secretary to the Bible Board should be allowed to exist any longer. The Lord Advocate, he remembered, had last year given the Committee to understand that the office would, after this year, be abolished. Notwithstanding that, the charge appeared in the Estimates.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question again proposed.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he rose again with reference to the question of the Secretary to the Bible Board. He had no wish whatever to misrepresent the statement made last year in Committee by the Lord Advocate; but after paying close attention to the discussion which then took place, the impression left upon his mind was that this was to be the last year the office would be held. He was, therefore, somewhat surprised to find that it was not intended to abolish the office, but simply, as was expressed in the Estimate, to revise the salary on the next vacancy. He was at a loss to understand why the Government did not commute the salary, and, by the payment of a certain sum, get rid of the Secretary and the office altogether. As he understood the statement made last year, the duties of the Secretary consisted in correcting proofs. It appeared that a certain number of Bibles were produced from stereotype plates, and that some slight errors were occasionally met with—a circumstance that raised some serious reflections with regard to Scotch Orthodoxy. However, he now asked whether it was right that the office, with the large salary attaching to it, ought to be continued, seeing that the holder of it could probably be got rid of by the payment of five or six years' salary?

MR. COURTNEY said, that since the Estimate was presented to which the hon. Member for Galway had just called attention, inquiries had been made as to whether the office of Secretary to the Bible Board could be abolished. The result of those inquiries was that the office would be abolished.

MR. DILLWYN said, he was glad to hear that Her Majesty's Government were going to do something in the direction of economy. He trusted they would carry their intention a little further, and abolish also the office of Lyon King-at-Arms.

MR. BIGGAR said, he should not trouble the Committee by repeating the arguments against the Vote for Queen's Plates; but he felt it his duty to discourage the system of subsidizing gambling, and should, therefore, move that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £218 for Queen's Plates. In making this Motion, he trusted he should receive the support of some of his Scotch Friends, even if his Colleagues were not disposed to vote with him.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £3,953, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of the Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in Exchequer, Scotland, of certain Officers in Scotland, and other Charges formerly on the Hereditary Revenue."—(*Mr. Biggar.*)

MR. SEXTON said, that the amount given for Queen's Plates was really very small. There were a number of Scotch Members present, and if they saw no objection to the Vote he should not feel justified, even from the point of view of the severe moralist, in supporting the Motion of his hon. Friend.

MR. ANDERSON said, it had been acknowledged that this mode of spending money was not a good one, and that so far from improving the breed of horses, it had a contrary effect. The late Government had, moreover, said that they would endeavour to find out some other way of spending the money which would really tend to improve the breed of horses. But nothing had been done up to the present time, and the objectionable system which encouraged a low class of country platers was allowed to continue. He hoped the present Government would change this iniquitous system, and get rid of the Queen's Plates.

MR. R. N. FOWLER said, it was not often that he found himself in accord with the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar); but if he went to a division he should vote with him on the present question.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE said, that the first speech he had had the honour of making in that House was in defence of the Vote for the Queen's Plate for the Archers of the Queen's Body Guard. He explained on that occasion that this money was for a prize given to the Royal Body Guard, which had existed in Scotland for four centuries; that the Guard in question turned out on all State occasions, and that they did, in fact, good service to the country under circumstances sometimes of considerable hardship. He thought it would be a great mistake to take away the only token given by the country to this old historical association; and, therefore, he trusted the hon. Member for Cavan would withdraw his opposition to this portion of the Vote, which he begged to assure him had not the slightest connection with gambling.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, he had been for many years Chairman of the Royal Veterinary College—an institution which had never cost the Exchequer sixpence—and he was unacquainted with any better means in England of encouraging the breed of horses of power and endurance than that of offering Queen's Plates. He should, therefore, continue to vote for them until some better means of promoting the breed of horses could be found.

MR. COURTNEY said, that in 1870 the majority of Scotch Members induced the Government to strike out the portion of the Vote which related to the Queen's Plates, and accordingly in the Estimates of 1871-2 the charge was not included. But in the next year, 1871, the Government were asked by the Scotch Members to continue the Vote, which since 1871-2 had been included in the Estimates as before.

MR. BIGGAR said, in view of the fact that the hon. Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie) was strongly in favour of retaining the Queen's Plate as a national token to the ancient Company of Archers of the Queen's Body Guard, he was willing to withdraw the present

Motion with the intention of moving the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £198, which represented the charge for Queen's Plates at Edinburgh, and for the Caledonian Hunt. This proposal would not interfere with the item of £20 for a Queen's Plate for the Royal Company of Archers.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

Motion made, and Question put,

"That a sum, not exceeding £3,973, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of the Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in Exchequer, Scotland, of certain Officers in Scotland, and other Charges formerly on the Hereditary Revenue."—(*Mr. Biggar.*)

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 25; Noes 54: Majority 29.—(Div. List, No. 305.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(6.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £9,807, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Fishery Board in Scotland and for Grants in Aid of Piers and Quays."

COLONEL ALEXANDER said, he wished to draw attention to the subject of beam-trawling. He did not believe in that mode of fishing; many other people were very much opposed to it, and even the President of the Board of Trade had expressed a strong opinion against it. There had been extensive cod fishery within three miles of the Scotch shores, but that had been destroyed by this beam-trawling. A few years ago a Commission, consisting of Mr. Walpole and Mr. Buckland, was appointed to consider this matter, and they reported that a strong case had been made out against beam-trawling, and that they thought the Legislature should give power to the Board of Trade to offer protection against it. He brought this question before the Committee last year, when the late Lord Frederick Cavendish expressed his regret that there was no Scotch Member present; and what he would now ask was, whether the hon. and learned Gentleman (the Lord Advocate) had been able to consider this question, and whether the fishermen might expect any relief? His constituents felt very strongly upon this point, as they saw their fishing utterly destroyed.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he wished to follow the example of his hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Alexander), who, a few days ago, on an English Vote, procured an advance for Scotch interests of £10,000. This present Vote related to Scotland; but he wished to secure for Ireland what had been half promised—namely, cutter and boat services for Ireland similar to that provided for Scotland. Year after year the Inspectors of Irish Fisheries had reported that the fisheries suffered very much from the want of guard which cutters would afford; and the late Financial Secretary promised last year that if, on inquiry, he found their representations were well-founded, he would endeavour to obtain from the Admiralty the same cutter services for Ireland as were already provided for Scotland. Since that time the Inspectors had repeated their representations that there was a necessity for this service.

MR. ANDERSON said, he should support the views of his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Ayrshire (Colonel Alexander). There was no doubt that a great amount of injury was done by beam-trawling, and there ought to be some protection given to Scotch fishermen.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, it was known that trawling was an evil, and in 1878 there were representations to that effect, giving the different opinions expressed by persons of technical skill and knowledge; but at present no final determination had been arrived at. He did not remember the discussion of last year.

MR. WARTON said, he hoped that attention would be given in respect to the request for protection to the Irish Fisheries. If it was useful to Scotland to have cutters, it was the duty of the Government to yield to the request for cutters for Ireland. A pledge was given last year by the late Financial Secretary; but it sometimes happened that Members of the Government were succeeded by Gentlemen who did not enter so liberally into their views, and he did not think the present Financial Secretary was as generous as his Predecessor, who, he believed, would to-night have supported the pledge he gave last year.

COLONEL ALEXANDER said, with reference to the observations of the Lord Advocate, that he did not remember what took place last year, he found by *Hansard* that Lord Frederick Cavendish said it was unfortunate that the Lord Advocate was not present, and he could only say that the facts would be brought before the Lord Advocate. Therefore, he (Colonel Alexander) hoped the Lord Advocate would make some inquiry into this matter and see whether the Report of the Commissioners did not make out a strong *primâ facie* case against beam-trawling.

MR. RAMSAY said, several Commissions had reported that beam-trawling was the proper method to be adopted. There were certain districts—Ballantrae, for instance—in which strong complaints had been made of the adoption of beam-trawling as injurious to fishing; but what he wished to say at this time was that the vessels now referred to were employed chiefly as the police of the sea.

COLONEL ALEXANDER said, that as the hon. and learned Gentleman declined to give him any satisfaction, he must propose to reduce the Vote by £5,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £4,807, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Fishery Board in Scotland and for Grants in Aid of Piers and Quays."—(*Colonel Alexander.*)

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, this subject had been under the consideration of the Board of Trade at various times. The matter was one of great interest and importance, and he confessed that there was some inconvenience in raising it upon a Vote of this kind. It would have been better raised by a separate Motion upon which the whole matter might be examined by the House. Although Ballantrae was specially dealt with by the Commission, yet the facts which were brought out in regard to Ballantrae were alleged in regard to a great number of other fishery grounds, and it would be a mistake to come to the conclusion that Ballantrae only was affected. The question was, whether the House should interfere with a great fishing which affected the food of the people in favour of another method of fishing which was also legitimate, but not so successful as the beam-trawling? He thought the House could only do so if it was of opinion that the beam-trawling unnecessarily interfered with other methods. Whether that was the case or not was the matter in dispute; and although the Commission reported that a case for further consideration had been made out, yet a very exhaustive inquiry was held some years previously by a Committee, of which Professor Huxley and the present Chairman of Committees were Members, and that Committee decided that it was not proved that beam-trawling was the cause of the failure of fishing in Ballantrae or anywhere else, but that failure was due to other causes. There the difficulty lay; and, however much might be said on either side, he hoped the hon. Member would be satisfied that the matter should have the careful consideration of the Government.

COLONEL ALEXANDER said, after the assurance of the right hon. Gentleman he would withdraw his Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR desired to enforce what had been said by the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton). The question he referred to was raised last year, and Lord Frederick Cavendish stated that if, on examination, it appeared that the representations were well-founded, he should be glad to do everything in his power to promote legislation on the subject. That promise was made in August last year; but nothing had been done, and it was not apparent that the matter had been brought under the attention of the Secretary to the Treasury.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

(7.) £3,994, to complete the sum for the Lunacy Commission, Scotland.

(8.) £4,737, to complete the sum for the Registrar General's Office, Scotland.

MR. BUCHANAN asked the Secretary to the Treasury for an explanation as to the delay in issuing the Census of Scotland?

MR. COURTNEY was unable to explain the delay.

MR. RAMSAY said, he thought it very unsatisfactory that no information could be obtained with regard to the Census of Scotland. He thought the hon. Gentleman ought to have made inquiry long ago, and that some Member of the Government should have been able to say when the information might reasonably be looked for.

Vote *agreed to.*

(9.) £23,621, to complete the sum for the Board of Supervision for Relief of the Poor, and for Public Health, Scotland.

Colonel ALEXANDER wished to know whether it was to be understood that a Supplementary Vote of £10,000 for medical relief in Scotland would be proposed?

Mr. COURTNEY said, this Vote included that amount.

Mr. T. C. BARING said, they were told the other evening that this amount was promised, and that the English Vote had gradually increased, whilst the Scotch Vote had not. It seemed to him that 100 per cent was a large amount to put on the English and Irish taxpayers without more full reasons. If the increase had only been £1,000 or £2,000 he should not have minded so much; but the sum had absolutely jumped from £10,000 to £28,000, and was, consequently, a most serious matter. He had heard the matter discussed before in this House, but had never dreamed that the Scotch Members expected to get 100 per cent addition.

Mr. RAMSAY said, the hon. Member evidently had not attended to what had been said in the course of the discussion, or he would have heard a full explanation. Scotland had for a long time been very much aggravated at not receiving a larger proportion of the total amount granted for medical relief. Whilst Scotland had only had the small sum stated, England had received £200,000.

Colonel ALEXANDER said, he would supplement what had fallen from the hon. Member by saying that the amount voted to Scotland was fixed 40 years ago; and whilst no addition had ever been made, the amount voted in the case of England had been from time to time increased until it reached the present enormous sum.

Vote *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Resolutions [28th July] *reported.*

Resolutions 1 to 7, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Resolution 8 read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

Mr. DILLWYN said, he was not in the House when this Vote came on in Committee, otherwise he should have opposed it. He was always ready to object to it on principle, as having reference to one of the offices which had really become obsolete. There were no real duties attaching to the office; and he thought that if they wanted an extra or a special Minister they should have one, giving him a proper name instead of that which was a mere cloak for a sinecure office. The public ought to know that there were duties to be performed, and they ought to have some indication as to what those duties were. As he (Mr. Dillwyn) was in the House, he felt it his duty to express his objection to the Vote, his hostility to it remaining undiminished. It was well understood why he objected to the Vote. It was not because he in the slightest degree objected to the person who held the office, but because there were no duties to be performed in it. He begged to move the rejection of the Vote.

Mr. T. C. BARING said, he had nothing to say personally against the worthy Nobleman who now occupied the office of Lord Privy Seal. He was Lord Lieutenant of the county with which he (Mr. Baring) was connected, and performed his duties well; but he (Mr. Baring) had always opposed the Vote—in a former Parliament as well as in this. They were very much in want of another Cabinet Minister. The House had already passed a Vote recommending that there should be a Minister of Commerce and Agriculture, and if they did not desire to increase the number of Cabinet Ministers, they could easily do what was wanted by abolishing the office of Lord Privy Seal. There was hardly a Member of the Cabinet who was not at this moment double-shotted—everybody seemed to be doing somebody else's work besides his own—and if, in the present condition of affairs at home and abroad, they found no difficulty in getting on with so few Cabinet Ministers, it was a proof that they could do without the office of Lord Privy Seal for the future.

Colonel **ALEXANDER** said, he would support the proposal of the hon. Member (Mr. Dillwyn), not so much because he objected to the office of Lord Privy Seal as because he thought that there should be a Minister for Scotland. Scotch Affairs were singularly neglected in that House. They found when they were discussing Scotch Fishery Boards that the English Ministers in the House knew nothing at all about them. He (Colonel Alexander) was, therefore, in favour of doing away with the sinecure office of Lord Privy Seal.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 43; Noes 19: Majority 24.—(Div. List, No. 306.)

Resolutions 9 to 15, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Resolution 16 read a second time.

Mr. **BIGGAR** said, he begged to call the attention of the President of the Local Government Board to an exceedingly important question—namely, the adulteration of butter. There was a discussion on the subject of adulteration the other night, and it was decided that in cases where coffee was mixed with other ingredients the fact of the mixture should be stated on the labels outside the packages. They knew that publicans had been prosecuted for selling gin containing more than a certain portion of water—that was to say, gin below a certain proof strength—and he did not see why the Local Government Board should not take care that the consumers of that which purported to be butter were protected in the same way as the consumers of coffee. The adulteration of butter cost the public an enormous deal more than the adulteration of coffee, and did a great deal of injury to the producers. It was of the utmost importance to the agriculturists of the country that that which was not butter at all should be allowed to compete with butter. It had been urged that the difficulty was that in cases of adulteration the retailer or small dealer had no means of knowing what the substance he sold as butter was composed of, having no opportunity of testing its component parts. But that was no argument, because the retailer should get a guarantee from the wholesale man; and if the article turned out to be different to what it had been represented to be, the wholesale man could be proceeded against; and he, if the adulteration had not been of his doing, would be able to fall back on the person who supplied the article in the first instance. It would be the easiest thing in the world for the retailer to protect himself. At the same time, the consumer had no protection, as he was obliged to go to the public analyst before he could get any redress. The persons who bought the articles were not likely to have competent examiners, and to know what it was as well as those persons who were continually dealing in it, and knew its nature and quality. He would ask the Government to try to protect the consumer and the English people from foreign adulterations, for the great bulk of that stuff sold as butter in England was made in foreign countries, and foreigners got the benefit at the expense of the English consumers. He was very much disposed to move the reduction of the Vote, as he believed the officers of the Local Government Board did not do their duty in connection with this important question.

Mr. **DODSON** said, he had an explanation to give the hon. Member which he would, at all events, admit was conclusive, if not satisfactory; and it was that the Local Government Board had neither duties nor power in regard to this matter. The question was entirely under the general law of the Sale of Food and Drugs Act, and unless that law were altered, the Local Government Board had no power in the matter.

Resolution *agreed to.*

Subsequent Resolutions, 17 to 24, inclusive, *agreed to.*

MOTIONS.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY (PAY).

RESOLUTION.

Motion made, and Question put,

> "That this House will, this day, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of authorising the increase of pay of certain officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary Force, and of amending the Acts regulating the same."—(*Mr. Trevelyan.*)

Mr. **BIGGAR** drew attention to the fact that 40 Members were not present.

Mr. SPEAKER said, the Question having been put, the House could not be counted.

Queen's *Recommendation* signified.

The House *divided :* — Ayes 25; Noes none: Majority 25.—(Div. List, No. 307.)

MERCANTILE MARINE FUND (CHARGES) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Chamberlain, Bill to amend the Law with respect to the charges on and payments to the Mercantile Marine Fund, and to expenses of prosecutions for offences committed at sea, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. John Holms.

House adjourned at a quarter before Three o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 1st August, 1882.

MINUTES.] — Select Committee — *Second Report*—Land Law (Ireland).

Public Bills—*First Reading*—Municipal Corporations * (214).

Committee—Bills of Sale Act (1878) Amendment * (203); Local Government (Gas) Provisional Order * (144).

Report—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) * (162).

Report—Third Reading—Arrears of Rent (Ireland) (213), and *passed.*

Third Reading—Ancient Monuments * (197); Citation Amendment (Scotland) * (206), and *passed.*

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 213.)

(*The Lord Privy Seal.*)

REPORT.

Order of the Day for Report of Amendments; and Standing Order No. XXXV. to be considered in order to its being dispensed with, read.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH said, that as that would be the last opportunity their Lordships would have for protesting against the principle of this Bill, he wished to avail himself of it, and to state very shortly the grounds upon which he objected to it. The measure was put forward on all sides by supporters of the Government avowedly with the object of bringing about an entire cessation of evictions; but he denied that that would be the case, for many tenants would still be unable or unwilling to pay a year's rent, and they would be liable to eviction, and very properly so. On principle he entirely ignored the Bill, and would take no part in it, except to try and amend it. In his opinion, the Bill, in conjunction with the provisions of the previous Act of last year, would be utter and entire ruin to small landed proprietors of Ireland, on whose estates, he feared, there were heavier charges generally than on the properties of English landowners. This Bill would not restore peace and tranquillity to Ireland, neither would it prevent political agitation so long as, by the action of the Government, as in the present instance now indicated, there had been no less than two Land Bills, the result solely of political agitation. Therefore, their Lordships would have no guarantee whatever that political agitation would cease, even for 12 months, as shown by this very Bill; therefore, he felt it his duty to enter his protest against the principle of this Bill, which could only be rendered less mischievous by strictly adhering to the two Amendments proposed by this side of the House, carried by large majorities.

Report of Amendments *considered* accordingly.

Clause 1 (Settlement by Land Commission of arrears of rent).

Lord EMLY, in rising to propose the Amendment of which he had given Notice, said, the noble Lord opposite (Lord Ellenborough) had remarked that the small proprietors would be ruined by this Bill. He (Lord Emly) could not see that; on the contrary, it appeared to him that, instead of being ruined by the Bill, they would be the very people who would have two years' rent put into their pockets by it. He could not help thinking that noble Lords opposite could not, in common with himself, view the proceedings of last night with regard to the Bill without feeling some anxiety; and he was quite certain that his noble Friend the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who had so wisely, gallantly, and temperately exercised his powers with already so much success, and the Resident Magistrates, and others interested in the preservation of peace in that country, would look upon their Lordships' action with dismay. The second of the two important Amendments passed at the instance of the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) last night, did not touch the principle of the Bill, as it would give to every tenant a certain advantage, and he, therefore, would not venture to object to it; but as to the other Amendment, he was afraid he must speak of it in a different sense. It left it in the power of the landlords from caprice, vengeance, or appetite for land, or any other motive they pleased, to exclude the tenant, however deserving he might be, from the advantages of the Bill; and, therefore, he considered that the adoption of such a proposal must be looked upon with some alarm, for if it were persisted in without modification, it would be fatal to the Bill, and it would never become law. The effect of it would be to leave it in the hands of the landlords to say whether the Bill should be put in operation or not. What would be the consequence of that? There could be no doubt that evictions, especially in the West of Ireland, were going on already to an alarming extent, and these would be multiplied, if the Bill were rejected or destroyed. Had they considered that fact, and that there were multitudes of poor proprietors of land, many of them poor ladies in the deepest possible distress, who had been looking to this Bill as their only hope of salvation? These would lose all hope of saving themselves from absolute and utter ruin. No noble Lord on the Opposition side of the House could get up in his place and contradict these words. Well, was there no way out of the difficulty and of bringing the two sides of the House together on this matter? He would appeal to his noble Friend the Lord Privy Seal (Lord Carlingford), and the noble Marquess opposite, whether they could not find a way out of the difficulty in the interests of the persons he had just described, each yielding some of his own opinions in order to consent to some arrangement which would be satisfactory. The proposition he ventured to bring before their Lordships was this, to insert in Sub-section 1, line 15, the words "and provided that such dissent may be overruled by the Land Commissioners on reasonable cause shown." His aim was to give an appeal against the capricious veto of the landlord. He had no feeling in favour of the Land Commissioners, but would agree to the overruling of the dissent of the landlord by the County Court, or any other Court the noble Marquess might think competent for the purpose. It did not seem to him that it was a matter of much importance. What was of importance was, that it should not be in the power of any person arbitrarily, and without cause, to exclude a tenant from the operation of the Bill; and it appeared to him that the case, if fairly argued, was very clear. All he wished to satisfy their Lordships upon was, that there should be some power of appeal given in the matter; and the argument in favour of that view seemed to him to be absolutely conclusive. If their Lordships would cast their minds back to the time when the Land Act was before them, they would recollect there were two reasons which induced Parliament to accept that anomalous and extraordinary measure, which set aside many of their most firmly-rooted convictions, and that had it not been for those reasons, the measure would never have become law. There was, in the first place, a large cottier tenantry in Ireland living upon very small farms, and these persons were in a miserable and hopeless state under the system of land competition that prevailed. In point of fact, they were an illustration of the truth of the dictum of John Stuart Mill, that "where you have a poor tenantry cultivating the land not for the sake of profit, there you have a miserable state of things;" and, in the second place, there were, as proved by the evidence taken before the Bessborough and other Commissions and Committees, a large number, though happily only a small minority of the whole, of the landlords in Ireland who took advantage of the poverty and misery of those cottier tenants, and of their having no means of subsistence except the land, to screw them down to the payment of exorbitant rents, and confiscate their improvements. Well, what did the noble Marquess propose to do? These cottier tenants were in hundreds of thousands along the West Coast of Ireland, and it was notorious that the arrears hanging round their necks excluded not hundreds or thousands, but tens of thousands of them from the operation of the Land Act, which was passed especially in their interests. If the tenantry of Ireland had been generally paying £10 or

£50 a-year, Parliament never would have passed the Land Act; and, on the other hand, such an anomalous measure would not have been passed if there had not been in existence such a class of landlords as he had described. It was on account of the position of these two classes that the measure was passed. But let them observe what the noble Marquess proposed. He proposed to put in the hands of the second class he (Lord Emly) had described, the power of shutting the door that it was intended to open to the poor cottier tenant to enable him to go into the Land Court. The noble Marquess put these very people, whose misdeeds made it necessary to pass that extraordinary Land Bill, into the position of being able to exclude the poor tenantry of the West of Ireland from the benefits of the Land Bill. Was it wise, just, fair, or politic to do that? Was it politic to put that power into the hands of persons who were so certain to misuse it; and, without appeal, to allow them to be excluded by the action of the very persons from whom they were to be protected? He (Lord Emly) would much rather the Bill stood as it did before the Amendment was passed; but that could not be, therefore it appeared to him the best course to get rid of the difficulty would be to adopt such an Amendment as that he now proposed. There might be reasonable grounds of exclusion; but his Amendment left those untouched. It protected the tenants only from a capricious and unreasonable use of the power placed by the noble Marquess's Amendment in the hands of the landlord. He saw many objections to the Bill; he felt them as strongly as anyone, and nothing but an overwhelming necessity would have reconciled him to it. No one felt more keenly the terrible injustice, which must necessarily arise from its operation, of giving a boon to dishonest tenants, and placing them in a better position than the just tenantry. But that objection applied precisely as much to the Bill with the Amendment of the noble Marquess as without that Amendment. They talked of "confiscation," but noble Lords opposite should remember what their Predecessors did 45 years ago in regard to tithes. There were at that time a number of clergymen who were receiving their incomes irregularly, and not receiving a halfpenny of the arrears due to them. On account of the state to which the clergy were reduced, a Bill was passed which reduced the incomes 25 per cent, and it was considered necessary to do that for the sake of the public peace. If that was confiscation, that which was contained in the present Bill was only confiscation to the same extent, and all the arguments used by the noble Marquess last night would apply to the previous case. In conclusion, however, he would put it once more to the noble Marquess and his Followers whether they were really going to destroy a Bill which the Lord Lieutenant considered necessary for the maintenance of peace in Ireland, and which would save thousands of people from eviction and multitudes from the direst misery. Did the noble Marquess want to reject the Bill? Was he willing to let proceed the ejectments it would prevent? Was he ready to turn a deaf ear to the struggling landlords, who looked to it as their only escape from ruin? He hoped better things. He hoped the noble Marquess would sacrifice a Party triumph to the interests of the country, and that he would disappoint the expectations of those agitators who saw in his action the means of again convulsing Ireland. If the Bill were rejected, it would be an injury to Ireland which would be very difficult to repair. The people most anxious to see this Bill cast out were not the friends of Ireland, but the enemies of England and the Constitution. The noble Lord concluded by moving his Amendment.

Amendment *moved*,

In page 1, sub-section (1,) line 15, after ("agent,") insert ("and provided that such dissent may be overruled by the Land Commissioners on reasonable cause shown.")—(*The Lord Emly.*)

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) said, he looked upon the Amendment of his noble Friend (Lord Emly), so well intended as it undoubtedly was as an Amendment applying not so much to the Bill of the Government as to the Bill of the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) and, therefore, he did not feel called upon to go into it very deeply. He recognized the excellent intentions of his noble Friend, and he would not dogmatize as to the effect which such an Amendment might possibly have in mitigating the great evils which would be introduced by the Amendments of the noble Marquess if they were to become law. But he thought his noble Friend would see the Amendment was not without great and serious drawbacks. He would mention one, which was this—that they had to do in this matter with the very poorest class of tenants in Ireland, who would be those who would come under this provision, this right of appeal; and they might safely assume that it was this class of whom a certain section of landlords would be most ready to get rid. He confessed he looked with little hope upon a proposal which would confer upon such tenants the privilege of appealing to the Land Commission, with its necessary delay and expense. He did not wish to go further into the merits of his noble Friend's Amendment. He could only say it endeavoured, with the best possible intention —he would not say with how much possible success—to amend the Amendment of the noble Marquess, which, to the mind of the Government, it was impossible for them to contemplate as one that could become the law of the land.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, if the noble Lord opposite (the Lord Privy Seal) was unwilling to consider this as an Amendment to the Bill, and, therefore, did not wish to go very far into it, I also do not care to go very far into this Amendment, which coming, though it does, from a private Member of this House, one eminent and conspicuous for his knowledge of Ireland, does not carry with it the weight of the opinion of the Government, and which, I am bound to say, is not worked out in such detail as might fairly be expected in a proposition emanating from such an authority, and intended to be made into law. But, like the noble Lord opposite (the Lord Privy Seal), I fully recognize the excellent intentions of the noble Lord who has brought it forward; but I confess that I do not see either how it is to work, or how, in its existing language, it is to be interpreted. I will set aside the question of the tribunal. As at present worded, the Bill gives the Land Commission power to delegate their authority to any one Sub-Commissioner, and I need not say that I could not regard that as a satisfactory proposition in the present state of opinion with respect to the Sub-Commissioners. But, putting aside, as I said, the question of the tribunal, and merely looking on the proposition in the language in which it is submitted to us, in the first place, I do not quite understand how it could be interpreted. What does the word "reasonable" mean? Under what circumstances is it unreasonable for a man to wish to have his own money? Under what circumstances is it reasonable or not reasonable for a man to wish to keep alive debts which he believes can be recovered? I am not sure that the word would not be capable of being stretched one degree further. It might be reasonable, if you merely dwelt on that word, for a man to wish to keep alive his arrears for the purpose of clearing his estate of those very small tenants whom the noble Lord desires to admit to the benefits of the Act. I do not, however, think there is the slightest likelihood of such a motive operating on a landlord; nay, more, I think it is nearly impossible, because it is acknowledged that those rapacious landlords, of whom we have heard so much, who, as the House of Commons was told, are a miserable minority, but who, in this House, are supposed to be sufficient cause for the passing of this important measure, are the poorer class of landlords who are now nearly ruined; and to say that such men, in order to gratify their diabolical instincts against their tenants, would resist the offer of 10*s*. in the pound for irrecoverable debts is to me quite incredible. It is really too great a strain upon our powers of belief. When the noble Lord can produce an instance of such a rapacious landlord who, for the sake of evicting his tenants, would ruin his own prospects, I will believe in his existence, but not till then. Such a being is an entire fiction—noble Lords opposite have invented it to pass this Bill. I do not think that this word "reasonable" would in any way reach the object which the noble Lord opposite has in view. His object is to exclude the action of men who do not cling to their arrears for the purpose of recovering them — that, I suppose, he would admit to be quite legitimate—but for that whimsical and diabolical purpose which he thinks will produce great misery to the cottier tenants in Ireland. I believe that these chimeras of the noble Lord are purely imaginary, and that the offer of 10*s*. in the pound will drive them away, as the sun drives away the clouds. But even if they really existed, I do not think that the words which he has proposed—and I confess that I cannot suggest better words—would in any way reach the object he has in view, but that they would leave scope for all the rapacity that ever existed before they were inserted in the Bill. I object, then, to the Amendment, because of the tribunal, and because these words do not seem to meet the aim of the noble Lord, and I object further to the Amendment because I do not think it would be workable. But I entirely deny that the rejection of this Bill is in any sense necessary in consequence of my Amendment, except in so far as it shall please the peculiar humour of the Prime Minister that it should be so. He is a man who is firm in his resolutions, and very much in the habit of sticking to them—a habit which, taken by itself, I highly admire, and I trust we shall all imitate it. But if you look, not at the position of any individual statesman—not at the language which the Government may have used at this time or at that time about the Bill—but at the reason of the thing, there is, I say, no ground whatever for rejecting the Bill because it is made optional instead of compulsory. There is no doubt that this offer of 10*s*. in the pound will have the effect of effacing a vast amount of arrears all over Ireland—there is no doubt that it will remove, to a great extent, the evil you indicate, and against which you wish to provide. Even if it were true that it would leave a small residue, which it did not remove, I should say it would be very much to your wisdom to take nine-tenths of a loaf rather than have no bread. But I do not believe that such a residue exists. I believe—and all the evidence that has been produced tends to show—that if the Government are honest in their desire in this matter—if they are sincere in wishing to despoil no man, and in desiring that all the money that can be recovered from the tenant shall still be left within the rights of the landlord, then optional provisions will effect that object quite as efficiently as compulsory provisions, while they will avoid the operation of a great injustice on a certain class of landlords, and also avoid—what I consider to be of supreme importance—a very dangerous tampering with the first principles of the rights of property.

The Marquess of Salisbury

Earl GRANVILLE: My Lords, I feel obliged to make one remark in reply to the speech we have just heard. I do not know whether the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) may or may not, at the time when he arrives at Mr. Gladstone's age, have the same authority in this country; but I believe there never will be any man in this country who will be such an autocrat as the noble Marquess seems to imply the Prime Minister is. And I must say that I think that this sort of attempt to separate Mr. Gladstone from his Colleagues is an unworthy one on the part of the noble Marquess. When the noble Marquess laid down his opinion that, weighted with the introduction of such an Amendment as that which he proposed, the Bill is not seriously affected, I venture to say it is not only the Government who think the passing of this Amendment equivalent to the rejection of the Bill; but I believe there was not one independent Member on this side of the House who spoke against his Amendment who did not recognize the fatal consequences which it must have upon the measure.

Earl FORTESCUE said, he objected to their Lordships devoting their energies to a measure originally introduced into the other House by a Home Rule Member. The Bill would not, in his opinion, have the effect of purchasing that obedience to the law which the Government hoped for. Besides, he could not understand something which, to him, seemed perfectly inexplicable—namely, the sudden appearance of an urgent necessity for dealing with the arrears which had existed for a long time, and of which the Government had been cognizant. That Bill, which was now held to be so imperatively necessary, was never mentioned in the Queen's Speech, and was not introduced into the other House until the month of May.

The Earl of LONGFORD said, that the first condition on which a tenant could obtain the benefit of the Bill was that he should pay a year's rent; and yet the great majority of the small tenants were confessedly unable to comply with that condition, and, therefore, they must depend on the indulgence of their landlords. It appeared that 76 Irish proprietors had voted in that House last night—54 for the Amendment and 22 against it, showing that this was not altogether a case of landlords against tenants. The minority, he thought, was a strong one, and showed a fair division of opinion, and that the matter had been fairly considered. There was, therefore, no combination in that House against the Government; but the vote was the honest result of the opinion of their Lordships after a full discussion of the question. He questioned very much whether 76 Irish Members of the House of Commons had ever voted on the question at all. Moreover, what was the course of the Bill through the House of Commons? It was not at once accepted as a wise and prudent measure. This was a question which might be fairly considered. The proposition, moreover, was not really one that was hostile to the Bill.

Amendment (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

LORD VENTRY moved the insertion of a new sub-section, in order, as he said, to save the hanging gale, which he considered was not sufficiently protected by Sub-section 3, and because, without some such Amendment, the Bill would inflict a gratuitous injustice on a great many tenants.

Amendment *moved,*

In page 2, after line 10, insert as a new sub-section—"(.) Provided that in respect of any holding situated in a townland as to which it has been the custom not to pay the current half-year's rent until the next subsequent gale had become legally due, 'the year expiring as aforesaid' shall be deemed, for the purposes of this Act, to be the year of the tenancy expiring on the first gale day of the tenancy in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one."—(*The Lord Ventry.*)

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) said, the Amendment, if adopted, would disarrange the plan on which the Bill had been drawn. The six months' hanging gale was saved by the Bill as it stood. He was unable, therefore, to assent to the Amendment.

THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD said, the Amendment was similar to one he moved last night, and which he should presently move again if this was rejected.

THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE said, he supported the Amendment, as the words of the Bill as they originally stood would, by a side-wind, get rid of the hanging gale where there happened to be an arrear. If it was intended that the hanging gale should be got rid of, the subject ought to be dealt with comprehensively.

LORD VENTRY said, that, after what the noble Lord opposite (the Lord Privy Seal) had stated, he should not persist in his Amendment.

Amendment (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

Amendment *moved,*

In page 2, Sub-section (2,) line 24, after ("1881,") insert ("Provided always that the sum so payable to the landlord shall not exceed two years' rent of the holding.")—(*The Lord Emly.*)

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, he did not think the matter one of much importance.

After a few words from the Earl of LONGFORD,

Amendment (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

THE DUKE OF ABERCORN moved to amend Sub-section 2 by omitting the word "may" and substituting "shall," and also omitting the words "if the Commissioners think it desirable." The noble Duke said the effect of the Amendment would be to make it obligatory on the Commissioners to take into account the saleable value of the tenant's interest in ascertaining whether he was able to pay antecedent arrears. As an Irish landlord, he was bound to say that he thought the Amendment would very much minimize the objections to the compulsory nature of the Bill as regarded landlords. Nor would his proposal injure the tenant, because he was already protected by Sub-section C. He hoped that the Government would accept the Amendment.

Amendment *moved,*

In page 2, Sub-section (2,) line 25, omit ("may,") and insert ("shall,") and omit ("if the Commissioners think it desirable.")—(*The Duke of Abercorn.*)

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, the Amendment proposed by the noble Duke (the Duke of Abercorn), although short, is of considerable importance, and it is one to which my noble Friend the Lord Privy Seal and the Government must say "Not content," although they will not give the House the trouble to divide. I can give no hope of its ultimately being accepted. But, considering the great position the noble Duke holds in Ireland, where he has twice held the highest Office, and his large estates on which tenant right prevails, the Government are bound to consider attentively any Amendment proposed by him, more especially one which he has stated would greatly take away the necessity of the optional Amendment carried yesterday by the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury).

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, he did not understand his noble Friend (the Duke of Abercorn) to pit his Amendment against the optional Amendment. He understood him to pit it against the Amendment leaving the arrears as a charge or dormant mortgage upon the holding. As to the second Amendment of the noble Duke's upon the Paper, he did not think it was workable.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, that he distinctly understood the noble Duke (the Duke of Abercorn) to say that the adoption of his proposal would in a great degree minimize the objections to the principle of compulsion.

On Question? *Resolved* in the *negative.*

Amendment *moved,*

In page 2, line 28, after ("arrears,") insert ("Provided always, that the tenant shall not be deemed to be unable to discharge such antecedent arrears if the Land Commission is of opinion that the antecedent arrears affecting the tenancy immediately before the first day of November one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one, and subsisting at the time of making the application, do not exceed one half of the value of the tenancy as ascertained by the Land Commissioners.")—(*The Duke of Abercorn.*)

On Question? *Resolved* in the *negative.*

On the Motion of the Marquess of WATERFORD, the following Amendment made:—In page 2, sub-section (3.), lines 40 and 41, omit the words ("on the last gale day of,") and insert ("in.")

Other Amendments made.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Delegation of powers of Land Commission).

VISCOUNT LIFFORD, in moving in page 5, line 11, an Amendment to the effect that the Sub-Commissioners to whom powers under the Bill were to be delegated should be barristers-at-law, said, it was most important that the gentlemen to whom this delegation was made should be members of the Bar. He wished to point out the extreme danger to Ireland arising from the ignorance of English people as to the real state of the country and the operations of the general law. A noble Lord in "another place" had said that the Irish Sub-Commissioners compared favourably with any magistrates in England or in Ireland. If that noble Lord knew nothing about the Sub-Commissioners, he had better have said nothing; but if he knew what they were, and what they had done, he could not have hurled a greater insult at the English magistracy than he had in what he had said. Though he (Viscount Lifford) had acted in both countries, and had known many magistrates in both England and Ireland, he did not know one who would do such acts as had been committed by the Irish Sub-Commissioners. The noble Lord on the Cross Benches (Lord Brabourne) did good work on the previous evening in calling attention to certain circumstances in connection with the Sub-Commissioners. At considerable personal sacrifice, the noble Lord had shown, with unsurpassed ability, how a man could rise above Party, when principle was involved. He (Viscount Lifford) had investigated very closely all the charges made by the noble Lord against the Sub-Commissioners, and, notwithstanding what the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack said last night, he considered that those charges had been distinctly proved. He (Viscount Lifford) once heard a case tried before a Judge, without a jury, in an Irish Court. There a young barrister pleaded with eloquence and action for some time, until the Judge calmly said—"Now, Mr. ——, you forget that you are speaking to a Judge, and not to a jury. All that is thrown away; please confine yourself to facts." Did the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack forget that the noble Lord on the Cross Benches had brought up the name of Mr. Meek, who had been one of the sworn valuers for the tenants, whose valuations had been found so unjust to the landlords that the Commissioners refused to accept them, and who, notwithstanding, had now been made a Sub-Commissioner? On Monday night, when this subject was under discussion, their Lordships were called upon, not as Judges, but as a jury, to ignore all the facts that were brought before them as to these Sub-Commissioners, and to decide the question, on the ground that the whole attack on the Sub-Commissioners was on account of their not being of sufficiently high status in life. He hoped their Lordships would accept the Amendment.

Amendment *moved*, in page 5, line 11, after the word ("Sub-Commission,") insert ("being a barrister-at-law.")—(*The Viscount Lifford.*)

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) said, he was unable to agree to the Amendment. Its effect would be to tie down too much the discretion of the Land Commission. If the proposal of the noble Viscount (Viscount Lifford) were accepted, the Commissioners would have to confine their choice to these legal members of the Sub-Commission, who were very few in number; whereas the Government were convinced that the Land Commission could easily select perfectly capable, competent, and trustworthy persons from among the other Sub-Commissioners for the discharge of these duties. And he would remind the noble Viscount that in a very full House last night, the clause as it stood was accepted in its entirety without a division, though an attempt was made to exclude the Sub-Commissioners.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, that the Amendment of last night on this question was quite different to the one now proposed, for the one on which they did not divide last night was whether the Sub-Commissioners should not be struck out altogether, as being unable to decide matters eminently requiring a trained mind. He was sorry that the Government did not see their way to accept the present Amendment; because it was obvious that questions would have to be dealt with which lay Commissioners could not be supposed to understand—namely, questions of evidence and others which required minds trained in the Legal Profession. Of course, he could not deny that there were in England persons who were not members of the Legal Profession dealing with important legal matters; but, in the present case, it was absolutely essential that the Sub-Commissioners should have had legal training, for questions of considerable complication would arise under the Bill. He thought the noble Lord (the Lord Privy Seal) would improve the measure if he would accept the Amendment.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, that a barrister would not be in a better position than any other Sub-Commissioner in determining the question whether the value of the tenant's interest in his holding was taken into account.

LORD BRABOURNE said, he had not been able to hear the last remarks of the noble and learned Lord upon the Woolsack, who had not spoken so loud as when denouncing him (Lord Brabourne) last night. The noble and learned Lord had thought it worthy of his dignity and position to allude to his (Lord Brabourne's) supposed political opinions, and even the particular seat which he occupied in that House. He bore such personal attacks with profound equanimity; but begged to point out that they only diverted their Lordships' attention from the real issue before them. He had been accused by the Lord Chancellor of impeaching the integrity of the Sub-Commissioners. He had done no such thing, nor had he dreamed of attacking the character of Mr. Forster or Lord Cowper—both old friends of his. All he had done was to show that many of the Sub-Commissioners were selected from a class from whom judicial knowledge could not be expected, and some of whom had taken an active part in elections which had mainly turned upon questions between landlord and tenant; their decisions had been characterized by great inequality, and, in his opinion, such persons were too biassed to be able to discharge the duties which it was proposed to impose upon them with impartiality. Indeed, it was hardly possible that there should not be discontent. Even since he last spoke, he had received an Irish paper, sent by no friendly hand, for it contained a vulgar and bitter attack upon himself, which he bore with equal equanimity to that which sustained him under the attack of the noble and learned Lord. But in this paper was an account of the sitting of the Sub-Commissioners' Court at Banbridge, where, in 13 cases, the rents were all reduced below Griffith's valuation—some considerably below—which had been allowed by both the Land Commissions to be far below the fair letting value of the land. He was much obliged to the noble Viscount (Viscount Lifford) for the manner in which he had spoken of him; but he had only endeavoured to do his duty in bringing forward grievances at the instance of many persons who felt aggrieved. He had suggested the present Amendment, which he thought an improvement.

THE EARL OF LIMERICK said, he was afraid that the result of the Amendment would be to exclude not only the Sub-Commissioners, but the Commissioners themselves from acting, for it would exclude others than barristers being members of the Chief Land Court.

On Question? *Resolved* in the *affirmative.*

Words *inserted* accordingly.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 17 (Exemption in respect of public charges upon arrears of rent extinguished).

On the Motion of The LORD PRIVY SEAL, Clause *struck out* of the Bill.

Standing Order No. XXXV. *considered* (according to order).

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, that the manner in which the Bill had been dealt with on that occasion was a strong proof of the necessity of the objection he took last night against going through two stages at one Sitting.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, that, when he ventured to resist the authority of the noble Lord, it was to meet the convenience of noble Lords generally, and the Government; but, as he understood a change had come over the spirit of their dream, and they were not now so anxious to go on with this Bill, perhaps the noble Earl opposite (Earl Granville) would say whether he would, under the circumstances, consent to the third reading being taken on Thursday next?

EARL GRANVILLE said, that on many occasions, where it was found convenient, it had been usual to take the third reading after the consideration of Amendments, two stages in one day, and he thought that course should be pursued now.

Standing Order *dispensed with.*

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª."—(*The Lord Privy Seal.*)

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 3ª accordingly.

Lord Brabourne

Moved, "That the Bill do pass."—(*The Lord Privy Seal.*)

THE EARL OF LONGFORD expressed his surprise that the Government should resist very reasonable improvements introduced into their Bill. They had held to their idea that the principle of the Bill was absolute compulsion, when it certainly was nothing of the sort.

THE DUKE OF ABERCORN moved the insertion of the word "shall" for the word "may," in Clause 1, Sub-section 2, with the view of rendering it compulsory upon the Commissioners to take into account the saleable value of the tenant's holding in ascertaining whether the tenant was able or not to discharge his antecedent arrears.

Amendment *moved,*

In Clause 1, page 2, Sub-section (2,) line 25, omit ("may") and insert ("shall,") and omit ("if the Commissioners think it desirable.")—(*The Duke of Abercorn.*)

LORD FITZGERALD: My Lords, I rise to support the Amendment proposed by the noble Duke (the Duke of Abercorn), and I hope that, even at this late stage, you will permit me to address a few observations to you. When the noble Duke first proposed this Amendment, on the third reading, he stated, with perfect candour, that his object was to minimize the difficulties which led the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) to propose his earlier Amendments, which were carried on division yesterday, and thus to enable the noble Marquess to recede from those Amendments. My Lords, it is in that spirit, and with that object, and to relieve your Lordships from an intolerable position, that I give my support to the noble Duke. My Lords, you will recollect that the noble Marquess's Amendments, in substituting the landlord's option for what was said to be compulsion, gave, in effect, to the landlords control over the operation of the first part of the Bill so completely that the tenant could not attain the benefits intended for him without the assent of his landlord, and that the noble Marquess justified his action principally on the ground that otherwise the landlord might be defrauded and his property confiscated by the dishonest tenant. My Lords, I refrain from all criticism, as I would not wish, by a single word, to add to the tension which already exists;

but it seems to me that the Amendment of the noble Duke does minimize those difficulties, and render them so small that, if carried, it will enable the noble Marquess to recede from his position, and render it practicable for both sides of the House to approach an agreement. My Lords, on looking to Clause 1, paragraph (*c.*) of Sub-section (1.), you will perceive that the condition on which the tenant is to obtain relief is, that he is unable to discharge the arrears without loss of his holding or deprivation of all means necessary for cultivation; and, on the inquiry, it was left discretionary with the Commissioners to take into account the saleable value of his interest. My Lords, the immediate effect of the noble Duke's Amendment is to take away that discretion, and render it mandatory on the Commissioners, in ascertaining whether the tenant is unable to pay his arrears, to take into account the saleable value of the tenant's interest in his holding. Thus you will perceive, my Lords, that the effect of the Amendment may be very large; and that, to obtain the benefits of the first part of the Bill, the tenant must, in the course of a judicial inquiry, in which the Judge is bound to take into consideration the saleable value of his interest, have established his inability to pay. My Lords, I suggest to your better judgments whether this absolute obligation to establish inability to pay will not so far minimize the supposed dangers to the landlord's interests, and reduce the apprehensions of his being defrauded to so fine a point, that if the noble Duke's Amendment should be carried, the protection which the noble Marquess thought yesterday to be absolutely necessary may well be abandoned. My Lords, I confess that I am nervously anxious to assist the noble Duke in promoting accord on this subject, and enabling us in the end to pass this Bill in an acceptable shape. My noble Friend the Lord Privy Seal announced yesterday that the Government could not accept the Bill with the Amendments of the noble Marquess. It is not for me to judge whether, in that resolution, the Government may be right or may be wrong; but I do see plainly the consequences to the peace of Ireland. My Lords, something also was said as to the creation of a political crisis; but I do not pause on that. It cannot be. The noble Marquess described the Bill as a measure of confiscation, and on that allegation I take issue. It seems to me, on the contrary, that its true character is one of mercy to the tenants and of bounty to the landlords. My Lords, "confiscation," as the noble Marquess applied it, meant the deprivation of something which the landlord actually had, or might reasonably expect to receive. Does the Bill in this case confiscate any arrear which he might reasonably expect to recover? My Lords, the Bill deals only with a class of small tenants, poor, and generally broken down, and only operates where there is proved inability to pay. How does it operate in such cases? If there are but two years' rent due to the landlord up to 1st November, 1881, he is to be paid in full. If there are three years due, he gets full two-thirds, one-third from the tenant and one-third from the State; and if there are four years due, he gets 10*s.* in the pound. Can that be called confiscation? Many of my noble Friends opposite know as well as I do, that when a small tenant in Ireland is suffered to get three or four years into arrear, the debt is a bad one; that arrear, as a rule, is hopelessly irrecoverable. But the noble Marquess says that to pay the landlord two-thirds or one-half of that bad debt, is confiscation. My Lords, it is simply a gift, and the only matter that the State asks from the landlord in return is to forego his power to drive thousands of unfortunate people from their holdings. Is that confiscation? My Lords, I may claim to know something of Ireland, and every part of it. I have no personal interest to serve; no interest that is not your Lordships'—none but to endeavour to restore tranquillity; but, my Lords, I confess, and with perfect sincerity, that I regard the loss of this Bill with entire dismay. My Lords, it has been said that, tried by economic tests, this Bill is wholly indefensible, and I assume for a moment that it can be only excused on the plea of necessity; but do not forget, my Lords, that, from the moment the measure was announced as one of Government relief, the necessity that it should pass into law became overwhelming and inexorable. My Lords, if this Bill is defeated—if it is allowed to drop—we must look forward to another winter of increased disturbance and lawlessness, and of non-payment of rent—to another season in which the voice of the unscrupulous agitator will be all-powerful to incite to crime. My Lords, I mentioned a few moments ago to the noble Duke, a communication which I recently had as to the present condition of a large county in Ireland in which the noble Duke is interested, and coming from a well-informed official not unknown to the noble Duke. That county is largely occupied by small tenants, and is now in a state of peace and quiet, with but little crime; but my informant added that recently a very large number of ejectments had been instituted to turn out small tenants in arrear, and if that course was to be persevered in, and if this Bill did not pass, peace and order would cease, and crime and disorder take their place. My Lords, it is to avoid such a state of things in the poorer districts that I press on your Lordships to pass this Bill. There is, my Lords, another class in whose interests I ask leave to be permitted to say a word—a class well entitled to your Lordships' favourable consideration, and from whom you will keep large benefits if this Bill is defeated. I mean, my Lords, a class much injured by the Act of 1881, and utterly crushed by the "no rent" policy of the Land League—the lesser landlords of Ireland. I will illustrate my meaning by a typical, but real case that I have at present in my mind—a landlord whose estate is in one of the distressed districts, and who ought to have received about £5,000 per annum, but subject to incumbrances. The holdings are all small, and for three years he has received nothing. The arrears up to November, 1881, are about £15,000, and he is in great pecuniary distress. My Lords, under this Bill that proprietor might receive about £10,000. My Lords, the class of tenants with whom this Bill will deal, are, as a class, generally so poor and so broken that the real difficulty in its application will be in their being each able to make up a year's rent. The Bill will work injury to no one, to no class, and if I were entitled to advise, I would strongly advise your Lordships; but I am not entitled to advise, and thus I beseech your Lordships not to allow this Bill to perish. It is, in my humble judgment, the first and a necessary step towards the re-establishment of peace and tranquillity in certain districts in Ireland. In that view, and with that object, I most cordially support the Motion of the noble Duke.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, one link was wanting in the chain of argument on this question, and it has been supplied by the powerful speech of the noble and learned Lord opposite (Lord Fitzgerald), which showed that the optional character which this House has impressed on the Bill is no reason why it should not be accepted by the Government, or that it would in any way interfere with the efficiency of the measure. The noble and learned Lord speaks with dismay of the Bill being dropped, and paints, with a powerful hand, the evils which he thinks will arise from such a contingency. Let him address his remarks to those whom he sits behind, and also to the Prime Minister, who, without any show of argument whatever, or any reason that can be called feasible, insists on making the absence of this compulsory principle fatal to the Bill, dangerous though that principle is to the interests of landlords of Ireland, and dangerous though it is to the principles upon which all rights of private property rests throughout the Kingdom. It seems as though the Prime Minister had a pleasure in using a great public crisis of this kind, when the great forces of insurrection are behind him, for the purpose of undermining the rights of private property, and for preparing the way for future enterprizes against those rights which he cannot now undertake. The whole case would be different if it could be shown that the optional principle would really interfere with the full efficiency of the Bill. Our contention is, that it is perfectly consistent with the Bill, and that it is merely owing to an accidental phrase that fell from the Prime Minister in "another place" that it is considered that this principle is inconsistent with the objects which the measure is designed to meet. The Amendment of the noble Duke (the Duke of Abercorn) may or may not be accepted by the House; but, though undoubtedly it would be capable of being worked in a very stringent manner, I cannot regard it as any efficient protection even in the case of a tenant with a holding of considerable value who seeks to have his arrears remitted, because the Amendment leaves everything at the disposition of the Sub-Commissioners; and, without reviving a controversy which has been almost thrashed out, it is obvious that there is not that confidence in the decisions of the Sub-Commissioners which would render satisfactory an arrangement resting on their decision the ultimate instrument as regards both the interests concerned. The noble and learned Lord said the Amendment not only covered the case of a tenant with a holding of considerable value who came to have his arrears remitted, but that it would afford an absolute security against fraud. The noble and learned Lord appeared to think that the value of the holding is all the means the tenant possesses. But may there not be, as we were told last evening, his cattle, which may have been driven away from the farm by his neighbour; the money which he has in the bank in the name of a neighbour, or the sovereigns hidden in an old stocking of which we have often heard? There are many ways in which the dishonest tenant may evade inquiry into his alleged impecuniosity; and even if the Amendment of the noble Duke sufficiently guarded against that danger, which I do not admit that it does, I cannot see that the other dangers to which the landlord would be exposed are sufficiently guarded against. I earnestly trust that the Government will reconsider what appears to me their wholly unreasonable and indefensible objection to the alterations which the House has made in their Bill; and I can only say that if the result of their obstinacy should be that this Bill should come to nothing, the responsibility will rest with them, and not with us. [*Laughter from the Treasury Bench.*] At least, I am sure it will be so in the opinion of the majority of the House.

Earl GRANVILLE: My Lords, with regard to what the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) has said as to the responsibility of Her Majesty's Government if this Bill should come to nothing, I leave your Lordships to judge how that matter stands. I appeal not to my noble Friends behind me, but to noble Lords opposite, whether the charge of obstinacy that has been brought against us is substantiated or not; and I ask your Lordships to compare the substance and tone of the speech which my noble and learned Friend (Lord Fitzgerald), who is so competent to speak on the subject, has made in regard to the effect which the rejection of this Bill will have in Ireland, with the sort of speech that has just been delivered by the noble Marquess, in which, for the second or third time this evening, he has not been able to refrain from indulging in personalities towards a great statesman in "another place."

Lord O'HAGAN: My Lords, Circumstances prevented me from taking part in the debate on the second reading of this Bill; and I feel a great unwillingness to allow it to pass from the House without a brief expression of my earnest hope that, notwithstanding all obstacles, it may substantially and in its integrity pass into law. I wish to assure your Lordships that many of the best and wisest men in Ireland look with absolute dismay at the prospect of the loss of it, and would regard that loss as a national calamity. The possibility of what may come to Ireland in the approaching months and years, if this Bill should not be passed in some shape or other by this House, they regard with anxious apprehension. It is not for me to speak of the great statesman who introduced the Bill, or to say why he declared—if he has declared it—that such an Amendment as that of the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) will render it impossible to proceed with the measure. But if he has made such a declaration, I can comprehend why he has done so. The Amendment is inconsistent with the Bill, because it gives the landlord absolute dominion over the tenant in matters most essential to the tenant's interests. It is inconsistent with the Bill, because the Bill designs that the tenant shall be perfectly independent of his landlord. The House of Commons has given a control over the Church Fund on the faith of the Bill as it stands. If we subject it to another power, there will be a breach of faith with the House of Commons. ["Oh!"] In my opinion, the efficacy of the Bill will be destroyed by the Amendment of the noble Marquess; and, should it be abandoned, great will be the responsibility of the House and of the Government. I state my conviction that, for Ireland, the passing of this Bill substantially in its integral condition is an absolute necessity. I do not say it is an immaculate Bill. I do not say that I am enamoured of all its provisions. There are matters contained in it for which I am not an advocate. I do not deny the force of the objections to some of its details. I admit that there may be difficulty in ascertaining the true condition of an applicant for relief. I appreciate the considerations which have induced very many of its warmest advocates to prefer the machinery of loan to the machinery of gift; and, for myself, I have always regretted the application of the Church Fund to such a purpose. Indeed, I regard that application with great disapproval, for I had hoped that that Fund might have been kept sacred to purposes of permanent utility in Ireland—to purposes more or less akin to that to which it was originally dedicated. To such a purpose it was devoted when the grant of £1,000,000 was made for Intermediate Education, and, again, when the Royal University was sparingly endowed; and I had desired to see similar beneficent allocations of the residue. I lament that the exigencies of the situation have induced the Government to make another disposition of it; even though that disposition was authorized by the terms of the Church Act. But, at least, such a use of an Irish fund for Irish purposes might have mitigated the violence of the declamation we have heard about the spoliation of the English taxpayer, and against the application of English money for the relief of Ireland. How does the case stand? The great bulk of the funds to be employed under this Bill will come from Ireland. For the instructions to the Treasury are not to apply English money for the purpose until there is not a farthing of the Irish Church Fund left. Not a penny is to be sought elsewhere, if that Fund is found adequate to the temporary need. I concur with my noble Friend the late Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Earl Cowper) that this being a United Kingdom—which ought to be united in feeling and in object—there is nothing unreasonable in asking the people of one district to be helpful to the people of another—that reciprocal kindness and reciprocal aid should be the fruit of a concession for their common interests—and that Great Britain will not be without compensation for any outlay required of its resources, if measures like this produce the restoration of peace and order in Ireland, and so reduce the burden of taxation and promote the general safety and well-being of the Empire. My Lords, I am of opinion that, in these and other things, the Bill is open to some reasonable exception. But its justification is its necessity. It has been said of old—"Necessity has no law;" and its pressure has often led men to ignore the deductions of logic, and transcend the limits which economic science would prescribe. The Bill is necessary, and it is necessary not as a mere eleemosynary measure for the relief of the impoverished peasants and the struggling landlords who exist in large numbers in Ireland. The Bill is intended for them, as much as for the starving tenants. It is a Bill for the benefit of all the people of Ireland. Its object is to supplement the Land Act of last Session, and to reach by its provisions as many people as possible. It is essential to the success of that Act; essential that it may work freely, and widely, and procure fair play for the great experiment of social change which it inaugurated. ["Oh, oh!"] My words, I know, in this place with reference to that Act will have no gracious reception. We are familiar with abuse of its principles and of its administrators; and we have been vehemently told that the relation of that measure to this is alone sufficient to justify an adverse vote. But, my Lords, I pray you to remember that, whatever may have been your views as to the policy of the Land Act, it is the law of the land. You have been instrumental in making it the law, and you are bound to accept it, with all its legitimate consequences. It is the work of the Legislature, sealed with the sanction of the Crown. Your Lordships constitute a great political Assembly; but you also constitute the highest legal tribunal of the Realm; and it is not in this House that any Statute should be treated with indifference or contempt. You are bound to give the law its due effect. I believe that it has, undoubtedly, as we have been told, wrought a social revolution, and a social revolution of deep and far-reaching influence, which will only be consummate and complete when it has been brought into full operation, if Parliament shall agree to carry into effect the recommendation of a Committee of your Lordships' House. But what is done cannot be undone. You cannot rase the seal from off the bond.

You cannot, by any amount of anger and vituperative violence, restore Ireland to the condition in which she was before the Land Act passed. It is the interest and the duty of every man to see that the revolution is utilized, instead of being rendered destructive; and it will be more wise to give frank acceptance to the new state of things, and honestly endeavour to make the best of it. And for that purpose you are asked in this measure to strike down the barriers which are holding away multitudes from the benefits of the recent legislation, and leaving them subject to the misery of eviction. Surely, it will be better for all concerned if the hopes held out to the people by Parliament can be realized; if the promises of fixed tenure and fair rent on which they rely can be fulfilled; and if we can convert those whom suffering has made disaffected, and despair has made criminal, into law-abiding and order-loving men. This is the high function of the Bill, with all its shortcomings and all its faults; and if it can accomplish this, it will be a boon and a blessing, not to one class only—not to the tenant or the landlord alone—but to the entire community. It will do very much for the settlement of Ireland and for the permanent good of the British Empire. My Lords, it is not easy to obtain statistical evidence in such a matter; but I believe there are tens of thousands of humble people to whom this Bill will bring substantial relief, not merely in a temporary way and for present exigencies, but as enabling them to enter securely on the paths of industry, and enjoy the permanent possession of comfort and competence in holdings made lastingly their own. Three terrible seasons, which emptied the savings banks and thronged the workhouses, have reduced a great body of the Irish peasantry to a hopeless condition. Their decadence has been continuous, steady, and complete; and without the help of the State it will be beyond recovery. If the means be given to them, those who are best informed believe that there will be a rush of suitors to the Land Courts, such as, to the astonishment of everyone, took place when they opened first. They will get a new start in life under the new circumstances of the country, and the result will speedily be seen in the improvement of manners, the progress of industry, and the obedience of contented men to the law which has given them protection. As it is, grievous evil will result if this measure fails to soften discontent. They will brood over their misfortunes and become a prey to criminal temptation. They cannot pay accumulated arrears, and they will be cast upon the world to pine and perish in the ditches, or on the hill-side, unless they eat the bitter bread of public charity. The evictions in Ireland have fearfully increased; and the Returns for the last month alone—the month of June—show that 515 families, comprising nearly 3,000 persons, were turned out of their homes during its progress. From poverty comes eviction, and from eviction outrage, and thence the social confusion and the unpunished crime which have brought such disgrace and sorrow to Ireland. And, my Lords, there is a further mischief. Those who suffer thus, and are thus corrupted, act upon others more fortunate than themselves. The man who cannot approach the Land Court, to gain security in his holding and escape expulsion from it, does his utmost to prevent his neighbours from availing themselves of the fair advantages of their better state, and rejoices when he can make them as desperate as himself, and lure or terrorize them to the evil courses to which his own misery has led him. And so disorders spread and outrage flourishes, and the country is baulked of the advantages which the Legislature has bestowed. The aim and purpose of the Bill are to change all this, and bring those advantages within the reach of men who should enjoy them. It will improve the tenants' condition, whilst, on the other hand, landlords who may have been reduced to the verge of destitution will find themselves, through its assistance, helped through their day of trouble, and enabled to maintain their position, and hope for better times. My Lords, it is easy for the owners of great principalities to tell you that this Bill will not be useful to their class. Rich and prosperous, they do not want it for themselves; but there are multitudes of the proprietors of Ireland whose condition is lamentable, whose wants are urgent, whose sufferings are sometimes as worthy of sympathy and pity as those of the evicted and hopeless and helpless peasant, and to them the payment of two years' rent upon the average would be an enormous blessing. My Lords, this is the state of things which makes, as I have said, good and wise men look with dismay on the chance of the loss of this Bill and its possible consequences —a continuance of the social wretchedness which has too long prevailed in Ireland, and an increase of the disorder which has grown unendurable. My Lords, in presence of such dangers, I trust your Lordships will not deprive the country of the Bill; and I pray you to remember, when it is condemned as violating economic laws, that abnormal circumstances require abnormal treatment, and that the circumstances of Ireland are abnormal in the extreme. The late Government did not hesitate to help the peasant with his seed and the landlord with his loans, largely, at 1 per cent, because there existed an exceptional necessity. The present Government, with deep reluctance, have passed, with your Lordships' help, a measure of repression which violates the Constitutional principles they cherish most, and destroys the Constitutional safeguards they hold most precious for the security of public liberty. If these things have been justified by the necessity of the case, this Bill is amply justified. The measure of coercion should not be dissociated from the measure of relief which has been promised to make it more tolerable. Whilst you accept what is harsh, do not reject what is beneficent. If you have felt yourselves driven to restrain and punish, do not be obdurate to the appeal of expediency and mercy. In the interest of the embarrassed landlords and the suffering people of Ireland, and still more in the interests of peace, law, order, and prosperity, I appeal to your Lordships, and specially to such of your Lordships as follow the lead of the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury), so to shape your course as not to take from Ireland the advantages which will be conferred by this Bill, and leave the country to the miseries to which its rejection will unquestionably expose her. I trust most earnestly that it may be allowed to pass.

Viscount POWERSCOURT said, he wished to make a few observations upon the Bill.

Earl CAIRNS rose to Order. He apprehended that as the third reading of the Bill had been carried, the only Question before the House was the Amendment proposed by the noble Duke (the Duke of Abercorn), and general observations on the Bill were out of Order.

Viscount POWERSCOURT said, he merely rose for the purpose of saying, before the Bill left the House, that, in his opinion, the first Amendment of the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury), which had been carried, was equal to the rejection of the Bill. He would wish their Lordships, even at that last moment, to consider whether it was their intention to condemn Ireland to another such winter of outrages and murder as the last?—a result, above all things, to be regretted.

The Earl of REDESDALE (Chairman of Committees) said, that, in his opinion, the conclusion of the noble Viscount (Viscount Powerscourt) was entirely indefensible. In his (the Earl of Redesdale's) opinion, the responsibility, if the measure should not become law—for that was the real point in question—would rest, not with the majority of their Lordships, but with the Government. In 99 cases out of 100 the Amendment of the noble Marquess would have no effect; it was not likely that the interference of the landlords to prevent the operation of the Bill would be at all extensive. He believed that the enormous majority of the tenants affected by the Bill would not in the least degree be interfered with by the Amendment of the noble Marquess; and, therefore, the responsibility for depriving these persons of the benefit of the Bill would rest upon those who would not accept the Amendment.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill *passed,* and sent to the Commons.

SETTLED LAND BILL.

(*The Earl Cairns.*)

CONSIDERATION OF COMMONS' AMENDMENTS.

Earl CAIRNS said, that he had to ask their Lordships to consider the Amendments which had been made in this Bill by the House of Commons. The Bill had been referred by the House of Commons to a Select Committee, presided over by Sir R. Assheton Cross, and composed of some of the strongest Members of the other House, both as regarded legal attainments and knowledge on the subject of land. That Committee considered the Bill with great care, and introduced certain Amendments into it. It spoke very eloquently for the solidity of the labours of that Committee, that when the Bill was reported to the House of Commons and recommitted, there was not a single further change made. Although the Amendments made by the Commons appeared to be numerous, yet a considerable number of them consisted of the transfer of a number of clauses from the Conveyancing Bill. A certain number of the Amendments were connected with the subject of married women. Some Amendments were improvements, and others not; but he was glad to admit that not a single one interfered with the general principle of the Bill. If it were a different period of the Session, he might propose a few verbal Amendments; but, under the circumstances, he should not do so. Therefore, he had the pleasing task of asking their Lordships to accept the Bill as it stood. He returned his warm thanks to Members of the Legislature on both sides, in both Houses, for their valuable assistance on the Bill. He felt convinced that when it became law it would have a most beneficial effect on the Land Law of this country. That was not only his own opinion, but it was also the opinion of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, over which the noble Duke (the Duke of Richmond) had presided. He trusted their Lordships would accept the Amendments.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, it was a cause of great satisfaction to him that the work of his noble and learned Friend (Earl Cairns) had been crowned with success. He tendered him his sincere congratulations on the passing of the measure, which would add to a reputation which was already so high that it could hardly be increased.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, he had nothing to add to the congratulations which the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack had just offered to his noble and learned Friend (Earl Cairns), except to take note of his own gratification in finding himself in a wholly unusual position. The House of Commons had made certain Amendments in the Bill—Amendments which were usually called Conservative—and they had struck out certain provisions originally suggested by himself, making alterations in the law, so that he had, therefore, the gratification of finding himself considerably ahead of the present House of Commons.

Commons Amendments *considered* (according to Order), and *agreed to*.

NAVY (SHIP-BUILDING).

MOTION FOR RETURNS.

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH rose to move for—

> "1. Steam ships (ironclad) now building, with the state of forwardness in each case, the thickness of armour proposed; stating also whether the armour-plating is to be carried from end to end of the vessel, the number and weight of guns, whether breech or muzzle loading, and estimated draught of water; 2. The number of swift cruisers now building, estimated speed in each case, and state of forwardness; 3. The number of vessels of every class which it is intended shall be laid down during the present year."

The noble Viscount said, that the Returns for which he moved were not so comprehensive as he had originally intended, owing to a statement which appeared in *The Times* some time since, furnishing some of the information which he desired to obtain. He complained that the country had not received sufficient information with regard to the relative position of our Navy as compared with that of foreign nations. It had always been the policy of England that our Navy should stand not only superior in every respect to the Navy of any Power, but in a position to resist the united Navies of Europe. At the Battle of Trafalgar we had no less than 176 line-of-battle ships, against 100 French and Spanish vessels. It was, therefore, important that a comparison should be made between the condition of our Navy with that of the Navies of other countries. During the past 20 years the whole system of the Navy had been completely revolutionized; and he felt that the country was not thoroughly informed as to the position of our Navy in relation to those of other countries. He wished to ascertain what preparations were being made to place our Navy on an equality with the powerful Navies now being constructed by Italy and some other Powers. When he brought the subject before their Lordships on a previous occasion he was told that it would be injurious to the Service to enter into any comparison between the English and Foreign Navies; but since then certain statistics had been issued and had appeared in the newspapers which rendered reticence unnecessary. It was true that the French Navy was numerically inferior to ours; but it comprised many ships of great power. Thus, while we had only three powerful vessels which could pass through the Suez Canal, and thus protect our trade with India, the French possessed 11 such vessels. He hoped the noble Earl the First Lord of the Admiralty (the Earl of Northbrook) would be able to inform the country that the Government were on the alert; because, from all appearances, the French Navy in 1885 would be one of the most powerful in the world; for by that time they would have four of the most powerful vessels afloat, whereas we should only be able to add a second *Inflexible* to our Fleet by that date. They should also bear in mind that the Navies of Italy, Germany, and other European Powers would be very powerful. One of the new French vessels was protected with 23-inch or 24-inch armour all along her water line, and it was continued round her ram; whereas the *Inflexible's* ram was mounted on a wooden framework, which greatly diminished the force of the blow she delivered. The French were in a position to turn out their vessels far more rapidly than we could, inasmuch as that nation voted £1,200,000 annually towards increasing her Navy, a sum which was far larger than we appropriated for that purpose; and, moreover, she employed 23,000 workmen in her shipyards as against 16,000 we employed. He thought England ought to have vessels at each end of the Suez Canal, and one so constructed as to steam through it. According to the Report of Captain Dawson and Admiral Ryland, ships drawing more than 20 feet of water would be unable to render service in many circumstances; and he condemned the *Gorgon* class of vessels. He did not blame the First Lord or the Board of Admiralty, because he was quite convinced that the noble Earl at the head of the Admiralty was anxious to secure a good Navy, and, indeed, it was highly necessary, because it was estimated that the value of the property we had at sea was no less than about £800,000,000, of which no less than £100,000,000 was invested in ships alone. So large an amount of property required a corresponding amount of protection in time of war. The country, therefore, must make up its mind to lay aside the question of expense, as it was only by enormous outlay in this direction that we could hope to maintain the position of this country as it ought to be as regarded the prestige of our Navy. No doubt we had some very powerful ships, such as the *Inflexible;* but the great defect of her was that she was not armoured all round. He hoped that the noble Earl would be able to give a full answer to his question, otherwise he should feel it his duty to bring the matter forward again next Session. The noble Viscount concluded by moving for the Returns mentioned.

Moved, That there be laid before this House Returns of,—

"1. Steam ships (ironclad) now building, with the state of forwardness in each case, the thickness of armour proposed; stating also whether the armour-plating is to be carried from end to end of the vessel, the number and weight of guns, whether breech or muzzle loading, and estimated draught of water;

"2. The number of swift cruisers now building, estimated speed in each case and state of forwardness;

"3. The number of vessels of every class which it is intended shall be laid down during the present year."—(*The Viscount Sidmouth.*)

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK, in reply, said, that the noble Viscount opposite (Viscount Sidmouth) had entered into comparisons and questions of which he had given no Notice. With those their Lordships would, no doubt, excuse him (the Earl of Northbrook) from dealing. Nothing was more difficult than to decide upon the relative merits of a ship; and against the noble Viscount's opinion of the *Inflexible* they could set the opinions of many distinguished and experienced officers, who considered her an exceedingly powerful vessel. He should like the noble Viscount to enter into a calculation as to what her weight would be if she were covered with thickest armour throughout, as he suggested. To the second and third heads of the noble Viscount's Motion he had no objection to make, except that the information was already contained in the Estimates of the year. To the first he hoped that their Lordships would not accede. Not that he believed such a Return to be particularly objectionable, as it had been customary to give very freely, in debates in the other House, the particulars of the ships laid down; but he found that such details had never been given by the Admiralty in a Return, and he did not desire to set a precedent which might possibly, under other circumstances, be contrary to the public interests. Three new iron-clad ships would be laid down this year. One of these, the *Benbow*, would be of 10,000 tons displacement, and of an estimated measured mile speed of 16 knots. The armament would consist of four breech-loading guns of about 60 tons, of power not less than the 80-ton guns of the *Inflexible*. Those guns would be mounted *en barbette*. There would be an auxiliary armament of about six 6-inch breech-loading guns, not completely protected by armour. The armour on the protected part of the hull of the ship would be 18 inches thick, and on the barbettes inclined armour equivalent to vertical armour of 16 inches and 14 inches; all the armour would be steel-faced. This ship would be built by contract, if a reasonable offer could be obtained, and it would take about four years to build. Two other iron-clads which would be laid down this year would be of a type which had not yet been settled. The Admiralty had nearly come to their conclusion as to the particular class of ship which should be adopted in those two cases, when the recent operations took place at Alexandria; and as considerable experience must necessarily be gained when they obtained a full account of the way in which the guns and the iron-plated ships had behaved in that action, it was thought desirable to wait until they had detailed information from the Fleet before they finally determined on the designs of the other two iron-plated ships which would be laid down in the course of the present year. It was never intended to do much work on those ships this year; and, therefore, there would be no inconvenience from a slight postponement of their designs. The Admiralty had this year, for the first time, come to a decision which, he thought, would have a considerable effect in future on the class of ships which they would build for the Service. They had decided to build ships which would be in a position to cruise and keep the sea, depending entirely on steam power. They proposed to build two cruisers, capable of operating with fleets of armoured ships. They would not be rigged, but would have high speed under steam, and a large fuel supply. Their designed measured mile speed was 16½ to 17 knots, and they would be able to steam at low speed without coaling for a month. They would have twin screws and be protected by a strong steel deck at or near the water-line from end to end. They would be 300 feet long, of about 3,300 tons displacement, and would have a complement of 200 men. In one of these vessels artillery power would be developed, two breech-loading guns of about 18 tons being mounted, but not protected by armour, excepting against machine guns; and, in the other, Whitehead torpedoes would be the principal armament; but each ship would be capable of receiving the alternative armament at pleasure. Several 6-inch breech-loading guns would be carried in each, in addition to the principal armament. The vessels would, of course, be capable of operating as rams. The Admiralty were quite sensible of the necessity of keeping up the strength of all classes of Her Majesty's ships. He might state the quantity of armoured shipping built within the last few years. In 1879-80 there were built 7,427 tons of armoured shipping; in 1880-1, when the present Board of Admiralty came into Office, there were built 9,235, the amount which their Predecessors had intended to build in that year being only 7,948 tons. In 1881-2 there had been built 10,748 tons; and it was estimated that this year the quantity built would be 11,466 tons. Their Lordships would be glad to hear that, in the last few years, they had been able in the Dockyards to work better up to their programme than had been the case on some former occasions. The total tonnage of the shipping built had increased, so that no class of ships had been neglected. He could not at all concur with the noble Viscount in the feeling he had expressed, that the Navy of this country was not in a satisfactory condition in respect to strength, and was not prepared to take the same position in the world as the Navy of England always had taken. The present Board of Admiralty had especially directed their attention to the construction of armour-plated ships, and also of fast cruisers. The Government had decided, in their programme for the present year, to try the effect of erecting bulwarks round the decks of one vessel of the *Gorgon* class. In conclusion, he hoped the noble Viscount would accept his assurance, that the Board of Admiralty felt fully sensible of their responsibility in maintaining the Fleet in a proper state of efficiency, and begged him not to believe that any Board of Admiralty, whether present or past, were so insensible to their duties as to allow the Navy to fall into an unsatisfactory condition.

THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN said, the statement of the noble Earl the First Lord of the Admiralty (the Earl of Northbrook) was exceedingly satisfactory to his mind; but he would still press upon the attention of the noble Earl that, irrespective of home demands and of the necessity for protecting our various Possessions, the Navy of this country ought always to be on the footing of being able to place in European waters a Fleet equal to that of any other Power. There was one point which had been very much overlooked in the construction of the vessels of the Navy, and that had struck him with regard to all the ships he had seen—namely, the weakness of the conning-tower. The life of a ship in action depended on the life of the captain, and so long as the conning-tower was not properly protected a great risk was run of losing that officer's life, and, therefore, of the means needed for directing the ship. He hoped that steps would be taken to provide proper protection.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACTS—COLLISION BETWEEN THE "MAYFLY" AND "VALHALLA" OFF DUNGENESS.—QUESTION.

LORD COLVILLE OF CULROSS asked, Whether the attention of the Board of Trade has been called to a catastrophe which took place off Dungeness on Saturday, 22nd instant, when the schooner yacht "Mayfly," of Cowes, was run down by the steamer "Valhalla," of West Hartlepool, involving the loss of the yacht and of four lives; and, whether, as the "Valhalla" is presumed to have continued on her voyage to Genoa, steps will nevertheless be taken for the holding of a Board of Trade inquiry on her return to England?

LORD SUDELEY, in reply, said, that the attention of the Board of Trade had been called to the collision; that notice that an inquiry would be held was at once issued by the Board of Trade, and that the inquiry would take place immediately on the return to England of the steamer *Valhalla.* Pending this inquiry, he hoped the noble Lord opposite (Lord Colville of Culross) would not wish him to go into the merits of the case.

House adjourned at half past Eight o'clock, to Thursday next, a quarter past Four o'clock.

* * *

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 1st August, 1882.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—NAVY ESTIMATES, Votes 3 to 17; GREENWICH HOSPITAL.

Resolutions [July 31] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Resolution in Committee—Ordered—First Reading* — Revenue, Friendly Societies, and National Debt [260].

First Reading — Mercantile Marine Fund (Charges) * [256]; Intermediate Education (Ireland) * [258]; Ancient Monuments * [263].

Select Committee—Report—Agricultural Tenants' Compensation * [No. 334]; Agricultural Tenants' Compensation * (No. 2) [No. 335]; (Nos. 1 & 2) Special Report * [No. 336].

Committee — Report — Agricultural Holdings, Notices of Removal (Scotland) [5-259].

Committee—Report—Third Reading—Poor Law Amendment [251], and *passed.*

Considered as amended—Third Reading—Municipal Corporations [113], and *passed.*

Withdrawn—Church Patronage * [53].

QUESTIONS.

ARMY—THE NORFOLK REGIMENT.

MR. BIRKBECK asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that only two blankets and loose straw were served out to the 4th Battalion, Norfolk Regiment, during their recent training under canvas, that palliasses were not allowed by the Major General Commanding at Colchester, and that waterproof sheets were only issued after fourteen days wet weather?

Mr. CHILDERS: Sir, in reply to the hon. Member, I have to say that palliasses are not allowed by the Regulations to Militia in camps, but that the waterproof sheets were issued to this regiment on the same day that the commanding officer applied for them. Each man had, therefore, two blankets and a waterproof sheet, the number allowed by the Regulation. The hon. Baronet the Member for North Norfolk (Sir Edmund Lacon) wrote to me on this subject some days ago, and the matter was at once looked into.

CRIME (IRELAND)—NOCTURNAL ATTACKS—RETURN.

Mr. BELLINGHAM asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he would have any objection to lay upon the Table of the House a Return, giving the names and occupations of all persons arrested for or convicted of having taken part in nocturnal attacks between the months of June 1880 and June 1882, with a view of ascertaining how many, if any, Militia men have been implicated in them?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, I have no objection to letting the hon. Member have this Return if he thinks fit to move for it; but I doubt if it would be of much practical use, and I also doubt if it can be prepared and presented before the Adjournment.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE — GOVERNMENT ANNUITIES AND ASSURANCE BILL.

Mr. REPTON asked the Postmaster General, If he intends to proceed with the Government Annuities Bill?

Mr. FAWCETT: I believe the Amendment of which I have given Notice will remove much of the opposition to this Bill, and it is certainly my intention to proceed with it.

EGYPT (POLITICAL AFFAIRS) — THE CONFERENCE—MEETING OF ULEMAS, &c. AT CAIRO.

Mr. BOURKE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Can Her Majesty's Government give the House any information as to the proceedings of the Conference; has the Russian Chargé d'Affaires rejoined the Conference; and, when are the proceedings of the Conference likely to be terminated?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: As I have already stated on several occasions, it is wished by the Representatives of the Powers that the proceedings of the Conference should be secret. The Russian Chargé d'Affaires has been directed by his Government to rejoin the Conference. I am unable to make any statement as to the termination of the proceedings of the Conference.

Mr. J. LOWTHER inquired whether the Russian Chargé d'Affaires would rejoin the Conference on the same footing that he occupied before?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: We have no telegram from Lord Dufferin with regard to his rejoining. I should be sorry to make this statement definitely; but, as far as our information from St. Petersburg goes, that would be the case.

Lord ELCHO asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he can give any information as to the truth or falsehood of the statement that has appeared in the newspapers to the effect that a—

> "Great meeting, composed of the Ulema, the Cadis, the Coptic Patriarch, the religious heads of the Armenians, Greeks, and Maronites, various high functionaries, all the Mudirs from Upper and Lower Egypt, the notables and leading merchants, in all three hundred and sixty persons, was held at two o'clock on Sunday last, at the Ministry of the Interior,"

at Cairo—

> "That the meeting decided, with only three dissentient voices, to maintain Arabi Pacha, in order that he may defend the country; that all decrees to the contrary were declared to be annulled, as the Khedive was beyond the pale of Mussulman Law; and that Princes Ibrahim, Ahmed, and Kiamil, cousins of the Khedive, who were present, declared Tewfik Pacha to be Khedive if he were with the Country and Army, but that, with Admiral Seymour, he was either a prisoner or the protégé of the English, and that, in either case, his authority might be repudiated?"

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, Her Majesty's Government have received no official Report confirming the statement which has appeared in the newspapers.

EGYPT (MILITARY EXPEDITION) — COMPOSITION OF THE FORCES.

Mr. GORST asked the Secretary of State for War, What was the strength in men and horses of the seventh and eleventh companies of the Royal Engineers at Aldershot, after having supplied the companies of A and C troops and field park about to embark for Egypt with men and horses; whether the seventh and eleventh companies belong to the First Army Corps, and are considered ready for active service; and, what is the present strength in men and horses of the field batteries at Aldershot after supplying the two batteries of Field Artillery ordered on service with men and horses?

Mr. CHILDERS: Sir, I do not conceive that it is my duty to state at any moment the exact strength of any particular battery or company of Engineers; but in answer to the hon. and learned Member's Questions I have to say that the four field batteries and the two companies of Engineers at Aldershot are under their strength, both in men and horses, after sending drafts to the batteries and companies going to the Mediterranean. The batteries are only slightly short in men, and I have authorized a large expenditure out of the Vote of Credit on horses. The 7th and the 11th companies of the Engineers have been considered to belong to the 1st Army Corps, and will be filled up gradually.

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If the Conference, or if any other of the great Powers, except England, has requested the Sultan to proclaim Arabi Pasha a rebel?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Yes, Sir; all the Great Powers.

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACTS — COLLISION BETWEEN THE "MAYFLY" AND "VALHALLA" OFF DUNGENESS.

Mr. BIRKBECK asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether his attention has been called to the disastrous collision off Dungeness on the morning of the 22nd July, when the schooner yacht "May Fly" was run down in broad daylight by the S.S. "Valhalla," of West Hartlepool, bound to Genoa, four of the yacht's crew being drowned; and, whether, in consequence of the general belief that there was no watch on board the "Valhalla," and her captain having continued on his voyage to Genoa instead of going into Dartmouth, as he stated to the survivors he would do, special steps will be taken that the Board of Trade inquiry should not be evaded?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: Yes, Sir; my attention has been called to this collision, and an inquiry into it has been ordered in due course, and will be held as soon as the *Valhalla* returns to this country.

EDUCATIONAL ENDOWMENTS (SCOTLAND) BILL—THE COMMISSIONERS.

Mr. HENDERSON asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether, having regard to precedents, he will now give the names of the Commissioners to be appointed under the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill?

Mr. MUNDELLA: Sir, the names of the Commission are now before the Queen for her approval; and, when approved, I shall be prepared to give the names at the conclusion of the Report, which, I believe, is the usual course.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—SELWYN COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

Mr. W. FOWLER asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether Selwyn College, Cambridge, being an avowedly denominational institution, and the draft charter having been laid before Parliament during the University vacation, and when, from the present state of business, it cannot be dealt with by Parliament, the Government will delay the issue of the charter until a sufficient opportunity has been afforded for considering its provisions?

Mr. MUNDELLA: Sir, the grant of a Royal Charter to Selwyn College does not come in any way before the Education Department. I have ascertained that the draft Charter and the Petition were laid before Parliament on June 30, in accordance with the provisions of the College Charters Act of 1871, which requires that those documents shall be for not less than 30 days before Parliament before receiving the Royal sanction. The requisite period having elapsed, it will be submitted to Her Majesty for approval at the next Council.

THE CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSIONERS —SCALE OF FEES ON APPOINTMENTS IN H.M. DOCKYARDS.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether the Treasury will be moved to reconsider the scale of fees charged to established men of Her Majesty's Dockyards on their appointments by the Civil Service Commissioners, powers being reserved in the Order in Council for exemptions in certain cases?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, these fees are imposed at the instance of the Civil Service Commissioners on all public servants to whom they grant certificates. The scale of fees applicable to men in the Dockyards does not appear to be exorbitant if fees are to be charged at all; and, in fact, they are arranged so as to fall as lightly as possible on those who pay them. In these circumstances the Admiralty do not propose to make any representation to the Treasury on the subject.

NAVY—THE NAVAL SICK BERTH STAFF.

MR. GORST asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether, in the event of a hospital ship being sent out to Alexandria or a Naval brigade being landed in Egypt, the services of any of the sick berth staff of the Royal Navy now employed in the Royal Naval hospitals will be utilised.?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, the services of any of the Sick Berth Staff of the Royal Navy, whether at present employed in the Naval hospitals, or on board of the home flagships, will be utilized in Egypt as required.

EGYPT—THE SUEZ CANAL—M. FERDINAND DE LESSEPS.

THE EARL OF BECTIVE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been called to the statements circulated in several newspapers that M. Ferdinand Lesseps has prevented the landing of English troops at Port Said, is travelling under a safe conduct from Arabi Pasha, and has assured that Pasha that, if he does no injury to the Suez Canal, neither Italy nor France would assist England in her Military operations; and, whether any official complaint has been made to Her Majesty's Government concerning the conduct of M. F. Lesseps?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Yes, Sir; the answer to both Questions of the noble Earl is in the affirmative.

PARLIAMENT—ARRANGEMENT OF PUBLIC BUSINESS.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked the Prime Minister, Whether he was now prepared to make the statement he had promised in regard to the probable course of Public Business, and also what was the character of the Bill with reference to the Revenue and National Expenditure, of which Notice had been given by the Secretary to the Treasury? He thought it had been understood that no more Bills were to be brought in. If the measure was of a technical character, there could be no objection to it; but if it was a Bill of any importance, he should object to its being proceeded with.

MR. GLADSTONE said, he was sorry that, in the absence of his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury, he could not explain exactly the purport of the Bill to which the right hon. Gentleman had referred; but, of course, they had to provide, as a financial necessity, funds for the purpose of the Arrears Bill and certain purposes of the Land Act by way of loan. He thought, also, it would be absolutely necessary to make provision for meeting the deficiency on the Friendly Societies' account. These would be the principal objects of the Bill. His promise yesterday referred mainly to the Bills before the House, which stood thus. There were certain Bills as to which there was no opposition whatever. These were—first, the Militia and Reserve Forces Consolidation Bills. He did not say that they were not blocked; but hon. Gentlemen were well aware that blocking now, in most instances, had no reference whatever to the merits of the particular measure, but was resorted to for some other purpose, which the Gentlemen using the power of blocking had in view, and which they sought to obtain through the liberal use of the privilege of blocking. There were next the Municipal Corporations Bill, on Report, the Registry of Deeds (Middlesex) Bill, the Bombay Civil Fund Bill, the Isle of Man (Officers) Bill, the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill, the Government Annuities and Assurance Bill, the Parcel Post Bill, the Expiring Acts Continuance Bill, and the Suspensory Bill for Corrupt Practices, not yet introduced. There was another Bill, the

Entail (Scotland) Bill, in respect to which he was not aware, as yet, whether there was any opposition whatever. It was certainly very much desired by the great majority of Scotch Members. There was one other Bill, with regard to which he had hoped to be able to speak positively to-day; but he was not so able. It was the Police Superannuation Bill. There had been communications going on about it to-day, and he should have been in a position to make a definite announcement to the House had it not been absolutely necessary for the Home Secretary to go down to Osborne on business connected with the accession of the Bishop of Newcastle to his See. He would, therefore, reserve until Thursday any absolute declaration respecting the Bill.

Mr. J. LOWTHER asked the right hon. Gentleman what Business would be taken to-morrow?

Mr. GLADSTONE: We propose to-morrow to take the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill first, as that Bill is merely for Report—and then to go on to Supply.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK asked that an hour might be named after which the second set of Estimates would not be taken. He had left the House last night in the expectation that the Civil Service Estimates would not come on, and to his surprise he found they were taken at a late hour. In former days, it was not considered the right thing to take them after midnight. Although the time they were now taken had been considerably extended, he did not think they ought to be taken very late without due Notice.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, it had been understood that they were to go forward on every occasion with Votes in Supply. Last night, when the Vote relating to India was disposed of, it was after half-past 12 o'clock, and Bills which were blocked could not come on. It was then for the Government to consider whether they should lose the remainder of the evening, or take Supply.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, the House was anxious to know exactly what would be taken on Thursday. There was an impression that the Amendments of the House of Lords on the Arrears Bill would probably be taken for consideration on Thursday. Was that the case?

Mr. GLADSTONE: No, Sir; we have no intention of taking the Lords Amendments on Thursday or on Friday. We propose to postpone them.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Until when?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I will mention on Thursday when they will be taken.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the remainder of the Army Estimates would be taken this week or next week?

Mr. CHILDERS said, he would give an answer to that Question on Thursday.

IRELAND — THE ASSISTANT UNDER SECRETARY TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether there was any truth in the report that Mr. Clifford Lloyd had been appointed to the post vacated by Colonel Brackenbury at Dublin Castle?

Mr. TREVELYAN said, that no appointment had yet been made definitely to that post.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (PUTTING THE QUESTION).

Mr. RITCHIE said, he wished to ask the Prime Minister a Question in reference to the Rules of Procedure. When the subject was last mentioned in the House it was understood that at a later period, and before the adjournment of the House for the Autumn, the Government would inform the House whether they intended to adhere to their proposition of a bare majority. Was the Prime Minister now in a position to inform the House?

Mr. GLADSTONE: In the course of a few days I will inform the House of the decision of the Government on that question.

INDIA (BOMBAY)—REDUCTION OF THE EXPORT DUTY ON OPIUM.

Mr. CROPPER asked the Secretary of State for India, Whether it is true that the Government of India has reduced the Duty on Opium exported from Bombay by 50 rupees per chest; and, whether the object of the Government in this reduction is to encourage the Opium trade between Bombay and China?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Sir, I have not yet received from the Government of India any account of the reasons which have induced them to reduce the duty on opium by 50 rupees a chest. I imagine the reason is their desire to place Malwah opium on a more equal footing with Bengal opium as regards taxation; but I am not in a position to know.

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—REMOVING PLACARDS.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that Sub-constable Hogg, of Ballylanders, county Limerick, tore down a placard, on the 23rd instant, announcing—

> "That there would be a collection on Sunday next, 30th July, for the families of the seventy or eighty tenants evicted throughout the Country by Cloncurry, Marshall, Lloyd, &c. Assistance will be given to any farmer whose farm was bought by the Emergency Association, and who has been evicted;"

by what authority he did so; whether a circular which he stated would some time ago be issued to the police, on the subject of posters, has been so sent; if there is any objection to its terms being read to the House; and, whether the Government approve of the sub-constable's conduct?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, I find that such a placard or notice as that referred to in the Question of the hon. Member was taken down by Sub-constable Hogg, of Ballylanders, acting upon his own responsibility as a peace officer. I am not quite satisfied that he was justified in taking down this notice, and I will have further inquiry made into the matter. On inquiry I cannot find that a Circular referring to the placards of the Labour League or Shepherd's Association has been issued, which was the Circular referred to in my answer; but no general order on the subject has been issued.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—EARL OF ANNESLEY'S ESTATE AT GLAN, CO. CAVAN.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he could state how many evictions were enforced on the Earl of Annesley's Glan property, county Cavan, under writs, during the month of July; the amount sued for; the amount of rent, the Government valuation, and the Law costs; and how many houses demolished; and, if the tenants will be deprived of the benefits of the Arrears Bill?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, three evictions were enforced on the Earl of Annesley's Glan property, in County Cavan, in the month of July. In one case the amount sued for was £21, the rent £6, Government valuation £5, and costs £18 4*s*. In another case the amount sued for was £39 4*s*., rent £11 4*s*., Government valuation £7 10*s*., and costs £18 10*s*; and in the third case, amount sued for £54, rent £18, valuation £12, and costs £18 3*s*. 10*d*. Three houses were demolished. With regard to the final paragraph of the Question, so far as I can judge from the reports submitted to me, the power of redemption within six months would appear to rest with the evicted tenants.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS BILL.

(*Mr. Hibbert, Sir William Harcourt.*)

[BILL 113.] CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered*.

Clause 9 (Qualification of burgess).

Amendment proposed, in page 4, line 18, after the word "resided," to insert the words "as lodger or otherwise."—(*Mr. Biggar.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. HIBBERT said, he opposed the Amendment on the ground that this was a Consolidation Bill, and that it was not usual to introduce important changes into such measures.

Question put, and *negatived*.

Mr. BIGGAR moved to leave out lines 23 to 26 inclusive. The effect of his proposal would be to remove alcause of complaint against the rate-collectors, who, as things were, were appointed by the dominant Party in the borough, and were sometimes unduly partial to their political friends.

Amendment proposed, in page 4, line 23, to leave out sub-section (E.)—*Mr. Biggar.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

Mr. HIBBERT said, he could not accept the Amendment for the reasons that he had already stated, Mr. DODDS also opposed the Amendment.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, that there were many precedents for the amendment of Consolidation Bills. The complaint of the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) was perfectly just; and it was the fact that rate-collectors, unless they were impartial, often omitted to remind electors that their rates were due until the fatal day after which they would lose the right of voting. This proceeding affected the Liberal and Conservative Parties less than the ill-organized Irish voters.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 11 (Qualification of councillor).

Mr. BIGGAR moved to leave out sub-section (C.), in order to abolish the property qualification for candidates, which was often evaded under the present law.

Amendment proposed, in page 5, line 8, to leave out sub-section (C.)—(*Mr. Biggar.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

Mr. HIBBERT said, that the hon. Member misapprehended the effect of the clause. The property qualification was done away with by an Act passed some years ago; but the original money qualification was retained, because powers had been given to enable Town Councillors or Aldermen to live beyond seven miles of the borough. They were told that it would not be safe to repeal it, unless some other provision were made to meet the case of Councillors living within the seven and 15 miles' limit from the borough.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 12 (Disqualifications for being Councillor).

Mr. BIGGAR said, he proposed to move an Amendment to this clause with a view of preventing members of Town Councils from making contracts with the Corporation of which they were members. It was evident that a number of members might combine each to get a lease of corporate property, and thus the ratepayers might be cheated to a very large amount.

Amendment proposed,

In page 5, line 39, to leave out all the words after the word "lease," to the word "or," in line 40, in order to insert the words "granted before the election of such Councillor,"—(*Mr. Biggar,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

Mr. HIBBERT would not say that no abuse might arise under the clause. Probably there might. At the same time, he was not aware that any great complaints, or that any complaints, had been made as to the operation of the law at the present time. He might also point out that, in a subsequent clause, ample security was taken that members of Town Councils should not take part in discussing or voting upon any matter in which they had a pecuniary interest. If this Amendment were adopted, a Town Councillor or Alderman would be prevented from selling to the Corporation a piece of land, the acquisition of which might be of great public benefit. He hoped, under the circumstances, the Amendment would not be pressed.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 46 (The burgess roll and ward rolls).

Mr. BIGGAR proposed to amend this clause by striking out, in page 18, line 13, "twenty-second," in order to insert "eighteenth," with the object of giving a longer period than nine days to prepare for a municipal election.

Amendment proposed,

In page 18, line 13, to leave out the words "twenty-second," in order to insert the word "eighteenth,"—(*Mr. Biggar,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words, 'twenty-second' stand part of the Bill."

Mr. HIBBERT said, he would suggest that the word "twentieth" should be substituted for "twenty-second" in the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed,

In page 18, line 13, to leave out the words "twenty-second," in order to insert the word "twentieth,"—(*Mr. Biggar,*)

—instead thereof.

Question, "That the words "twenty-second" stand part of the Bill," put, and *negatived.*

The word "twentieth" *inserted.*

On the Motion of Mr. Hibbert, Amendments made, in page 18, line 17, by leaving out after "numbered," to "numbered," inclusive, in line 19; and in line 20, after "districts," by inserting—

"Unless in any case the council direct that the same be numbered consecutively without reference to wards or polling districts."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 47 (Arrangement of list of rolls).

Amendment proposed, in page 19, line 4, to leave out sub-section (2) of Clause 47.—(*Mr. Biggar.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill," put, and *agreed to.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 59 (Mode of conducting poll at contested election).

Mr. BIGGAR said, he rose to move an Amendment providing for the extension of the hours of polling from 4 till 8 o'clock. He contended that this extension of time would enable working men to record their vote without the renunciation of any part of the day's wages.

Amendment proposed,

In page 21, line 18, to leave out the word "four," in order to insert the word "eight," —(*Mr. Biggar,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the word 'four' stand part of the Bill.

Mr. HIBBERT said, he could not accept the Amendment. Next year the Bill, which, if passed this Session, would have altered the hours of polling in Parliamentary and municipal elections, would, he hoped, be re-introduced. That being so, he thought they should be content to wait, so that they might deal with the subject as a whole, and not in a fragmentary manner. There were, he would add, for the information of the hon. Member, a number of places where it would be quite unnecessary to keep the poll open until 8 o'clock, as the poll was generally over in those places by 2 o'clock.

Mr. DILLWYN said, he should support the Amendment. He failed to see why the Government should not make the change asked for, when it was known that many working men desirous of voting were unable to do so because the poll closed at 4 o'clock.

Mr. DODDS said, he should oppose the Amendment. He had 30 years' experience of municipal elections in the town which he represented, and during the whole of that period working men had been able to record their votes without any difficulty. If the closing hour were changed from 4 to 8, serious inconvenience and much increased expenditure would be caused in many cases.

Mr. SEXTON said, that, by the law closing the poll at 4 o'clock, many working men were excluded from the exercise of the municipal franchise, for if they voted they must leave work at an earlier hour than usual, and thus lose a quarter or more of their customary pay. The fact that a larger change than that at present proposed was looming in the distance was no argument against the proposal to make a smaller change now.

Mr. STOREY said, that, by closing the poll at 4 o'clock, they imposed a tax upon the working classes which other classes had not to bear. A working man was, under the present system, if he wanted to vote, obliged to sacrifice either his dinner hour or his pay for the time that he lost in going to the poll; whereas, if the hours were extended, the same result would be attained without putting the electors to unnecessary expense. He feared, however, that if the poll were kept open from 9 a.m. to 8 p.m., a considerable time would be wasted in the middle of the day. Still, this would be better than the present scrambling system. It would be advantageous if the principle of school board elections were observed in municipal contests.

Mr. WARTON said that this was merely a Consolidation Bill, and that such a change in the law as was proposed could not properly be introduced into the present Bill.

Mr. HINDE PALMER said, he could not vote for the Amendment, because it laid down a hard-and-fast line, which was most objectionable. If the hours were to be extended at all, he would suggest that a clause should be introduced into the Bill giving a discretionary power to the local authorities to fix the hours of polling, both in Parliamentary and municipal elections, in accordance with local convenience.

Mr. O'DONNELL supported the Amendment, as he wished to give the working classes a grip upon the municipal authorities, so as to control them in carrying out those sanitary and other improvements which were so necessary to their happiness and welfare.

Mr. WHITLEY said, that there was a large number of working men in Liverpool to whom he should be glad to give increased facilities for recording their municipal votes, by increasing the discretion of Returning Officers, if this were a proper time for discussing the subject; but as it was distinctly understood that this Bill was to be passed as a Consolidation Bill, it was most inopportune to raise the question now.

Sir EARDLEY WILMOT suggested that the Government should compromise the matter by consenting to substitute "six" for "eight" o'clock. That would afford time to the working man to poll on leaving his work at 5 P.M., without the disadvantage which would ensue from keeping the poll open until the evening.

Mr. HIBBERT said he could not accept "six" any more than he could accept "eight," If he were to accept any alteration, it would be "eight" o'clock.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 162; Noes 37: Majority 125.—(Div. List, No. 308.)

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 78 (Definitions).

Mr. FIRTH proposed, in page 26, line 16, at beginning, to insert—

> "The provisions of this Part shall be held to apply to Municipal Elections in connection with the Corporation of the City of London."

The hon. Member said, that the fourth part of the Bill applied solely to corrupt practices at municipal elections, and was practically an embodiment of the Corrupt Practices Act of 1872, which passed without discussion, and in it the word "boroughs" applied to boroughs scheduled under the Municipal Corporations Act, and for some reason the City of London did not appear. There never had been any controlling measure with reference to corrupt practices at municipal elections in the City of London, and they flourished unchecked. Monetary rather than patriotic considerations often guided many electors at the few elections that took place in London. He did not know what plea could be offered on the part of the City for the retention of powers of corruption not permitted to Corporations in the country. It might be asked—what was the advantage of his proposal at the present time? Well, he should be glad for once to have one pure election in the City of London; and it might be expected that if elections in the City were purified, there would be an elected body more favourably inclined to consider the advantage of a reformed City government. If there were a chance of such an election, he knew several men who would become candidates for Wards in the City, who would not do so under the present system of election. He was justified, on behalf of the people of London, who had long enough had amongst them this nest of corruption, in asking that the House should do something to purify their municipal centre, as other Corporations had been purified in the country.

Amendment proposed,

> In page 26, line 16, at beginning, insert "The provisions of this Part shall be held to apply to Municipal Elections in connection with the Corporation of the City of London."—(*Mr. Firth.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. HIBBERT said, that, without going into the merits of the case, he held that the present Amendment was out of place, seeing that none of the Acts consolidated by the Bill referred to the City of London. Besides, the 6th clause of the Bill, which was already passed, made it impossible to extend the operation of the measure. At the same time, he sympathized with the hon. and learned Member's desire to have the elections for the City of London rendered as pure as they were in any other part of the country; and if he brought in a Bill for that purpose alone he should give him his support.

Mr. Alderman W. LAWRENCE said, that the Amendment had been moved without a hope or thought of success;

but simply in order that the hon. and learned Member might make reckless, unscrupulous, and unfounded attacks on the Corporation of the City of London.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he could not see anything reckless or unscrupulous in the action of his hon. and learned Friend, who had stated a fact which almost everybody—except Aldermen—admitted—namely, that there was the grossest corruption in the City of London. The hon. Alderman declined to meet him on that point; but the corruption was proved from the fact that it had been necessary in passing Acts against Municipal Corporations to leave out the City of London on the ground that this House could not cope with this Alsatia of corruption. He hoped, however, the Amendment would not be pressed, because, after what had fallen from the Secretary to the Local Government Board, the issue would not be fairly put before the House, and it would be boasted in the City that a victory had been gained against the hon. and learned Member, and that the House had declared there was no corruption in the City.

MR. SPEAKER ruled that, having regard to the statement of the application of the Act in the 6th clause, the Amendment was inadmissible.

MR. FIRTH said, that, after the ruling of the Chair, he would withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 88 (Power to question municipal election).

Amendment proposed,

In page 29, lines 25 and 26, to leave out the words "of those grounds," in order to insert the word "ground,"—(*Mr. Warton,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words 'of those grounds' stand part of the Bill."

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 122 (Obligations and powers in respect of advowsons, &c.).

MR. BIGGAR moved to strike out certain words giving Corporations the right to sell their Church patronage. He thought the next two clauses ought to be struck out.

Amendment proposed, in page 46, line 37, to leave out sub-section (1) of Clause 122.—(*Mr. Biggar.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

MR. HIBBERT said, he also had great doubt whether these clauses ought not to be omitted. But as they were the old law, and were in the Act of 1835, and as there was no certainty that cases did not exist to which they would apply, he thought, as a matter of caution, it was better to retain them.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 163 (The recorder).

On the Motion of Mr. HIBBERT, Amendment made in page 65, line 37, by leaving out after "State," to end of paragraph, and inserting "without the resignation and re-appointment of the recorder being necessary."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 168 (Power of recorder to form a second court).

On the Motion of Mr. HIBBERT, Amendment made in page 67, line 18, by leaving out "five," and inserting "three."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 220 (Exclusion of certiorari).

Amendment proposed, to leave out Clause 220.—(*Mr. Biggar.*)

Question, "That Clause 220 stand part of the Bill," put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment made.

Clause *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. Hibbert.*)

MR. DODDS said, he must congratulate the hon. Gentleman on having passed into law a measure that had been before Parliament for 10 years; that would consolidate 40 existing Acts, and portions of other Acts, and would be of the greatest possible assistance to everyone connected with Municipal Corporations.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

NAVY—THE NAVAL RESERVE.

OBSERVATIONS.

MR. GOURLEY said, he rose to call attention to the Report of Admiral Phillimore on the Naval Reserve. His main object was to ascertain how far the Admiralty were advancing in shipbuilding, and what improvements that Department had effected as compared with the improvements introduced into their ships by the owners of our Mercantile Marine. In order to obtain the information which he desired to have, he would put a series of Questions to the official Representatives of the Admiralty in that House; and, in the first place, he would ask how many ships had been furnished with breech-loading guns, and whether the Admiralty intended to furnish the whole or some of the ships composing the Reserve Squadron with guns of that kind, they being much superior to muzzle-loaders? Secondly, he wished to know whether any improvements had recently been made in the fuel-carrying capacity of our ships? The *Iris* had capacity for fuel only to the extent of four or five days. A vessel of that description, in the event of our being at war with any Maritime Power, would be, instead of an element of strength, a source of weakness. In 1878 the Reserve Squadron, on the way to the Mediterranean, ran short of fuel before reaching Gibraltar. That, he contended, was a mischance which should be guarded against in the future. It was his opinion that in all ocean warfare a large measure of success would depend upon the capacity which our vessels had for carrying fuel. In the Mercantile Marine this had reached such perfection that a vessel had arrived in the United Kingdom from China in 30 days, carrying, besides a large cargo, fuel enough for a voyage of 5,000 miles. He should also like to know whether the Admiralty had got rid of the old machinery in order that our war vessels might be able to compete with war vessels supplied with modern machinery? Further, he desired to know what special work our reserve ships would be engaged in, providing we were at war with a great Maritime Power; whether the whole of the vessels had been fitted with shot and shell proof decks and water-tight compartments; or were we still in the same position in which we were when the *Vanguard* collided with the *Iron Duke* and went to the bottom? Had the Admiralty done anything to improve the water-tight compartments? Was anything being done to instruct the officers and men of the Squadron in the use of torpedoes and the other modern engines of warfare? He was strongly of opinion that non-combatants on board ship should be trained to take part in an engagement; and wished to know what was being done in that direction? We had a large number of young officers, the flower of the Navy, who had to retire, against their will, on half-pay. Being without employment, they would in course of time become exceedingly rusty. He saw no reason why they should not be engaged in piloting our ships of war. Admiral Phillimore condemned the policy adopted in 1870 of selling a large number of our sailing cruisers, by which a great many of the Coastguardsmen were also kept in idleness; and he suggested the placing of some of them on board gunboats, and educating them in modern gunnery. We had no system of coast and harbour defence whatever; and he wished to know if the Admiralty had any programme on that subject? The men connected with the Coastguard might be very profitably employed on some description of torpedo service. He also thought they ought to increase the number of their Reserves by bringing in the stokers and firemen, who formed so large an element in their steamships; and in the event of their services being required for war purposes they would be able to do quite as efficient service as the seamen. Another point was the question of drill; and he hoped the Admiralty would provide for the Reserves being drilled at sea rather than at the batteries. With respect to the Naval Volunteers, he thought they should be increased by encouraging them in the way other Volunteers were encouraged—namely, giving them a capitation grant; and, if that were done, there was no reason why the Force should not be increased to 18,000 men. We had never had more than about 12,000, although 30,000 was the number that had been recommended as being expedient for that service. He hoped the matters he had referred to would receive the consideration of the Admiralty.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, he agreed with what the hon. Member had said as to coast defence. The £2,300,000, or more likely £5,000,000, which we were to spend in Egypt, would have provided several harbours along the coast; and there would be any number of Naval Volunteers if we had the harbours. He could bring forward in Scotland 1,000 of the finest men the world had ever seen, who would be very glad if they could get on board a vessel of war. The great point was to extend the defensive means of this country. [Mr. W. H. Smith dissented.] He saw the late First Lord of the Admiralty shake his head; but the right hon. Gentleman would be glad to see as Naval Volunteers the men he had seen standing before him at his election in the North. In physical power, intelligence, and fitness for the sea, the men he referred to could not be surpassed; and he hoped the Admiralty would seriously consider the question.

Sir THOMAS BRASSEY said, he desired to express his great satisfaction that the condition of the Reserves had engaged the attention of his hon. Friend the Member for Sunderland (Mr. Gourley). The hon. Gentleman represented a seaport, at which upwards of 500 men in the Naval Reserve were annually drilled. He was closely connected with a district remarkable for its maritime enterprize. The hon. Gentleman had, therefore, great opportunities of making himself acquainted with the requirements of the Naval Reserves, and any suggestions that he might offer with reference to the organization of the Force would receive the attentive consideration of the Admiralty. The terms of the Notice on the Paper being of a general character, it would not be expected that he should follow in detail the various interesting questions which had been raised. On some points, however, he was prepared to offer explanations, which he hoped would be entirely satisfactory to the House. His hon. Friend had particularly urged that the Coastguard should be sent to sea in small vessels, for the purpose of keeping up their seamanship. That suggestion could not be carried out without seriously increasing the expense of the Coastguard; and the limited training which could be given in a gunboat was not considered necessary by the Naval Advisers of the Admiralty, either for the maintenance of the efficiency of the men, or for the protection of the Revenue. The Fleet men in the Coastguard were most carefully selected. The number of candidates had for some time past been in excess of, and now were at least sufficient to fill, the vacancies; and he was assured by Lord John Hay, who was specially charged with the supervision of the Reserves, that men were never admitted unless they had had sufficient service in sea-going ships to make them thoroughly efficient in their duties afloat. It was the decided opinion of the Naval Advisers that the well-trained man-of-warsmen in the Coastguard would learn nothing in a gunboat or a cutter which would tend to make them more effective for their duties in manning the great iron-clad ships of the Navy. The drill at the great guns was, perhaps, the most important feature in their training, and great care was taken to maintain a high state of efficiency in gunnery. The Coastguard went through a complete course of gun drill every year, and the rule was that in alternate years they were embarked in an iron-clad squadron for an extended cruise. The testimony of Admiral Phillimore as to the condition of the Coastguard was in the highest degree satisfactory. The Fleet men on shore formed, as he said, the main reserve of the Navy, and they were a force of which any country might be proud. As an instance of their general conduct, he mentioned that in 1878 they completed the crews of eight district ships and nine turret ships, and though they were embarked for 98 days in those 17 ships, not a single case occurred in which any one of their names appeared in the defaulter's book. The same favourable report could be given on every occasion when the Coastguard were embarked. His hon. Friend had condemned the district ships as obsolete. He (Sir Thomas Brassey) was not prepared to accept that description; but he was sure it would be admitted that it was impossible that the Fleet in commission should consist exclusively of ships of very recent construction. The district ships were well adapted for the work which they had to do, and the Admiralty were well advised in keeping the latest and most powerful ships in reserve in the Dockyards, where they could be carefully preserved from deterioration, and where they could be commissioned at short notice in a perfect state of repair. Turning to the general condition of the Reserves for the Navy, at no previous period since the close of the Great War had we been so well prepared with the means of manning the Fleet. The masted ships of former days had been replaced in the line-of-battle by mastless ships, armed with a few heavy guns, worked by mechanical appliances. The three-decker, with 130 guns, had a complement of 900 men and boys; the *Inflexible* carried 400. Notwithstanding the large reduction in the complements, the force of seamen available for manning the Fleet showed a slight increase. The total number of blue-jackets was 18,624 in 1871, and 18,991 in 1881; in the same interval the non-seamen class, comprising the stokers and artificers, had grown from 10,956 to 12,221. Thus, the total number of Fleet men, exclusive of the Coastguard, was 29,580 in 1871, and 31,212 at the date of our latest Returns. We had in 1871 6,421 supernumeraries in excess of the total complements authorized for ships in commission. The corresponding number had since been raised to more than 8,000 men. In addition to the supernumeraries, we had the crews of the flag ships and receiving ships in the home ports. We had thus, at least, 10,000 in the Fleet available for immediate disposal. On shore we had 4,000 seamen in the Coastguard, and, prior to the recent despatch of forces to the East, and including a battalion in Ireland, we had a splendid force of 6,000 Marines. He fully agreed with his hon. Friend as to the importance of a strong reserve of stokers. On the 25th of June the total number of first and second-class reserve stokers at the home ports, excluding first reserve ships and the Channel Fleet, was 1,272. Even under the pressure which had recently been felt, it had not been necessary to stop the usual leave, or to break up the reserves and take men from the harbour ships. It had, however, been arranged to increase the proportion of stokers in the Coastguard from 200 to 250, and to make additional entries, and to employ a few stoker pensioners at each of the Naval ports. To enter stokers for the Naval Reserve was not considered necessary. In an emergency, men could be obtained from the Mercantile Marine in sufficient numbers, and instruction in gunnery was not required as in the case of seamen. Turning to the Reserves, properly so-called, they had in the Pensioners' Reserve 1,560 men, and, in addition, a large force of able-bodied seamen pensioners, not enrolled in the Pensioners' Reserve, making a total force of about 5,000 men. In the first class of the Royal Naval Reserve they had 11,800 men; in the second class 5,600; and a small beginning of a third class of 150. Then they had in the Royal Naval Artillery Volunteers about 1,500. Putting those figures together, and the figures he had previously given with reference to the Reserves in the permanent service of the Crown, they had an efficient Reserve Force for manning a War Navy of not less than 44,000 men. With such a force, he ventured to think the country should be well content; and, speaking on behalf of the present Admiralty, he would say that they were resolved to neglect no opportunity of adding to the strength and efficiency of this noble Force. They had, at the date of Admiral Phillimore's Report, 30 batteries for the drill of the Coastguard and Naval Reserve. They had since ordered a battery at Barrow. They were rebuilding the batteries at Carnarvon, Fowey, and Hartlepool. Batteries had been ordered also at the Isle of Man and Kirkwall. The batteries at the Isle of Man and Kirkwall would be capable of drilling 1,000 men every year; and they had reason to believe that number would be forthcoming. It was equally interesting and gratifying to observe the marked success which had attended the efforts of the Admiralty to raise a force of Naval Reserve men in the Western islands of Scotland and in the Shetlands. It was an additional evidence of our vast and varied resources as a Naval Power. On the occasion of his recent inspection, the Duke of Edinburgh saw no less than 1,004 stalwart men on parade at Lerwick, and 1,100 at Stornoway. His Royal Highness was much impressed with the seamanlike appearance of that noble body of men, and the admirable manner in which they went through their drills. Both divisions of the Naval Reserve were thoroughly efficient, and the Naval Reserve men would be the first to acknowledge that their efficiency was especially due to the admirable manner in which they were trained by the gunnery instructors from the *Excellent* and *Cambridge.* The second-class Reserve, though not possessing the high qualifications required for the first class, were a most valuable body, thoroughly inured to the sea, and always within hail. They could be increased to any number which the Admiralty might consider necessary. With regard to the Royal Naval Artillery Volunteers, with whom he had the warmest sympathy, he might say that the Admiralty, while fulling appreciating the patriotic feeling exhibited by large numbers who had applied for enrolment, was still unable to announce any final decision as to the organization of the Force. The important question of the general defence of the commercial harbours had been under inquiry by two Committees, one of which was a Joint Committee of the War Office and the Admiralty, and had not yet reported. That Report was waited for, before coming to a final decision with regard not only to the organization of the Naval Volunteers, but also to the general and important question of local defence. On the whole, he trusted that the House would be satisfied with the statement which he had made. As to numbers, he ventured to say that the statistics were conclusive; and as to the quality of our seamen, whether belonging to the Navy or the Mercantile Marine, he was confident that the fine spirit of former days still lived, and would survive through every change which might take place in the ships and the armaments of the Navy. Perhaps it might not be out of place to say, in justification of the hope he had expressed, that the conduct of our officers and men, in the trying services which they had recently been called on to perform at Alexandria, was well worthy of the great traditions of the Service, and such as to encourage us to have confidence in our seamen. He could not conclude these observations on the Naval Reserve without paying a warm tribute of praise to Lord Cardwell and the other Members of the Manning Commission of 1859. The scheme which had been adopted with such excellent results for the Royal Naval Reserve was originated by the Manning Commission. The creation of that Force had secured us from future difficulties in manning the Fleet in time of war, and had added materially to our Naval power, without imposing more than a comparatively moderate charge on the Estimates.

Captain PRICE said, he thought the statement to which the House had just listened very reassuring and satisfactory. He wished, however, to ask how it happened that the number of candidates for the Coastguard Service exceeded the number of vacancies? No doubt the hon. Baronet was correct, but he had always understood from the Report of Sir William Tarleton that the reverse was the case. He was of opinion that the Coastguard men should be sent to sea oftener than they were, and, also, that they should have a greater amount of gun drill. For this purpose some of the old iron-clads might be utilized. These men were the most efficient class of reserve and the country could rely upon them. He quite agreed with Admiral Phillimore that the present reserve of Coastguards was as low as it ought to be; and, indeed, it might be said of our Naval Reserves generally, having regard to the great numbers of seamen who would be at the disposal of France in case of emergency, that their strength might very advantageously be increased. He was glad to hear that the Pensioners' Reserve had gone up to 1,500 men, but he thought it ought to be made much stronger in point of numbers.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—NAVY ESTIMATES.

Supply—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) £181,089, Admiralty Office.

(2.) £195,416, Coast Guard Service and Royal Naval Reserves, &c.

Sir JOHN HAY said, he wished to ask whether the re-engagement of 10 years' service men discharged had been proceeding at the same rate as during the years 1878, 1879, and 1880, which was about 1,000 a-year? The Returns before the House only came down to March 15, 1881.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he could not answer the question then, but he would give the information on Report.

Captain PRICE wished to ask a question in reference to the Seamen and Marine Pensioners' Reserve. He believed these were paid in this way. The pensioners were induced to come forward for a certain amount of drill each year, and, in consideration for their doing so, were allowed to come upon the Greenwich Hospital Fund for a pension at 50, instead of 55, years of age. But he wished to know why these men, who formed a valuable Naval Reserve, should not be paid from Imperial funds by an ordinary Vote? His hon. Friend the late Secretary alluded to this fund as a sort of charity, but it was being made use of in this way for paying a portion of the Naval Reserve of the country. He should like some information why it should be so, for it was obvious if Reserves were paid out of the Greenwich Hospital Fund, then old men, and those who came upon it at 55 or 60, must proportionately go minus; they must receive a smaller amount, or a smaller number would have the benefit of the pension. He wished to know in what respect this Reserve differed from any other that they should not be paid out of the National Revenue?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he must admit there was an apparent anomaly in this matter, and it did seem somewhat strange that the Greenwich Hospital Fund should pay a part of the Reserve Forces. But it had passed through the hands of successive Boards of Admiralty, so, probably, there was reason for it. He could only promise that he would cause inquiry to be made and see if there was good reason for it or not.

Captain PRICE said, he was pressing the point now, because it was only now that the pinch was beginning to be felt. This year there were 1,500; last year there were only 1,000; and two years ago the numbers were only from 600 to 800.

Mr. W. H. SMITH asked whether the numbers of the Reserves were to be kept up somewhat more closely to the numbers voted than had been the case in recent years? Looking at the reduced number of Marines, were the Admiralty prepared to keep up the numbers to the actual strength voted? It was an important matter; and though in times of peace he recognized that it might be reasonable to keep the number lower than 60,000, it was of the highest importance in a time of war to keep up the full strength.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, the War Office issued a statement giving the variations in the numbers of men from time to time. Could not the Secretary to the Admiralty have an abstract for the Navy prepared similar to that in reference to the Army? The information would be very useful and handy to every person interested in the Department. At present it was not easy to ascertain the number of officers and men to be paid—the statements were financial, not numercial.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he observed, from the note on page 177 of the Estimates, that in 1881 the numbers were less than those voted—in September by 1,070, in October by 1,177, and in November by 1,352; and now that the numbers voted had been reduced, would the strength be kept up?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, as his right hon. Friend was aware, he had only recently had to do with these matters; but if the number of seamen and marines was allowed to drop below the number on the Estimate, it was probably in anticipation of the reduction about to be proposed. He was quite aware from his Army experience of the great difficulty there was in keeping the establishment right and preventing any excess of the Estimate, and, in doing that, there were periods when the numbers fell short. He should certainly do what he could to keep the number well up to the establishment; but, of course, there were periods of the year when discrepancies would arise. He was informed that, at the present moment, the Marines were less than 100 short of the establishment.

Sir JOHN HAY: Of the reduced establishment?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Yes. As to periodical statistical Returns giving details showing the variations in the normal strength, he would inquire and see if there would be any difficulty in giving them. He was aware that these were of great convenience in regard to the Army. As far as his experience of the Admiralty went, he could not see there was any deficiency in statistical Returns; but they were rather financial than material. He was disposed to think that a Return, such as his hon. and gallant Friend mentioned, would be of use.

Lord HENRY LENNOX said, he would add a word to what had been said to impress on the Admiralty the extreme importance of the view of his right hon. Friend the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith). It must be remembered that it was not only that the Marines were reduced by 600 this year, but last year the blue-jackets were reduced by 800; and though it might seem that the same strength was being kept this year, that was not really the case, because the number of men was decreased and the number of boys increased. There was a work to which he would call the attention of the Secretary to the Admiralty—the gold medal prize publication, by Captain L. Blyth, on *Manning the Navy*. There the objections to the system of manning the Navy were stated. He wished to add his voice in pressing on the Admiralty that the reduced numbers should be kept up to their full strength.

Sir JOHN HAY said, he would urge on the Government that they should reconsider their decision to reduce the number of Marines. The immediate use of Marines was apparent at this moment, when we were relying upon them. In "another place" the First Lord of the Admiralty said that the object of reducing the number of Marines was to allow an increase of pay to the officers. No doubt they were well entitled to that increase of pay, and in time of peace, no doubt, it was an admirable arrangement to pay the officers what they ought to have. But now that we were engaged, if not in war, in warlike operations, and Marines were being sent out to assist, and did give most valuable assistance, he thought the opportunity ought to be taken to restore that Force to the number considered necessary until in a fit of economy the number of men was reduced in order to pay the officers more. The officers now had received their pay; there was an extra Vote for warlike operations; Marines were being largely employed; and it seemed to be a good opportunity for increasing the number of men to what had always been considered necessary, keeping to the officers the well-deserved advantage of the extra pay.

Sir EDWARD REED said, he should like to say a few words upon the Return which had been issued, which he considered one of the most valuable and instructive Returns ever produced, showing, as it did, the steady and continual growth of the charges for the non-effective Service from year to year, and bringing into clear light the fact that while successive Chancellors of the Exchequer fixed the aggregate amount of expenditure on the Navy on account of considerations that had nothing whatever to do with the Navy, but with the National Income, we had, on the other hand, this continual growth of charges for the non-effective Service simultaneously with a continual growth of the cost in every ship that was built for appliances and devices that did not exist at all a few years ago, and the nature of which would be illustrated by the *Inflexible* Return, upon which he would say a word or two later on. He referred to it now to show how, to use a popular phrase, the Navy was being "cornered." He was unable to separate this circumstance from another —namely, the relation of the Expenditure on the Public Service to the National Income; and he was inclined to think there were many signs of a decrease in the National Income, and the annual increase of Expenditure was becoming a subject of grave importance. He mentioned this to put a slight check on the remarks which had come from the opposite side; and he only wished to say now that the suggestions about keeping up the Naval strength in seamen and marines ought to be regarded in the light of the permanent charge for non-effective purposes involved, and the House ought to be careful how they increased the charge for pensions and all non-effective charges. It might be inferred from the remarks of the noble Lord opposite (Lord Henry Lennox), and others, that almost the only thing to consider was the keeping up of the number of men voted by the House; but he would point out that the circumstances of the time justified a gradual reduction of these numbers, and it was not right to assume *à priori* that any reduction was a mistake. Take the case of the *Inflexible*. The Civil Lord of the Admiralty told them that a ship like the *Inflexible* cost, according to the calculations of the Board, over £800,000, and yet there were only about 100 blue-jackets on board of her. Was this to continue to be the case, and yet this enormous increase in the cost of the Navy to go on unattended by any reduction whatever in the cost of the blue-jackets and of the marines? He had no wish to put any obstacle in the way of the proper adjustment of the point raised by the right hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Sir John Hay); but he must say that the undue growth of the non-effective charges was out of all proportion to the complement of the ships and the number of men employed. He would say no more upon the subject; but he certainly thought it was a matter which statesmen were called upon to consider.

Sir MASSEY LOPES said, his hon. Friend who had just sat down wished to impress upon the Admiralty the propriety of considering the question raised by his right hon. and gallant Friend (Sir John Hay) in reference to the reduction of the Marines. What was that reduction? They were told by the Secretary to the Admiralty that it amounted to something like £24,000, and for the sake of saving that sum 680 men and 35 officers of Marines had been dispensed with. Personally, he would much rather pay the money and retain the services of the men. He was glad to see that there was some probability of the promise being carried out of an improvement in the pay and prospects of the non-commissioned officers. There was certainly some force in the argument recently used that the reason why a force of Marines was not landed after the bombardment of Alexandria was that there was only a very limited number of men at the disposal of the Admiral. He thought the Committee would agree with him that the complement of blue-jackets on board ships of war was so small that none could be spared for landing when an emergency arose; and if it was deemed necessary at any time to send an expedition on shore, there was no force which could be made available for such a purpose. That was an additional reason why the number of Marines should not be reduced. In the present day there were more engineers and stokers and fewer blue-jackets and marines on on board a ship than was formerly the case, and that fact ought to be a very strong argument against any further reduction in the fighting strength.

The CHAIRMAN wished to point out that the Marines were not included in the present Vote at all, and the hon. Baronet was, therefore, discussing a subject that was not before the Committee.

Mr. D. JENKINS wished to say one word in reference to the remarks which had been made by the Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Sir Thomas Brassy) in reference to the stokers. He was sorry to hear the hon. Member say there was no intention on the part of the Admiralty to keep up a reserve of stokers for the Royal Navy. He himself considered it quite as necessary to have a body of stokers in the Royal Navy Reserve as a body of seamen, because the boilers were liable to suffer, and it was not possible to place their hands upon a large number of stokers at the moment when an emergency arose. Even in the Merchant Service it was found extremely difficult to put their hands upon thoroughly-trained stokers at a short notice. He hoped the Admiralty would take the matter into consideration, and see whether it was not desirable, in the interests of the Service, to keep a certain number of stokers in the Royal Navy Reserve.

Lord HENRY LENNOX said, the Chairman was mistaken in supposing that no reference to the Marines was included in the Vote. If he would turn to page 26, he would see that the pensions for Seamen, Marines, and the Reserves were included. Before, however, he went into the question of the Marines, he wanted to draw the attention of the Secretary to the Admiralty to the fact, that when a man who had served in the Army became a pensioner, he entered into the Reserve, and was still available for the service of the country; whereas, when the Marines were made pensioners, they were dispersed, and, not being included in any Reserve, their services were entirely lost to the country. He thought that was a point which the Secretary to the Admiralty would do well to consider. He also desired to make a strong appeal in favour of reconsidering the propriety of reducing the strength of the Marines. He would not detain the Committee further upon these points now, because he was afraid he should have to trouble the Secretary to the Admiralty at greater length when the Marine Vote was brought on.

Vote *agreed to.*

(3.) £113,691, Scientific Branch.

Sir JOHN HAY wished to ask, in reference to this Vote, how the Navy stood in regard to the question of surveys this year? There were plenty of unsurveyed coasts, and it had always been the practice to provide a certain sum for the expense of surveys. Although he should be glad to see any reduction made that could be fairly carried out, yet the safety of our Mercantile Marine and our constantly-extending commerce ought to be considered; and he did not think that any harm would result, but, on the contrary, a great amount of good, from requiring the surveys to be continued in future at the very moderate rate at which they had hitherto been carried out. He hoped his hon. and gallant Friend would state what the reduction was.

Sir THOMAS BRASSEY said, that a very comprehensive Report by the present able official Hydrographer had been laid upon the Table in the course of the present Session, and he thought the statements contained in that Report were exceedingly satisfactory. At present they had no less than 563 officers and men engaged upon the Admiralty surveys, and the work they had carried out was considerably greater than that performed by any other nation. Of course, no other nation had the power of undertaking the same amount of work. He would venture to say that the amount of work done by the Navy year by year very fairly represented the great and acknowledged responsibility of the country in contributing towards the knowledge and information of the civilized world. With regard to the operations of the Hydrographic Department generally, the enormous sale that was obtained for the admirable charts published by the Department, and other indications which it was not necessary to refer to, all tended to prove that the public highly appreciated the work that was being done. And he could assure his right hon. and gallant Friend that there was no disposition on the part of the Board of Admiralty to curtail or deal illiberally with this Vote.

Mr. W. H. SMITH asked if it was to be understood that there was to be a Report presented from the President of the Royal Naval College? It appeared that there had been some change in regard to the inspection of the Naval schools. The inspection was, he believed, exceedingly well conducted, and he hoped it would be as well conducted under any change which might be introduced into the system. Of course, it might be occasionally necessary to make a change—for example, in the case of a new appointment where an officer had served his time; but the inspection was a matter of very considerable importance, and he should like to know if the Secretary to the Admiralty could give the Committee any information on the subject?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he had not heard of any change, at any rate, in the system. The right hon. and gallant Member opposite (Sir John Hay) asked a question in regard to the Coasts Survey under letter P. The reduction was only apparent, and not real, and it arose in this way. The *Porcupine*, which had been previously employed, with a hired crew, had been paid off, and the *Triton*, with a naval crew, substituted, the pay of the officers and men being now provided under Vote 1, instead of under Vote 5; but, practically, there was no less amount of money spent in the Service. There had only been a change in the vessel.

Sir EDWARD REED said, the late First Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. W. H. Smith) had drawn attention to the desirability of having a Report from the Royal Naval College. The right hon. Gentleman himself, when in Office, was good enough to present a Report to the House at his (Sir Edward Reed's) request, and that Report was most valuable. In regard to it—namely, the Report of the Hydrographic Department, which had been referred to by his hon. Friend the Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Sir Thomas Brassey), he would take this opportunity of saying that, although this was the first time reference had been made in that House to that annual Report, it was one which was highly appreciated by himself and many others as a Report of very great value. The late First Lord having set an excellent example in showing his readiness to give a Report from the Royal Naval College, he hoped the present Board of Admiralty would carry the matter a step further, and give a Report from each of the training institutions. For instance, he should like to have an annual Report of the training at the cadet ships laid on the Table for the information of the

House, and also an annual Report from the training school for engineering students. He had always been in favour of the production of such Reports by the Admiralty for this reason—he was one of those who believed that in the perpetuation of these separate training establishments they were perpetuating in a very unnecessary manner a large and permanent charge for ineffective service. He did not think that the training establishments for the Navy at all recognized the great fact, which was forcing itself every day upon their attention, that the Navy of the country, and our system of fighting, were becoming more and more a matter of engineering. It was rather an alarming thing to find these strong lines of demarcation drawn between the officers of Her Majesty's Navy which the great change occasioned by the use of steam had brought about, and which was forcing itself more and more into the operations of the Navy. The occasion of this Vote at this period of the Session was, perhaps, not the proper moment for enlarging on the subject; but he did think that it would throw light, and very valuable light, upon the future of the question if they had an annual Report from the training schools for Naval cadets and engineering students. He recommended the matter to the Secretary to the Admiralty and the Board as one of considerable importance.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, he was anxious to confirm the statement of the right hon. and gallant Member for Wigtown (Sir John Hay) as to the importance of the survey carried out by the Hydrographic Department. He hoped the change of ships which had been made, would be a change in the direction of improving the survey. He agreed with the statement of the right hon. and gallant Member for Wigtown that the surveys ought to be continued on the same scale as hitherto, and that they should be conducted with unabated vigour. Instead of discouraging the surveys, the Admiralty ought, if possible, to add to them.

Sir JOHN HAY said, there was a question which he should like to put to the Secretary to the Admiralty, and which would come under this Vote, although the money was not asked for in it—namely, whether there was to be a Supplementary Vote of £5,000 for the Arctic Expedition? He hoped that the expedition of Sir Allen Young would be completely successful; and it would be interesting to the Committee to know the terms on which the grant was to be made, and when the expedition was expected to return.

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, the Vote would be moved by the Secretary to the Treasury, and it did not appear in the present Estimates. He was unable to give any exact information as to the time when the expedition was to be back. One condition upon which the money was granted was, that an equal sum should be proved to have been expended upon the expedition from private sources. The Vote was included in the Supplementary Estimates laid on the Table that morning; and when it came to be moved, he had no doubt if the right hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Sir John Hay) asked for information, that it would be given by the Financial Secretary when he proposed the Vote. In regard to what his hon. Friend behind him (Sir Edward Reed) had stated in reference to an annual Report from the training schools, he might say—speaking not so much as Secretary to the Admiralty as an independent Member—that, in his opinion, it would be a very good thing to have such Reports; and, if there was no objection, and no difficulty in the way, he would do his best to secure that in future they should be laid upon the Table. He could, however, make no promise upon the matter, because he was satisfied that there might be difficulties to contend with. Another point alluded to by his hon. Friend was the social distinction which had existed between different officers in the same Service. The Engineer officers now went for instruction under the same roof as the Naval officers at Greenwich, and the division which had previously existed between the Engineers and the Executive officers was now removed as much as possible.

Admiral EGERTON wished to say a word or two upon this Vote as to the Naval cadets. He was very much inclined to agree with the view which had been shadowed forth by the hon. Gentleman below him (Sir Edward Reed). He (Admiral Egerton) thought the engineering and training of the Naval officers ought to go very much more together than had hitherto been the case.

In the *Marlborough* a great advance had been made in that direction, and he thought that something ought to be done in regard to the training of Naval cadets. They were told some time ago that there was to be a sea-going training ship for Naval cadets; but he had heard that that intention was to be abandoned. He should be very sorry if that were true, because he believed it would cost very little, and would be of the greatest advantage. He should like to know decisively whether it was intended to abandon the idea, or to carry it out? It was of the utmost importance that the Naval cadets should be supplied with something or other to go to sea in. At present they had nothing except a vessel that was once a sea-going ship, but was no longer so; and they were unable to get the smallest taste of salt water outside Dartmouth Harbour. He wanted to know if it was intended to make some provision for training Naval cadets at sea?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN replied in the affirmative. Provision was made in the Estimates for a sea-going tender.

CAPTAIN PRICE asked if there was any intention to abolish a separate mess at Greenwich for the Engineers? He had drawn attention to the subject before, and it might easily be done now. At present there was a large mess in a very large room, and it would be easy to get rid of the social difficulty which sometimes existed.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he wished to put a question in regard to the last item in this Vote—item B—"Expenses connected with candidates for the Naval Medical Service." Those expenses were put down at £415, as compared with £1,815 last year, and the sum of £2,500 the year before. Last year he had moved for a Return showing the number of examinations held in London since 1870 for appointments in the Naval Medical Service, showing the number of vacancies to be filled up, the date of each examination, the number of candidates who presented themselves at each examination, and the number of unsuccessful candidates, together with the qualifications of the candidates. He had got a Return, but he had not caused it to be printed, because it appeared to him that, in all probability, most Members would be puzzled to know why it should be printed. He was perfectly certain that the Return itself would puzzle any of the officials, and of the medical world, who chose to examine it. The first portion of it showed that in the year 1870 there were three examinations. At those examinations the vacancies in the Naval Medical Service numbered respectively 11, 10, and 12. At the first of the examinations, 10 candidates presented themselves; at the second, 10; at the third, 7; so that the number of candidates was almost equal to the number of vacancies, and the Government had not much room for picking their men. As time went on from 1870 to 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, and 1875, the number of vacancies steadily increased, until it went up from 10 in 1870 to 46 in 1875. But, although the vacancies increased, the number of candidates presenting themselves fell off from 10 to as low as five and three, and the Government had to be content with candidates of precisely the same qualifications obtained at the same examination and at the same Universities as other candidates who had been rejected at previous examinations. Such persons were of necessity selected for the Naval Medical Service as efficient medical officers, and it was perfectly plain to anybody who knew anything of the medical world, and of medical qualifications, that these men must have scraped through a merely nominal examination. In August, 1875, although there were 46 vacancies, only three candidates presented themselves; and, although those candidates scarcely possessed the requisite qualifications, the Naval authorities were not able to reject any one of them. In the year 1874 there were 29 vacancies, and there were only 12 candidates, five of whom were rejected; but three of them were ultimately included, because the Government could not do without them. But, in spite of being compelled to take anybody who offered, the number of vacancies steadily increased from 43 and 46 in 1875, to 50 and 60 in the examinations of February and August, 76 in the February examination of 1880, and 73 in August, 1880. But, although there were 76 vacancies in the February examination in 1880, there were only six candidates, and there were only five for the 73 vacancies in August, and yet the Government dare only reject one of the candidates. He would not say what the qualifications of that gentleman were, because it would be invidious to do so; he would simply state that out of the five candidates who were examined one failed to pass. What struck him as extraordinary, was that, with 76 vacancies in February, 1880, and with only three successful candidates, and with only four successful candidates on another examination at the beginning of the year 1881, with vacancies existing admitted to be 70 in number, they had an item of £2,500 for the expenses connected with the examination of candidates for the Service; but in the following year it was reduced to £1,800, and this year it was brought down to little more than £400. The Auditor General, commenting upon the fact, stated that it was—

> "In consequence of the diminution in the supply of medical officers, which arose from a smaller number of students having attended the course of instruction than was anticipated from the fees of the examination in 1881 not having come in course of payment."

Under these circumstances, he failed to understand how it could be possible for the Naval Medical Service to be fully manned. If it was not, then, to a layman like himself, it appeared an extraordinary thing, with possibly a very large war at hand in the immediate future, that the Admiralty authorities should not have made a more adequate provision. If they had made sufficient provision, he could not understand the gradual reduction of this item from £2,500 to £1,800 last year, and only £400 this year. He should be glad if the Secretary to the Admiralty would explain the matter.

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, it was well known that both in the Army and Navy of late years there had been great difficulty with regard to the Medical Service; and both in the Army Medical Department and the Navy Medical Department, it had been found necessary to make very large and very important concessions to the medical officers in order to secure a proper number of qualified candidates. He could assure the hon. Member that a good deal had been done for the Naval Medical Service, and the item referred to by the hon. Member by no means gave the entire cost. The sum of £10,520 was provided for in the Estimates for improved full, half, and retired pay to medical officers, besides £5,000 for gratuities on retirement. No doubt, the serious evils which the hon. Gentleman had very properly called attention to had arisen, and there had been in former years a very great deficiency of candidates. The hon. Member asked why it was, if the Admiralty had improved the position of the candidates, that the expenses connected with examinations had fallen off? One reason was that the Naval School at Netley had been abolished. The item really consisted of two parts—the first applied to the examination of candidates, which was the same as it was before; and the other part disappeared this year altogether—namely, the cost of the instruction at the Naval School at Netley. The Naval School at Netley was now abolished, and, consequently, no provision was required under that head. But the sum of £402 was taken under Vote 8, and £1,000 under Vote 12, to provide for the expense of the instructional course now carried on for medical officers of the Navy at Haslar. Instead of using the establishment at Netley, the Naval Medical Training Establishment was now concentrated in the Naval Establishment at Haslar. He thought that would explain the difficulty.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he had overlooked the items on page 48, which accounted for the diminution of £1,400. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman would be able to state how many students were now under instruction for the Medical Service, and how many vacancies there were?

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, this was not the Vote on which that question would arise, and he was not prepared, at the moment, to give the information asked for by the hon. Gentleman. If the hon. Member would put the question by-and-bye, he would state both the number of candidates and the number of vacancies.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he was glad that a change had been made in regard to Haslar, and he thought the Government were making a good use of a really valuable hospital for Naval purposes. He had never really been able to understand why the medical officers were sent to Netley. It was clear that they ought to be sent to Haslar, having regard to the laborious work they had to perform; and he rejoiced to hear that the experience and knowledge of the

Inspector at Haslar were to be made use of for the Medical Service.

Sir EDWARD REED said, that any impediment in the way of carrying out recommendations for the improvement of the condition of the Navy did not come from the Navy officers themselves.

Vote *agreed to.*

(4.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £1,447,258, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expenses of the Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883."

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I understand it is usual that in moving this Vote a statement should be made, which I shall be happy at once to proceed to make, giving any information in my power as to the state of the shipbuilding programme, and the extent to which it has been carried out. I will do so as briefly and as succinctly as I can. In introducing the Estimates, the ships which my right hon. Friend (Mr. Trevelyan) named as intended for completion during the present year, were the *Agamemnon*, the *Ajax*, the *Conqueror*, and the *Polyphemus*. I am glad to say that satisfactory progress has been made with all of them. The two first-named, the *Agamemnon* and the *Ajax*, will, I expect, be finished in the autumn, although some delay has occurred on account of the fittings for their armament. In the *Conqueror*, also, which will carry one 43-ton gun, the fittings have caused some delay, and her torpedo armament is being increased; but she will be finished as promised. The *Polyphemus* is now complete, except for trials of machinery and steering gear. So much for the vessels promised to be completed during the year. Turning next to the ships which were to be advanced during the year, I am glad to be able to tell the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. W. H. Smith), to whose initiation this most useful and effective type of ship is largely due, that the *Collingwood* is proceeding most satisfactorily, and will be launched, it is hoped, before the end of the financial year. Her sisters, the *Rodney* and the *Howe*, are also being pushed forward. The *Edinburgh* will, it is expected, be ready to leave Pembroke in six or seven months' time, in a forward state, and it will be brought round to Portsmouth for completion, while the *Colossus* and the two barbette-belted cruisers, *Impérieuse* and *Warspite*, are making good progress. Of unarmoured vessels there are only four which require mention, and they are all of the same class. Of these the *Amphion* is being advanced satisfactorily at Pembroke, while the *Leander*, *Arethusa*, and *Phaeton* are promised to be delivered within the year by the contractor, a promise which was renewed within a few days of the present time. I have thus exhausted the list of ships in progress, and I turn to the "fresh woods and pastures new" of which my right hon. Predecessor accorded the Committee a glimpse a few months ago. The first element in the new projects of the Board of Admiralty for this year is the *Benbow*, for which vessel tenders have recently been invited.

Sir JOHN HAY: Is the *Benbow* to be built by contract?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Yes; she will be built by contract. I am going now carefully through the statements of my right hon. Friend and Predecessor. The *Benbow*, as is well known, will be of the same type as the *Collingwood*, *Rodney*, and *Howe*, but she will differ from her sisters in having somewhat stronger armour on her barbettes, and she, in common with the *Rodney* and *Howe*, will carry four 60-ton guns, as against four 43-ton guns in the *Collingwood*. The *Rodney*, *Howe*, and *Benbow* will carry the larger gun, but the *Benbow* will be 5 feet longer than the others, and her weight will be 10,000 tons, as against 9,600 in the *Rodney* and *Howe*, and 9,150 in the *Collingwood*. Besides the *Benbow*, which is to be built by contract, it was announced that two new ironclads would be laid down in the Dockyard; but as little more than a beginning was intended to be made upon the ships within this year, there has been ample time for the deliberate consideration of their type. I am not, however, prepared to state any decision on the subject at which the Board has arrived; and I think the Committee will agree that when we have had so recently, for the first time, an experience on a great scale of the qualities, and a test, it may be, of the weaknesses and defects of our fighting ships, it is only prudent to await full details of the result of that experience before proceeding to lay down any new vessels of that degree of importance. The Admiralty look to the opinions of the officers commanding our ships in the East as likely to throw a most instructive light on many problems of practical Naval construction, and thus it is that on this point—as to the type of the new ships to be laid down—I have no communication at present to make to the Committee. The final determination has not yet been made. One other item in the programme disclosed by my right hon. Predecessor remains for me to notice. With a graphic power which belongs to him, in common with few other Members of this House, he described the designs of a new protected torpedo ship, and excited the interest in it of all who heard him. It is now proposed to build, with but slight alteration, from the design laid before the Committee by my right hon. Friend, two such vessels—one at Chatham, and one by contract—the latter taking the place of a corvette, whose building by contract was in the original programme. In the present experimental state of torpedo armament, it is thought advisable that these two vesssels should be capable of carrying either a heavy armament of guns, or alternatively a very powerful torpedo armament and lighter guns. The principal features of the design remain as described—that is to say, there is a strong armour deck near the water-line of a hog-back shape, protecting the magazines and machinery and steering apparatus, while, above this, there will be comfortable accommodation for the crew. There will be a comparatively large coal capacity. Their speed will be from 16 to 17 knots, they will have twin screws, and will depend on steam alone for propulsion. The estimated cost of each of these vessels is about two-thirds of the ascertained cost of the *Polyphemus*. The dimensions, I may explain, will be nearly those of the *Leander* class, but in point of protection there is a great superiority. There is but one other matter which I have to bring before the Committee. The Committee are, no doubt, aware of the character of the four vessels of the *Cyclops* class, which were built about 12 years ago for the purpose of harbour and coast defence. They are powerful and effective ships for that purpose; but in the Report of the Committee of Designs in 1871, a doubt was expressed as to their being safe to go to sea in all weathers. I am not going to enter into the contested question whether this doubt is fully justified or not; but the Admiralty have resolved to add to one of these vessels a light super-structure, in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee of Designs, so as to increase her stability, and, therefore, her general usefulness for sea service. These are all the statements I have to submit to the Committee. I have put them as briefly as I could. They complete our proposals for the year; and the Admiralty believe that their proposals for the year, carried out and modified as I have explained, promise a substantial increase to the strength of the Navy, and will do much to maintain that great Service in the position which it ought to occupy, as being really, to so large an extent, the groundwork of the security, the confidence, and the pride of this country. Of course, if there are any questions which any hon. Gentleman wishes to put, or any further details required, I will give them to the best of my ability; but I have described the main features of the several vessels, so far as they have not been described before.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: I have listened with interest to the exceedingly modest statement of my hon. Friend, who has recently joined the Admiralty, and who is naturally not inclined to give any very florid account of the work in which the Department is engaged. This is really the most important Vote of the whole year, and I cannot help expressing my regret that it should be discussed in a thin House at 9 o'clock, on the evening of the 1st of August. It would almost appear as if, in the judgment of the House of Commons, the adequate provision for the material of the Navy is not a subject of very great importance. I myself feel very strongly indeed that in the future no circumstances should be allowed to permit so serious a delay as has taken place in the discussion of the Navy Estimates in the last two years. I do not at all blame the Government for what has occurred; but there can be no doubt that it is a matter of very serious concern to the country that these discussions should be rendered almost useless by delaying them till this period of the Session, when all the interest has been worn out, and a large number of

Members who ought to take an interest in the question are away. I trust that, under any circumstances, whatever may happen in future, we may have these Estimates discussed at a period when they can be discussed with advantage to the country. Nearly one-half of the year has now passed and we are discussing the Navy Estimates, which should have been fairly checked, if there was any reason to check them, by the opinion of the House long ago. It would not be possible now for the Admiralty to take advantage of any discussion that may occur. They are obliged to go forward with the work they have taken in hand, and five months of the year having gone they now come to us for the money, which, of course, must be given to them, for the Public Service. My hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty has made some statements to which I am anxious to call attention. He has stated that the *Ajax* and the *Agamemnon* will be finished this year. I am exceedingly glad to hear that that is the case, for our reserves are not, I think, such as would justify a longer delay in the completion of any vessel which would add to the strength of the Navy, or which would be available in a time of war. I think it must be felt by my hon. Friend opposite that we are now reaching a condition in which it becomes a matter of concern, whether, if we are to be engaged in a war, we might not find some difficulty in supplying the places of disabled ships. We have, it is true, the *Devastation*, the *Dreadnought*, and the *Neptune* at Portsmouth ready for sea, and the *Ajax* and *Agamemnon* at Chatham, which ought also to be ready for sea. There has been a delay with regard to the sighting of the guns of the latter vessels which is totally unexplained, and which has been much greater than could have been expected. Then there are several ships which are in a state of disrepair, and which could not be put to sea for some months, probably a year or two. The five vessels I have named are all that are available in case it was necessary to send an iron-clad fleet to sea immediately, and there is not, therefore, such a provision, or such a reserve as is desirable for a country like this. The point to which I am anxious to draw attention is that there has been very great delay in the completion of those ships. This is a point which was driven home to me constantly when I was in Office, and it is a point which I am now anxious to drive home to my hon. Friend and the Board of Admiralty. I know it is a matter of extreme difficulty to get a ship completed. It is an easy matter to build the hull of a ship. It is possible to build ton after ton of hull without delay; you have only got to settle upon the design, to employ a large number of men, and you can add ton upon ton to your building programme without the slightest stint. The delay takes place when you have launched the ship and are talking about her guns, when you have not quite made up your mind as what the magazine requirements will be, and when you are in correspondence with the War Department as to the charge for the guns. So it goes on week after week and month after month, and the ship remains incomplete, and will remain incomplete, unless a very positive will is exercised, and unless some particular individual is made personally responsible for the speedy and absolute completion of the ship. In the programme for 1881-2—that is to say, last year's programme—we were promised that these two ships—the *Ajax* and the *Agamemnon*—should be completed. I do not blame my hon. Friend opposite, nor the Government; but it is a grave matter when the House comes to consider that these ships may be wanted, and wanted immediately. We were promised that they should be completed some time ago, and they are not now ready for sea. The absence of these ships from the Effective List is the same thing as if they had never been in existence at all for the purposes of an immediate war. If a ship is not ready you cannot call it a ship on the Effective List, and the Service is short by these ships of its proper strength—a strength which only appears upon paper. I have looked at the Estimates of last year, and I find that the *Ajax* and the *Agamemnon* were promised to be completed; but the statement put in our hands of the work still to be done shows that 17 per cent of the work on the *Agamemnon*, and 27 per cent on the *Ajax*, remains to be completed. And this percentage is, as I have already said, the kind of work which is the most important, and which takes the longest time possible to complete, such as the fittings and the armament. It takes weeks sometimes to get a decision upon one particular item, and it often happens that the work already done has to be undone and done again. It is this kind of delay which I am anxious to press home upon my hon. Friend; and I repeat that it is work which should be undertaken by an individual, which individual should be made responsible for the completion of the ship by a given time. I think I am speaking in the presence of hon. Members who understand the application of that sort of principle to works of construction. I say nothing about the *Polyphemus*, because, undoubtedly, the *Polyphemus* is a vessel of an entirely experimental character, and a delay in her completion might reasonably occur. Whether she proves to be a success or not yet remains to be seen—at present she is only an experiment. She is new in every respect and in every degree. I am responsible for the adoption of the design of that vessel, which may or may not turn out a success, although I hope she will. Whether it turns out one or the other, I hold that it was the duty of the Admiralty to make the experiment, to trust to their scientific advisers, and to put complete faith in them, after informing themselves as well as they could. Undoubtedly, an experiment of the kind must frequently be made for the advantage of the Service, and I have no doubt it will fully justify the expenditure which has been incurred. I will, therefore, make no remark upon the delay in the case of the *Polyphemus*, because it was purely an experimental vessel. But when I come to other questions, I confess I look at them with something of alarm. I think my hon. Friend and the Admiralty will see that they have not been restricted in regard to money, as far as the House of Commons is concerned. I am glad to see that the Admiralty have taken an additional £280,000 on their Vote this year. Last year they estimated for £10,320,000, but now they have increased the amount to £10,600,000, the difference being £280,000 to the good. I think that the Admiralty have done well in taking more money; but my complaint is, that they have not carried out their programme in one important respect. They have not finished those ships which they should have done, in order fairly to complete their programme in building iron-clads as well as unarmoured ships. They have delayed some of the armoured ships, such as the *Ajax* and *Agamemnon;* but my great complaint is with regard to the delay which has taken place in reference to the repairs. I will take the Return of the ships which has been laid on the Table within the last day or two. I do not speak of the valuable Return of my right hon. and gallant Friend behind me (Sir John Hay), but the Return of the state of the Navy for 1882-3, and I will begin at the beginning. I find it was proposed, according to this Return, that the *Audacious* should be completed in August, 1882. But if I turn to the Estimates for 1881-2, I find that the *Audacious* was promised to be completed by March, 1882. It is not completed, and a powerful vessel of 6,000 tons displacement, and 14 guns armament, is not available for the Public Service at the present moment. I think the undertaking of the Admiralty ought to have been carried out. No doubt, I shall be told that some other ship has been completed in place of the *Audacious;* but the real effect of the delay has been that this vessel and many others are struck out of the effective strength of the Navy at the present time, and thus a considerable reduction in its total strength has been made compared with what it was two years ago. That is the point I am anxious to place clearly before my hon. Friend. Then, as to the *Bellerophon*, the Government promised in their Revised Estimates, presented in May, 1880, that she should be completed in July, 1881. Last year the present Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant stated that she had been delayed by reason of the breech-loading guns; and now we are told that she will be completed in March, 1883. That promise may be no more fulfilled than the promise of last year. The *Invincible* was repaired, but I will pass that over. I come next to the *Rupert*. The *Rupert* is a vessel of which we were promised that 55 per cent, or more than half, should be completed by the 31st of March, 1882. She has not been touched up to the present time; not a single hand has been put upon her, or, at all events, no effective work of any kind whatever towards her repair has yet been undertaken. I venture to doubt whether the work on that vessel can be finished by the 31st of March, 1883, even if taken in hand immediately. I myself do not think it can. Then I come to the *Shannon,* which has been standing for repairs for some considerable time. No undertaking or promise has been made this year with regard to that very useful and handy vessel. The *Shannon* is one of the best vessels for certain service in the Navy. When there was some doubt as to the state of our relations in the China Seas, the *Shannon* was sent there through the Suez Canal, and from the China Seas, after remaining there for some time, she went to the Pacific, and did good service there. It is a great misfortune that a ship like the *Shannon* should remain unrepaired for more than a year, and I hope the engagement of the Admiralty will be carried out so far as this ship is concerned. Then I come to the *Active,* which was promised to be completed by the 31st of March last, and which we are now told will, in all probability, be completed in September this year. Now, I think it is of very great importance to bear in mind the fact that we were promised that these vessels should be in an effective state at this time. There is next the *Rover.* She was promised to be completed in 1881; then by the 31st of March, 1882, and we are now told she will probably be completed by October next. Then comes the *Opal,* and next the *Sapphire,* both of which were promised to be completed by 31st March, 1882; but neither of them is complete at the present moment. They are, however, promised in December. I pass now to a ship which, if she were now effective, would, in all probability, be doing the greatest possible service to the country. I am speaking of the *Himalaya.* She, as we all know, is a most useful ship. She was promised to be completed by the 31st of March, 1882; but we are now told she will probably be completed in October next. In going through these reports my sole object is to show that there has been a very considerable and serious delay, if not an absolute cessation of progress, in the matter of repairs, the result of which is that, at the present time, the strength of the Navy is a great deal less than the country supposes it to be, or has a right to expect. I do not ask that a single ship should be repaired which is not worthy of repair, or which it is not intended to keep in repair as a thoroughly useful vessel; but I wish to enforce the principle already laid down more than once in the course of the discussions upon the Navy Estimates that if a vessel is intended to be kept in the Service, if she is recognized as a thoroughly serviceable ship, she ought not to be left unavailable for a single day beyond the actual necessities of the case. But it seems to me a mistaken and, if I may say so, a remarkably short-sighted policy to allow a valuable ship to be laid up in harbour, say, at Devonport or Portsmouth for a long period, during which she is sure to be deteriorating from exposure and other causes which are known to everybody connected with ships, when it is intended at some future time to take her in hand for repairs. Leaving out of the question altogether that the vessels of the kind I am referring to are, perhaps, worth £300,000 or £400,000 each, and that there is, consequently, a considerable loss in interest of money while they remain unavailable, there is ultimately an actual increase of expenditure caused by leaving them unrepaired. It is perfectly well known that vessels, if left for any length of time in a state of disrepair, will get daily, monthly, and yearly into a worse condition, and that their repairs in consequence will cost much more than if they had been taken in hand at once. I have no doubt I shall be told that the exigencies of the Service have compelled the Dockyard authorities to take in hand other ships which have come in for repair, and to deal with them rather than with the vessels to which I am now directing attention; but I venture to impress upon the Committee that if this system be pursued, we shall have such an arrear of repairs as will place us in a position similar to that in which we found ourselves in 1873, when my right hon. Friend the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) was First Lord. At that period, I believe, my right hon. Friend was almost obliged to stop shipbuilding —the building of armour-clad vessels falling to about 3,000 or 4,000 tons or less, simply because he had no ships to use as reliefs. You must not lose sight of the fact that the number of vessels that require to be repaired will also increase. You will probably next year have to take in hand the *Alexandra,* which has been in commission six or seven years;

you will have the *Iron Duke* coming home from China, after an absence of four years, as well as the *Triumph* from the Pacific, besides others which were added to your list of vessels requiring repairs; and, further than that, other ships will have to be found to take their places, or the strength of the Navy will be very considerably reduced. But I have some further observations to make upon this subject. My right hon. Friend the present Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Mr. Trevelyan), speaking on the 16th of August last year, said—

> "The *Shah* and one other iron-clad which are under repairs will be completed this year. . . . . Finding that there was money to spare, owing to the slow progress made with the cruisers in private yards, we have thought it right to apply that money to the repairs of the *Raleigh*, and an order has been given for supplying her with new engines and boilers. The *Black Prince* and her consort are engaging the attention of the Admiralty, who are considering the best use that can be made of those vessels, and whether it is not desirable to convert them into very powerful and swift cruisers by fitting them with new engines. . . . . Provision has been made for placing 103 6-inch guns on board a number of our corvettes and gun-boats, and the *Shah* and the *Raleigh* will be furnished with a full broadside of these beautiful weapons."—[3 *Hansard*, cclxv. 79-83.]

That statement was made just before the Prorogation last year, and we all separated believing that arrangements were made for repairing the *Shah* and the *Raleigh*. But the next thing we heard was that it had been decided not to repair the *Shah* and the *Raleigh* at all. I want to know what became of the original decision of the Admiralty with regard to the *Raleigh*, as distinctly stated by my right hon. Friend last year when he said—"An order has been given for supplying her with new engines and boilers;" what has become of the order; who had the order, and how is it that the engagement has not been carried out? How is it that the engagement with Parliament which my right hon. Friend entered into has been totally disregarded, and that we are now told that nothing is to be done at present with the *Shah* and the *Raleigh*? In this matter we have been left entirely in the dark; all we know with regard to these two vessels is that they are awaiting repair; but no information of any kind is given with regard to them. Well, Sir, I have made some calculation of the effect of the policy which has been pursued by the Admiralty. I put out of the question the *Black Prince*, which vessel we were led to believe the Admiralty looked upon favourably last year as a cruiser. My right hon. Friend said distinctly with regard to this vessel that they were considering the proposal to put new engines and boilers into her, to reduce her armament, and make her what I think she would prove to be—a fast cruiser, or a vessel available for any service on which such ships are employed. She would, in all probability, with new engines and boilers, have a speed which would enable her to overhaul any ordinary cruiser, and she could carry, if she were properly handled and properly weighted, a very large supply of coal; at all events, we were led to believe that that was the opinion of the Admiralty. Well, Sir, a ship of that character has dropped out of the list altogether, and it becomes necessary to consider how she is to be replaced. But, putting her aside, as I said before, the calculation I have made of the effect of the policy pursued by the Admiralty is as follows. The *Resistance*, *Shannon*, *Audacious*, *Bellerophon*, and the *Rupert* give, of armoured ships, a total of 30,660 tons. That more than equals the tonnage of incomplete ships added to the Navy in recent years, the completion of which is a matter of so much difficulty. Then we come to the unarmoured ships promised to be repaired, and which would now have been effective had the engagements of the Admiralty been kept. These vessels represent a total of 34,823 tons, and they were engaged to be repaired by the 31st of March last; but they still remain for repair, the promise made with respect to them not having been performed. Then my hon. Friend has given me a list of the vessels which properly dropped out of the Effective List during the last two years, and these represent a total of 25,749 tons. The Admiralty have built, in two years, of armoured ships 19,271 tons, and of unarmoured ships 16,000 tons. My contention is, therefore, that the policy of delaying repairs seriously weakens the strength of the Service, and that it requires the most grave consideration. I now pass to the question of guns. My right hon. Friend the present Chief Secretary for Ireland said, on the before-mentioned occasion, in the course of his statement upon the Navy Estimates—

> "When the present Government acceded to power we found a 43-ton gun in course of manufacture at Woolwich; but we did not find any of that competition to which my right hon. Friend opposite refers, but which, had he remained at the Admiralty, would, no doubt, have been set on foot in a short time. The very first act of the present Government was to set this all essential enterprize on foot, and on the 24th of May the War Office wrote to Sir William Armstrong, inviting him to send a 43-ton gun to Woolwich for experiment. He accepted this proposal, but asked for 10 months to complete the task, so heavy and complicated is even the preliminary business in connection with the adoption of a great gun."—[*Ibid.* 81-2.]

But previously to this statement, in answer to a Question which I put to him in the House on the 28th of April, my right hon. Friend said—

> "The breech-loading guns which will be supplied for the service of the Navy during the present financial year will be eight 9·2-inch 18-ton guns, four 8-inch 11½-ton guns, and 103 6-inch 4-ton guns." —[3 *Hansard*, cclx. 1320.]

This statement was made more than once by my right hon. Friend in reply to Questions, and it was repeatedly confirmed by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War. Well, Sir, I will ask how many of these 9·2-inch or 18-ton breech-loading guns, of which eight were promised; how many 11½-ton guns, of which eight were promised; and how many 4-ton guns, of which 103 were promised, have been received into the Service during the year ending on the 31st of March last? This was an engagement seriously entered into with the House at a time when it was capable of being fulfilled—that is to say, in April, 1881—and I am anxious to know how many of the very important and useful guns in question have been placed on board Her Majesty's ships. The Committee has been told that a very considerable number of new guns are provided for in the Estimates of this year. I ask whether these are in addition to the 119 guns which were promised to be delivered by the 31st of March last, or whether the 119 guns to which I have referred are included in the figures of the present year's Estimates? My hon. Friend in charge of the Estimates (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), having been at the War Office, is, no doubt, able to furnish the Committee with full information on this point, because the War Department has the privilege of supplying the Navy with guns. But I am also exceedingly anxious to know whether the 43-ton gun which has been in course of construction for many years is now finally approved; whether the trials have been satisfactory; whether, for endurance, penetration, and range it has satisfied all the authorities; whether the Navy itself is satisfied with the gun; and whether the conditions that were necessary to their reception by the *Conqueror*, which is to be finished during this financial year, have been complied with? I am sure my hon. Friend will see the desirability of having the gun approved as soon as possible, otherwise the ship which is to carry it will not be finished by the 31st of March next. I have had some experience of the delays that take place in connection with new guns and armament; and I shall be exceedingly surprised—very pleasantly surprised indeed—if it has been found possible to settle upon a gun thoroughly to the satisfaction of those who are responsible for receiving it into the Service, because, as my hon. Friend will understand, the Navy is as much responsible for the weapons it makes use of as the Army Department is for supplying them. The Admiralty is not justified in receiving a weapon into the Service, however great may be the authority which offers it to them, unless that weapon has met with the approval of every officer responsible for its being put on board. Therefore, I ask, what is the position of this 43-ton gun? Has it really been completed; is it an approved gun which the Navy is prepared to receive, or is it only at present an experimental gun; is it a gun from which other experiments are to proceed, and other designs be produced, and which may, perhaps, result in the construction of a gun a year or two hence, intended to be taken into the Service and made permanently useful? A few years ago, when I was in the place now occupied by my hon. Friend, I ventured to lay down the principle that it was essential that the Service should obtain the best gun that could be completed within a reasonable time; it appeared to me then, and it appears to me still, out of the question to wait for the best gun which scientific men can produce in an unlimited time, because the result of that must be that a large number of our vessels will remain unarmed for want of guns to put into them, and, consequently, of no use to the country. For these reasons it seemed to me right that there should be some limited period fixed within which the selection might be made, and within which those who were responsible for deciding on the design of a gun should come to their conclusion, and then produce, for the consideration of the Department, the best possible gun that could be constructed upon that design. I have a very strong desire to see what I have often spoken of as a genuine competition in the production of guns —that is to say, a competition between the Government Factory on the one hand, and anyone who is capable of producing a gun on the other. When an individual capable of producing a gun has presented himself, I suggest that he should enter into an arrangement which would leave him without any return for his experiment or speculation if his gun failed to equal that produced at the Government Factory; on the other hand, let it be clearly understood that if, at least, the gun is equal to that produced in the Factory, its acceptance shall be insured. I believe that, upon these conditions, men of enterprize would be induced to enter upon the desired experiments, and that genuine competition would result, the private manufacturer having a reasonable chance of reward for his enterprize and expenditure; whereas, if you ask for designs, give directions, and require the performance of these mechanical experiments upon the lines which have already been laid down by the Department, the reverse will be the result. I do not know what are the conditions insisted upon in the case of Sir William Armstrong; but I think I am correct in saying that we are still without the guns intended for the ships I have named, and that no decision has been arrived at, notwithstanding the very long time which has elapsed. Now, there is one circumstance in connection with guns of this kind which must be taken very seriously into account—that is to say, the very great shortening of the life of the gun, which is proved to have resulted from the increased changes to which, in order to secure the necessary results, it has to be very properly subjected. I do not refer to what we have an imperfect knowledge of, but to a fact within our knowledge, when I remind the Committee that two of the guns on board one of the vessels that went to Alexandria have suffered damage from the cause I have described. I am only expressing the opinion of persons well informed upon this subject when I say that the great temperature and force developed will determine the life of a gun within a shorter period of time than is generally supposed, and it is conceivable that a certain limited number of rounds may render it no longer possible to use the gun on the same conditions as before. It may be possible to re-tube it; but five or six years' work, even with practice charges, may result in such injury to the gun that it will be no longer serviceable. I am not now merely speaking of that which may occur, but of what has occurred; and, therefore, I say there is no substantial reason for delaying the adoption of the best gun that can be obtained within a reasonable period. Because, when it is known that a gun will, in all probability, be worn out in five, six, or seven years, the wits of the mechanic will be exercised with great advantage to the Public Service in designing a still better gun; and by the time he has completed his work the existing gun will be worn out, and we shall then be able to avail ourselves of the new design. I regard it as a very grave matter that these guns, as I am informed, are not now ready for the Service, and that the ships for which they are intended, and which were to be completed within this year or the beginning of next, will probably be considerably delayed, because the guns themselves are not ready. Sir, I hope the importance of the subject will be regarded as a sufficient excuse for having taken up so much of the time of the Committee. In concluding, I will just recapitulate the points to which I have drawn attention. I am anxious to receive some assurance—first, that this question of guns will receive most serious and effective consideration at the hands of Her Majesty's Government and the Admiralty, and next, that the promised repairs of the vessels I have referred to will be completed within the time now remaining. I also wish for information with regard to the *Black Prince*—as to whether the suggestion made by the late Secretary to the Admiralty last year will be adopted or abandoned; and I desire to know, also, whether the *Raleigh* and the *Shah* are to remain in their present condition? Finally, I wish to know generally whether the Admiralty fully realize the importance of at once taking into dock for repair those good and serviceable ships which can be made efficient for the Public Service hereafter?

Sir EDWARD REED said, he objected to the practice of passing compliments freely between the opposite Benches on these occasions as destructive to Parliamentary criticism; but the right hon. Gentleman opposite had made a speech which he considered in every part of it to be most valuable, because it consisted entirely of sound and just criticism without any admixture of exaggeration or Party bias. The speech of the right hon. Gentleman was listened to with the attention which it merited, because it afforded an example of the tone of debate which, he believed, all hon. Members were most anxious to see adopted when Naval matters were under consideration. He would like to make a passing remark upon an observation which fell from the hon. Member for Sunderland (Mr. Gourley). The hon. Member had spoken of our "obsolete ships," and, in doing that, he seemed to have fallen into the very bad habit which obtained both in that House and throughout the country of speaking of every ship which was not of the most recent type as an obsolete vessel. But he would remind the Committee of the fact that in the recent attack upon the forts at Alexandria, very efficient and valuable services were rendered by the *Monarch* and the *Invincible*, and other ships of their date, and that these vessels were sent into action for the purpose of achieving a public object with exactly the same readiness and confidence as to their fitness to undertake the work as were the other vessels of more recent construction. He held it to be both unsound and improper criticism to be continually representing to the country and the world that every one of our ships not of recent type was obsolete. On the contrary, he believed, there were very few iron-clad ships which came properly within this category. The right hon. Gentleman had dwelt with very great weight upon the shortcomings of the present Board of Admiralty in the matter of repairs to our ships, and had dealt with that subject very much in the same manner as he (Sir Edward Reed) had dealt with the shortcomings of the Board under the late Administration with regard to the building of ships. He was glad that they were at last becoming conscious of the fact that Boards of Admiralty did not exist simply for the purpose of obtaining from Parliament a certain sum of money year after year, but that they existed in order that they might maintain the Navy in an efficient state for the service of the country. The right hon. Gentleman had very properly drawn attention to the error of allowing a number of useful vessels to remain for a length of time in our ports without repair; and, whatever excuse might be offered by the Admiralty for the existing state of affairs, the thing itself was absolutely indefensible. He could not understand how any responsible Minister could allow a considerable number of vessels, whether iron-clad or unarmoured, to remain for months or years altogether in a state of disrepair without making any attempt whatever to bring them into a state of efficiency. It seemed to him that the First Lord of the Admiralty who should be in Office when the country was involved in war, and discover that a large portion of the Navy was lying in a state of unreadiness in our harbours, without taking immediate steps to remedy that state of things, would be and ought to be regarded very much as a traitor to the country, because he held Office for the very purpose of keeping the Navy in a state of efficiency. The hon. Gentleman in charge of the Estimates would, no doubt, be able to adduce very strong excuses on behalf of the Admiralty for not having carried out the repairs of the iron-clads referred to by the right hon. Gentleman opposite. Now, that was a moment when he, for one, regretted that there was no First Lord in that House with whom they could debate this question, because, notwithstanding the great ability and experience of the two hon. Gentlemen below him who represented the Admiralty, he could not help feeling that neither of them possessed that weight in the Government to be able to shape and carry out a policy of their own in a matter of this kind. The consequence of this was that, although they might agree with the criticisms of the action of the Board which had been made in the course of the evening, they would be unable to give effect to their views. Nevertheless, they occupied very responsible posts, and he had no doubt if they could be made to feel that the House was determined to require the Board of Admiralty to maintain the Navy in a state of efficiency, they would be able, at least, to convey a forecast of that fact to the mind of the present First Lord. He wished, of course, to add that, in his opinion, all criticism on the points raised should, under present circumstances, be controlled by prudence. At present the amount voted for the Navy was, roughly speaking, a fixed sum year after year; and the effect of that was that each succeeding Administration found itself, after the payment of the non-effective charges, without money for carrying out a reasonable programme at all; and so we had one Administration neglecting the building programme put before Parliament, as he ventured to say was the case when his right hon. Friend opposite was in Office, and another, when a change of Government took place, admirably carrying out the building programme, but neglecting the repairs. This was due to the simple fact that neither Administration had enough money to pay for both building and repairs; and it raised the question whether any Administration was entitled to come down to that House and ask for sums of money which were insufficient to maintain the Navy in a state of efficiency. He was disposed next year to move a Resolution in that House which, he hoped, would receive the support of hon. Gentlemen opposite, and of a good many Members on that side of the House, tending to bring the Government of the day to account for bringing forward insufficient Estimates and neglecting to maintain the Naval Service in an efficient state. He thought the Opposition might be appealed to to vote for a Motion of this kind; at any rate, it was worthy of their consideration, because the system which was going on year after year amounted to absolute imposture, inasmuch as the men who framed the various Naval programmes laid before Parliament knew perfectly well when they were presented that they could not be carried out with the money at their disposal. Having spoken thus frankly on the subjects of shipbuilding and repairs, he wished, with equal candour, to say a few words in praise of the statement of the Secretary to the Admiralty in introducing the Navy Estimates. The hon. Gentleman had, he thought, shown an appreciation of what the Committee of the House naturally desired to have—that was to say, information as to the ships which the Government proposed to build. He (Sir Edward Reed) had never in that House entered upon any small criticisms in connection with the Service; and although there were a great number of things done in the Navy at the present time which he heartily disapproved, most of them were matters of secondary importance, and, as such, he did not regard them as fit subjects for Parliamentary criticism. Moreover, at this period of the year, he should not discuss at any great length even the larger subjects which presented themselves for consideration. It had been said of the *Polyphemus* that she was an experimental ship. He believed she had been experimental at every stage, and the chances were that she would remain so to the end. Now they were informed that the Admiralty were going to build two additional torpedo vessels; but it appeared that they were undecided as to whether these vessels would be armed with an armament of guns or with an armament of torpedoes.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: It is not at all that the Admiralty are undecided. The vessels are what may be called alternative vessels in this respect—that when they are finished they may have a perponderating torpedo armament or a preponderating gun armament.

Sir EDWARD REED said, he was very glad to hear that, in any event, they would carry some guns; and he took that opportunity of remarking what he had already had occasion to say on former occasions—namely, that of all the foolish things that this country could do in connection with the Navy, that of abandoning the armament of guns was, perhaps, the most foolish. On a former occasion, when his hon. Friend (Sir Thomas Brassey) was in favour of substituting torpedoes and rams for guns, he pointed out that for every shot fired from British men-of-war at ships, a thousand shots were fired at the shore. What he wished the Committee to understand from this was, that guns, and not torpedoes or rams, were necessary for attacking the coast defences of the enemy. A torpedo ship would have been of no use whatever in the recent attack on the forts at Alexandria; and although he concurred in the opinion that it was right to build the *Polyphemus,* he was most anxious to use any little influence he might possess by way of restraining anything like a large multiplication of vessels of that class, at the expense of vessels armed with guns. He regarded the principle which he advocated as essential at all times, but particularly so when it was known that the authorities had not sufficient money to enable them to carry on the Service in a manner that would insure its complete efficiency. His hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty had referred to the vessels of the *Cyclops* class, which, he said, were about to undergo some alterations, with a view to render them more seaworthy. But he would remind the Committee that the vessels which were built after this type were never designed for sea-going purposes at all. The first vessel of the kind was the *Cerberus,* which was built for the Australian Government, and was bought by them for the specific purpose of fighting on inland waters, and defending the approaches to Melbourne; and there was, therefore, not the slightest necessity for her being a sea-going vessel. The question then presented itself—how came we to build four vessels of that type? He did not agree at all with the adoption of the *Cerberus* type of vessels for the defence of our coasts; on the contrary, he held that for this purpose sea-going ships were necessary—that, in fact, the coasts of England could not be defended with vessels that could not go outside. The reason, however, why the vessels of this type were built was that the Franco-German War had broken out at the time, and the Government of the day seized upon a design from which they could build with the greatest rapidity. That was the real cause which determined the construction of the vessels in question; and, therefore, he hoped the Committee would understand, when they heard that these ships required alterations to make them seaworthy, that this was not the result of defective construction, but because they were to be adapted to an entirely new service, as compared with that for which they were originally designed. There were also one or two remarks that he desired to make with reference to the *Inflexible.* His hon. and gallant Friend opposite would remember that a few evenings ago his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury was not well pleased at being accused of returning discourteous answers to questions put to him in the House. He (Sir Edward Reed) did not exactly know what a discourteous answer might be; but he could not regard it as a very courteous proceeding, when asked for information, to give no information at all. He had asked for information with regard to the *Inflexible;* and he wished to point out that if his hon. Friend had given certain Returns in consequence, he, or at any rate those behind him, had refrained from giving the information that he wanted. His question was a perfectly reasonable one—namely, What was the actual cost of the *Inflexible* as an engine of war when she sailed from Spithead? Now, a Return had been furnished which was headed, "Actual Cost of Hull and Stores of Her Majesty's Ship *Inflexible;*" and innocent-minded Members of that House, seeing the total of £809,594, might possibly consider that this sum represented the total cost of the vessel. But he was compelled to inform the Committee that it was not the whole cost of the *Inflexible,* inasmuch as it did not include the amount spent on her armament. He asked for this information with no sinister object whatever, nor for any private purpose, but simply for the purpose of enabling him to prepare that argument which, on a future occasion, he wished to place before the House in support of his contention, that it was impossible to carry on the Naval Service efficiently with the present inadequate expenditure. He said it was a most reasonable thing on the part of Members of that House that they should desire to know exactly what the *Inflexible* had cost the country; and although he had no wish to dwell upon the point more than was necessary, he would ask his hon. Friend to state on a future occasion what that total cost amounted to. He was not going into the whole case of the *Inflexible* on that occasion; but he wished to say a word or two with regard to the nature of the information which had been supplied, because he could not help feeling that the reason why hon. Members seemed to show somewhat small anxiety in connection with the Navy Estimates was that they were seldom furnished with information which they could thoroughly rely upon. They were in consequence liable to be snubbed if they founded any questions or arguments upon the information they received, and to play into the hands of the Admiralty, as it were, instead of doing any good. Now, the country had avowedly expended in the case of the *Inflexible* £809,594, in addition to the cost of an immense armament on a single engine of war; and yet the Return which had been furnished did not give so elementary a piece of information as the speed of the ship when fully equipped for sea. It said something about the speed she was intended or expected to have, and it gave the speed she attained at Malta, where he understood there was no measured mile, although upon that point he was not quite positive. But then the Return went on to say, by implication, that she was not at her load draught at all, because they had been told on a former occasion that her draught was 25 feet 4 inches, whereas it was stated to have been 24 feet 4 inches when she was tried at Malta. As a matter of fact, the only information given in the Return with regard to the steaming powers of this most costly ship related the occasion of her steaming at Malta with something like 550 tons short of her proper allowance of weight. He was inclined to regard it as somewhat unreasonable to expect the House and the country to be contented with such uncertain and unsatisfactory information upon a subject in which so much interest was felt by all. He would like to know what sort of a position his right hon. Friend in charge of the Works Department would feel himself placed in if, after very nearly £1,000,000 had been spent in erecting a public building, he could not say what the total cost of the building amounted to? He ventured further to refer to this Return for the purpose of showing how much light it threw upon another serious question—namely, that relating to the charges which, at the present day, accumulated in connection with our ships—charges of a novel kind which a few years ago had no existence; and he mentioned this without the slightest idea of criticizing the action of the Board of Admiralty, but simply for the purpose of illustrating the difficulties which they had to encounter, and which each succeeding Board had to encounter in a higher degree. Amongst other novel items, there was, for instance, the unwonted charge of £48,000 for hydraulic machinery. If they could induce the Secretary to the Admiralty to give them all the information desired, and which they asked for without any sinister purpose, he thought they would be able, on a future occasion, to show the Admiralty that the time had come for a statesmanlike reconsideration of the whole question of the Naval affairs of the country. Things were proceeding, year after year, in a fashion that was eminently unsatisfactory, a circumstance that, he was sure, no one felt more keenly than the right hon. Gentleman opposite who had presided over the Admiralty Department. He did not wish to anticipate any argument which might be advanced by his right hon. and gallant Friend opposite (Sir John Hay), who was, of course, competent to deal with anything relating to the strength of the Navy; but he desired, in conclusion, to point to one fact, which, in his opinion, demonstrated the unsatisfactory state of our Naval administration at the present moment. With the exception of a few small vessels, they had never been able to get the Admiralty to build any small iron-clads at all. Now, in his opinion, it was most necessary that the country should possess a sufficient number of these useful vessels, the want of which placed us in a most unsatisfactory position; because when we sent a dozen large ships to bombard the fortifications at Alexandria, we did, as a matter of fact, subject almost the whole of our Navy to injury; whereas, if we had possessed, say, three times that number of small ships, they would have done the same amount of work at the cost of, probably, one-tenth of the injury which had been inflicted upon the others.

Sir JOHN HAY said, he should endeavour not to travel over the same ground which had been covered so well by the right hon. Gentleman below him (Mr. W. H. Smith) and by the hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward Reed). There was, no doubt, a good deal to be said upon many subjects connected with the Vote before the Committee; but it was impossible, at that time of the Session, to enter fully into those subjects; and he should, therefore, condense what he had to say as much as possible. In the first place, his hon. Friend the Member for Cardiff had alluded with disapprobation to the term "obsolete," now common in the country as applied to some ships of the Navy. But he would remind the Committee that this phrase was officially introduced to the House last year by the Admiralty in connection with the classification of ships; and, therefore, he hoped he should not lay himself open to criticism if he adopted it in referring to some points which had been already touched upon. When his noble Friend the Member for Chichester (Lord Henry Lennox), some four months ago, discussed in that House the condition of the British Navy as compared with the Navies of other countries, hon. Members had before them very accurate information, which was accepted and confirmed by his right hon. Friend the late Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Trevelyan), with regard to the number of vessels we were building and the number of vessels that were being built in France, as well as with regard to the number of obsolete and non-obsolete ships in the Navies of the two countries. He heard now with the greatest regret that of the 13 armour-clads which were to be built two had disappeared. [Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN dissented.] His hon. Friend in charge of the Estimate shook his head; but he spoke with reference to the new armoured ship that was to be built at Portsmouth and the new armoured ship that was to be built at Pembroke, and for which certain sums of money had been taken.

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, he had not intended to convey the idea imputed by the right hon. and gallant Gentleman. A small sum of money was taken in the Estimates simply for the purpose of commencing the ships referred to, one of which was only to be laid down, while with the other very little progress was to be made. All he had said was that he was not prepared on the 1st of August to state precisely the types on which these vessels would be built.

SIR JOHN HAY said, he quite accepted the explanation of his hon. Friend; but Christmas was coming, and the condition of the country was quite different now from what it was four months ago. One would have thought that the ships in question would have been expedited, instead of its being hardly decided what was the class of ships about to be built, especially at a time when, as they knew, the French were building 14 iron-clads as against our 13, or rather 11, as the number actually stood, after deducting the two vessels he had referred to. But it would be some time before these 11 vessels were available; and looking at the fact that by the year 1885, at the present rate of progress, our Navy would be by no means superior to the Navy of France, it was a matter for grave consideration for the Committee whether the Admiralty ought not to be urged, if necessary, to take an additional sum of money and to go forward rapidly with the building of ships, which were acknowledged now on both sides of the House, and were acknowledged four months ago in the then condition of the country, to be absolutely necessary for the national safety. With regard to the ships we had at present, it must be remembered that since the month of April two ships had to be dropped, because, whatever else might be said of the *Black Prince* and the *Resistance*, the House was informed that they were of the obsolete class, but available for public service. Moreover, the Return contained the suggestion, with regard to these vessels, that it was very doubtful whether they ought to be repaired. He remembered the same suggestion was made formerly with regard to seven other ships, which had since had their engines taken out; and he was afraid that the two ships in question would be found similarly unfit for repair, and that they must, therefore, be deducted from the list of British armour-clads. It was worth the while of the Committee to take stock of our ships; and, at the risk of adding what hon. Members might know by heart, he would like to read the names of the non-obsolete and obsolete ships, with a view to indicating some facts which he thought worthy of notice. We had the *Alexandra*, *Audacious*, *Belleisle*, *Devastation*, *Dreadnought*, *Glatton*, *Hercules*, *Hotspur*, *Inflexible*, *Invincible*, *Iron Duke*, *Monarch*, *Nelson*, *Neptune*, *Northampton*, *Orion*, *Rupert*, *Shannon*, *Sultan*, *Superb*, *Swiftsure*, *Téméraire*, *Thunderer*, and *Triumph*. That was 24 non-obsolete iron-clads; and of those, four—the *Audacious*, *Rupert*, *Shannon*, and *Thunderer*—were under repair, so that we had only 20 efficient non-obsolete British iron-clads. He was aware that the Lords of the Admiralty included the *Cyclops*, *Hydra*, *Gorgon*, and *Hecate* as non-obsolete in reference to their armour; but these ships, one of which was about to have some superstructure put upon her, were not sea-going iron-clads; and he thought he was right in saying we had 24 iron-clads, of which 20 were efficient non-obsolete iron-clads; and of the obsolete, but efficient, ships, the *Achilles*, *Agincourt*, *Bellerophon*, *Black Prince*, *Hector*, *Lord Warden*, *Minotaur*, *Northumberland*, *Penelope*, *Repulse*, *Resistance*, *Valiant*, and *Warrior*. From these the *Resistance* and *Black Prince* must be deducted as doubtful; and the *Bellerophon*, which would not be repaired until March, 1883, if then. So that we had 11 obsolete efficient iron-clads, which, added to the 20 efficient non-obsolete, made 31 sea-going iron-clads of the Navy, and he believed that was all we could rely upon for sea-going purposes. It was true we had, in addition to the four he had mentioned and the non-obsolete list, six others—the *Prince Albert*, *Scorpion*, *Viper*, *Vixen*, *Waterwitch*, and *Wivern*—which, neither from thickness of armour, nor heaviness of armament, nor from speed, could be regarded as sea-going vessels or fit for anything but harbour defence. That being so, how were we going to replace them? There were building the *Agamemnon*, *Ajax*, and *Conqueror*, which would be ready, perhaps, next year, the *Rodney*, *Warspite*, *Colossus*, *Impérieuse*, *Collingwood*, *Edinburgh*, and *Howe*, making 10, and the *Benbow*, and two other new ships, which would make 13 at present in the course of construction. When these were built the Navy of this country would only by two or three sea-going vessels be superior to that of France in the year 1885. Looking to the duties this country had to perform, that was entirely insufficient for the Navy of the greatest Naval Power. There would be of non-obsoletes—British 24, French 15; of obsoletes, British 14, French 18; for coast defence 10 of each; and building, French 14, and English, including the two to be built, 13—making a total, when all were completed, of 57 French, as against 61 English. If, however, the two ships, not as yet laid down, were included, practically the Navies were equal; and, taking coast defence ships, there were 36 in the English Navy and 33 in the French Navy; and generally we had on foreign stations about 11 ships, and France seldom had more than one, so that it was idle to suppose that we had sufficient defence for home waters. But there was another point more necessary to entertain. Of the ships building, only the *Agamemnon* and *Ajax* drew less than 24 feet 8 inches of water. That was the depth of the Suez Canal. He remembered urging, 10 years ago, when the *Inflexible* was thought of, that she should not, and it was decided that she should not, draw more than the depth of the Suez Canal; but a variety of changes had taken place, and now she could not go into Alexandria Harbour nor through the Suez Canal, where she might be useful. It was a curious matter that the French had a very much larger number of iron-clads which could pass through the Canal than we had. He would give a list, as far as he had been able to ascertain them, of the iron-clads which could pass through the Canal. Of the armour-clad sea-going ships in the British Navy, which could pass through the Canal, there were only the *Ajax* and *Agamemnon*, which were not yet built; the *Glatton*, *Hotspur*, *Rupert*, which was repairing; the *Audacious*, repairing; the *Iron Duke*, in China; *Invincible*, *Nelson*, in Australia; *Orion*, *Northampton*, *Belleisle*, *Penelope*, and *Shannon*, which was repairing. Of these 14 ships six were building or repairing; and if they were required in the Indian Sea or the Red Sea, as the *Iron Duke*, which was in China, and the *Nelson*, which was in Australia, might be summoned, we should, therefore, have eight ships available for operations on both sides of the Red Sea. The French had of iron-clads, drawing less than 28 feet 8 inches, which could pass through the Canal, the *Alma*, *Armide*, *Atalante*, *Jeanne d'Arc*, *La Galissonnière*, *Montcalm*, *Reine Blanche*, *Thetis*, *Triomphante*, *Turenne*, and *Victorieuse*—11 iron-clad sea-going ships. It was true that many of these were wooden ships; but they were all in commission at the present moment, or had recently been so, and three were ships which would have assisted at Alexandria had political arrangements allowed that to be possible. France had also seven sea-going ships for coast defence—*Caïman*, *Fulminant*, *Firieux*, *Indomptable*, *Requin*, *Tempête*, and *Tonnerre*, which could pass through the Canal, and were quite as good as our own *Glatton*, and more sea-going than the *Cyclops* class; they could steam 10 knots, and drew less than 24 feet of water. It was, therefore, quite on the cards that the French could pass 18 ships through the Canal. Supposing there to be any difficulty, and the British Fleet having pursued them to Port Said, they might slip through and proceed to the East Indies, we could only have eight ships available to follow them. Those 18 ships could go—he would not say to Bombay, where there were possibly sufficient means of defence; but they might go to Madras, and Colombo, and Kurrachee, and after burning those places return by the Canal and get safely back to Toulon. That was not the position we ought to occupy. We ought to have as many light-draught iron-clad ships as the other Powers, whom we hoped to be equal to in the event of hostilities. He had felt this very seriously for many years, and had urged in that House *ad nauseam* the necessity of building light-draught ships; and the hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward Reed) had also spoken in the same direction. He was sure that if the Committee and the country understood our present position they would enforce the necessity for strengthening our Naval defences in the way already suggested by the hon. Member for Cardiff. There was always a vague idea that the Navy cost a great deal of money. A few years ago a Conservative Government spent £12,500,000 on the Navy, and then economical statesmen came into Office and reduced that amount to £9,000,000. The amount gradually increased to £10,000,000; but, by the present Estimates, it appeared that last year the country had spent very much less on the Navy than ever before since the days of screw line-of-battle ships. If hon. Members who took an interest—he would not say in the safety of the country, for all of them did that, but in the Expenditure of the country, would look at Return 238, laid on the Table on the 26th May last, they would be astonished to find that whereas in 1860-1 the Estimates were £12,028,000, £10,735,000 was spent on the Effective Service of the Navy, and in that year the Non-Effective Service only cost £1,293,000, and although the total of the Estimates might have been diminished in each successive year, the Non-Effective Charge had increased until at this moment, or rather in 1881, of the total of the Navy Estimate, which was £10,115,000, only £8,055,000 was spent on the Effective Service, as against £10,735,000 some years before, and the Non-Effective Charge rose to £2,059,000. If hon. Members would look at the facts as they were, they would know that this charge was plainly increasing, and that all the materials for shipbuilding, the size and cost of artillery, and the cost of every single item in the ship itself, was increasing from day to day, and science compelled us to spend in rivalry with other nations what was of vital importance to us. They would be astonished to find that last year the Effective Charge was diminished from £10,735,000 20 years ago to £8,055,000 now. He was confident that if the country would look into this, and attend to what was said by his right hon. Friend below him (Mr. W. H. Smith) and by the hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward Reed), and others who understood its importance, and knew what was wanted, and what it cost, and how the Naval Estimates were framed, and what became of the money, they would insist that the Effective Service should be increased until the ships which were promised in April should be decided upon in August, and until the number of vessels necessary for the service of the State to protect India and England were provided and able to go through the Suez Canal. This was a matter of vital importance to the country, and he hoped his hon. Friends would take it to heart, and insist on the Admiralty spending what was necessary for the defence of the country, and seeing that the Effective Charge was sufficient.

Lord HENRY LENNOX said, his observations would be very much in an interrogatory form, and certainly devoid of all Party spirit, because he was sure, if the Government would only follow his advice that night, they would become the most popular Government that ever ruled in this country. He said that because that course would be the means of allaying the alarm which was justly felt and was increasing in this country, and if they would ask for money for a purpose which was never refused by any House of Commons, and never in the least cavilled at by any class of the constituencies—namely, the Navy. He quite agreed that the Committee was unfortunately placed as to the time and hour at which they had to discuss this very serious matter. An instance in point occurred earlier in the evening. There had been no opportunity of discussing these Votes. He had only interfered on one occasion; but, under the Forms of the House, even the courteous Secretary to the Admiralty was obliged to stop him from making the remarks he should have made on the previous occasion. He was afraid to intervene between the House and the Admiralty in regard to a Vote of Money; but he only mentioned this to show how inadvisable and wrong it was that subjects of this importance should be left to the month of August, when everybody was scrambling away after a laborious and tedious Session. He wished to thank all those who had spoken for the tone they had taken and views they had taken. In every one of those views he concurred, and he thought the Admiralty were to be congratulated on the fact that all who had criticized their conduct were agreed, and that, therefore, in pleasing one they would please all. He thanked his right hon. Friend the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) for calling attention to the failure of repairs for the year. The statement of his right hon. Friend was startling enough; but, in the hurry, he left out one of the most important facts in regard to his argument, and that was that the *Thunderer*, one of our best and most powerful iron-clads, was under repair at Malta, and was promised to be completed for sea in 1882-3; but, if he was not mistaken, she was nothing like completed, and he should be glad if the Secretary to the Admiralty would state at what stage of repair the *Thunderer* was now, and when she was likely to be available for the wants of the country, not only for the safety of our shores, but for the safety of the commerce which we monopolized all over the world. Proof that our Navy was insufficient, even for the defence of our Coasts, was given on another occasion in "another place," when the noble Lord, who stood very high in the Councils of the Admiralty, and presided over the Admiralty, rebuked another noble Lord because he had not taken into account the existence of the Reserve Squadron for the defence of our own shores. He should like to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty some questions as to that Reserve Squadron. So far as he could make out, that Squadron consisted of nine ships; but one of them, the *Penelope*, had been transferred to the Suez Canal, because she possessed a light draught of water. Of the eight remaining, every one was obsolete—and some were extremely obsolete—except the *Hercules*. What were these ships to which the noble Earl (the Earl of Northbrook) alluded as a source of security to us on our own shores? The *Hector*, the *Defence*, the *Warrior*, and *Valiant* were only coated with 4½-inch armour. The *Warrior* was a patriarch—the first iron-clad ever built by the late Lord Hampton; and all the others, the *Northumberland*, the *Minotaur*, and the *Agincourt* had long been condemned as line-of-battle ships. The next point he wished to call special attention to was this—when he was serving at the Admiralty the *Repulse* and the *Lord Warden* were called into existence. They were old wooden ships plated with iron. He now came again to the interrogatory form in order to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the rumour was true that the *Lord Warden* carried 18 guns, and of those eight were not allowed to be fired; and that on a recent occasion, one of those guns being fired during practice, instead of doing what it would be expected to do to an enemy, it carried away part of the ship's side? Further, he wished to ask whether the hon. Gentleman would inquire if that accident was due to the rotten condition of one of the ships to which the safety of England was intrusted—for these ships were intended for the defence of our Coasts? His next point referred to the *Dreadnought* and the *Devastation* class of ships. The *Dreadnought* and *Devastation* were, no doubt, very powerful ships, and were nearly ready for service; but, according to what had been heard lately, not much reliance could be placed in the *Neptune*. Then he wished to ask a question in respect to the *Hotspur*, and the condition of repair in which that vessel was? He understood that the *Hotspur*, having a light draught, was ordered into commission seven weeks ago, and that, in consequence of alterations required, she was not yet ready for sea. Supposing the *Dreadnought*, *Devastation*, *Neptune*, and *Hotspur* were ready for sea, it was necessary, before commissioning them, to have a certain number of seamen and Marines; and he wished to ask whether, if those ships were commissioned, they would have to be manned from the crews of the Reserve Squadron; whether there would be in the Dockyard sufficient seamen and Marines to man these four iron-clads? Another question he wished to ask was whether, with the exception of the obsolete Squadron, aided by one non-obsolete ship—the *Hercules*—we had any other defence for our own Coasts; and whether we had any ships at Malta, and any at Gibraltar? We were at present carrying on, if not a war, at all events hostile operations, against an Arab Chief; and he wished to know whether the Admiralty would consider this country safe if we were engaged in war against one of the Great Powers? Then there was another point with regard to this obsolete Squadron. The *Warrior* was thought good enough to take part with this Squadron in the defence of our Coasts; but she was the sister ship of the *Black Prince*, which was dropped out last year. Why was the *Warrior* not dropped out, they both having been built at the same time? He feared the hon. Gentleman would think him inquisitive; but he thought it better to ask these questions first, and then to make any statement he thought necessary. The hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward Reed) had spoken of the *Cyclops* class of ships, and said they were built at a time of great hurry, when we were wanting ships built for a certain sum of money. No statement made by hon. or right hon. Gentlemen to-night so completely condemned that system as the statement that of our iron-clad Navy, eight iron-clad ships had been built in the last 10 years or bought under panic. The panic of 1870 gave us the *Hecate* and *Cyclops*, which were only fit to go from one port to another in fine weather. The panic, when the Russians were looking into Constantinople, brought us four iron-clads—the *Superb*, *Neptune*, *Orion*, and *Pallas*. His theory was that in regard to ships, as in regard to other things, they must be made for us, and not bought ready-made, if we wanted them to be good. These ships, however, were bought ready made. If the Secretary to the Admiralty wished to build four ships, leaving the *Superb* out of the list would he build such ships as the *Orion* and the *Pallas*? If so, he would have to use great persuasive powers with the Naval authorities. He himself had every year urged the Admiralty not to promise building and repairing what they could not carry out; and on one occasion, when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) brought in his Budget, he told that right hon. Gentleman that if he carried out anything like what he promised he would be a conjuror. In March of the following year the right hon. Gentleman came down and said—"I am bound to admit that the noble Lord is right, for I am no conjuror." There was no wonder at that, because, as his right hon. Friend had said, the repairs had been allowed to sink to such a low ebb that there was no money for building. He wished to ask whether the *Glatton* was ever to be made use of again? She was in commission a few years ago, under the command of Lord John Hay. Finally, he must point out that he thought the Secretary to the Admiralty was a little too sanguine in suggesting that the ships, which were only to be advanced 51·8 and 53·4 by 1883, would be launched this year. He thought if the hon. Member would inquire he would find that unless a much more rapid progress was made than was indicated those ships would not be launched this year. Before sitting down he must make a public protest against the programme for the year sketched out by the Secretary to the Admiralty. The programme for iron-shipbuilding for the year, as announced to-night, was one of the most disappointing and perplexing statements ever made by a Government to a House of Commons. With Europe in such a state as at present it came to this. We were to have two iron-clad ships built in the Dockyards when half the year was over; but no one knew what they were to be. There were to be two torpedo ships, experimental, and one iron-clad only, of which the details were not known. It appeared to him that this year would be only an experimental year during which certain experimental ships would be advanced to an infinitesimal degree, and in the present crisis he considered that most deplorable. He should very probably be considered an alarmist and a croker; but he was neither the one nor the other. When he saw how splendidly the Fleet, on a recent occasion, had behaved, and how well the officers and men had displayed endurance and cool-headed calmness in the midst of looting, robbery, and riot, which alone preserved order, he thought the Navy had an additional claim on the consideration of the House of Commons and on the national purse. He would conclude by asking the Secretary to the Admiralty to believe that, in the remarks he had made, he had no wish to hamper the hon. Gentleman in the duties he had so recently undertaken. He only wished to impress on the House of Commons once more—and he should go on pressing it unless things were changed—that, with our vast trade and our immeasurable Colonies, our iron-clad Fleet was utterly insufficient for the work it had to do.

Sir THOMAS BRASSEY: Sir, as I have had no previous opportunity of speaking in the House with reference to the Estimates now under consideration, I hope I may claim the indulgence of the Committee for a few moments now. When these Estimates were in preparation urgent demands were made on the Government to largely diminish the Vote. It is impossible for those connected with the Administration to enter into detailed comparisons of the strength of the British Navy and its relation to the strength of Foreign Navies. I must, therefore, consider it to be sufficient for me to express my own individual opinion that before I joined the Board of Admiralty I had some misgivings as to the strength of the Fleet. It is my duty to say that, having had more ample opportunity of making myself acquainted with the facts of the case, I have arrived at the conclusion that we occupy a commanding position at the present time, and I consider that observation applies more especially to the strength of the British Navy in battle ships of recent type. The earlier iron-clads, of which we have a large number in a certain condition, have been criticized with admirable knowledge of their structure by the noble Lord opposite (Lord Henry Lennox); but I am sure he will be prepared to admit that although they can no longer be regarded as battle ships, they are still capable of carrying powerful armaments, and of rendering effective protection to our commerce. To put my views into a narrow compass, I would say that on a calm and comprehensive survey of the whole circumstances of the case, we have not thought it our duty to propose any sudden augmentation of the Shipbuilding Vote; but I would claim for the present Board what I am sure will be conceded—that we have done our best to utilize the resources which have been placed at our disposal in pushing forward the construction of iron-clads in the present year. We have increased the wages in the Home Yards by £92,000, and we have made an addition to the Wages Vote, which was much approved by the noble Lord when it was introduced, of £9,000 for wages at Malta. We have made a corresponding addition to the Store Vote to provide materials to be worked up by those additional men; and I claim for the Admiralty that, avoiding changes of an organic character, and all cheese-paring and paltry economies, we have endeavoured to concentrate the resources placed at our disposal on those Services which contribute most directly to the Naval strength of the country; and it is by following with great pains in detail that policy that we have succeeded, with a comparatively small addition to the Estimates, in making a considerable addition to the armoured construction of the Navy. We have raised that construction from 7,427 tons in 1879-80 to 10,748 tons in 1881-2, and in the present year we have confidently reckoned an additional 721 tons, and I venture to say we have made this addition to the armoured construction of the Navy without doing injustice to other Services. The unarmoured construction has been satisfactorily maintained, and I contend that an adequate appropriation has been made to the repairs of the Navy. Of our effective iron-clads, all but seven are either in commission, complete, or completing for sea; and of those requiring large repairs the *Bellerophon*, *Audacious*, *Rupert*, and *Shannon* are in hand, and will be completed within the financial year. The *Hotspur*, with her existing armour, will be ready for sea in a short time. Then we have unaccounted for the *Black Prince* and the *Resistance*. The *Thunderer* is in hand, and will be completed at Malta. I must acknowledge that with regard to the *Black Prince* and the *Resistance*, we have shared the doubts of our Predecessors as to the expediency of incurring the very large expenditure which is necessary in order to send these ships to sea. Turning to the unarmoured class, I can confidently say we are well prepared to provide reliefs for the ships coming home, and we shall have ready for sea in the present year the *Mercury*, nine corvettes, four sloops, six gun-vessels, 11 gun-boats and one paddle, the *Alecto*. With regard to the armoured ships in reserve, or which can be completed within the year, we have six battle ships, three second-class battle ships, and seven special and coast service vessels. In addition to these, we have the Coastguard Squadron of eight ships. I quite admit that in the list of special and coast service vessels there are certain vessels which are not of the most powerful type; but they are all available for certain services. In addition to the ships I have named we have the first reserve ships. The noble Lord asks for ships in many places in which we are bound to admit we cannot provide an iron-clad; but I am sure the noble Lord and the right hon. Gentleman opposite will admit that iron-clads cannot be improvised, and that the present strength of the Navy is the result of the general policy of successive Administrations, and it is impossible to create at a moment a Fleet of powerful iron-clads of that costly type which has been already under discussion. It is not, therefore, a question affecting one Admiralty or another; but the Fleet as it at present exists is the result of the general policy of successive Administrations; and I claim for ourselves that we have done our best and have laboured not unsuccessfully, as I have said, to apply the resources which have been committed to our charge in an effective manner for the purpose of raising the strength of the Navy. In the last discussion which took place on the Navy Estimates, some complaints were made that there had been a depletion of stores. With regard to Naval stores for shipbuilding constituting the larger proportion of our stores, there has been a considerable increase under the present Administration. The payments for Naval stores, as proposed in the present Estimates, are £1,250,000, as against £965,000 in 1879-80. Turning from the proposed expenditure to the value of stores in hand, I will point out that the value of the stores has been fully maintained under the present Administration. It may be taken at £2,028,000 for 1882-3, against an average for 15 years —from 1867-7 to 1880-1—of £2,188,000. It is undesirable to increase the amount of Naval stores beyond the necessities of the case, for it must inevitably occur that a large proportion of stores, if kept long in charge, must become obsolete by lapse of time. Turning to the victualling stores, there has been a small reduction from £534,000 to £458,000; and that, I believe, is entirely due to the fact that, in order to make comparison with 1880-1, we had to deal with a time when there was an excess of stores beyond the average, in consequence of the accumulated purchases made under the Vote of Credit. With regard to expenditure on the purchase of victualling stores, the present Board has shown no disposition to cut down the amount. The amount asked for in 1882-3 is £485,000; the amount asked for in 1879-80 was £447,000. Having shown that the iron-clad construction has increased under the present Administration without a decrease of stores, and certainly without reckoning the repairs to the Fleet, I will venture to say that, with regard to the types of vessels, they are such as to command the approval of the House. Viewed as a whole, I would express a feeling of confidence that, ton for ton, the British Iron-clad Fleet will compare favourably with the Iron-clad Fleet of any other Naval Power; and I would venture to say that the high reputation of our British constructors has been worthily sustained in the most recent designs. I know that the time of the Committee is drawing short, and, therefore, I should not think of trespassing on the attention of Members for the purpose of discussing details of designs; and I am glad to notice that in the discussion which has taken place this evening there has been no disposition to challenge the skill of the professional Advisers to the Admiralty; but, perhaps, I may allude to one most important point in design, which has been more or less called in question. In the recent discussions which have taken place in public with reference to the construction of the British Navy, it has been alleged that British ships are inferior in point of speed; and, in pursuance of that, we have seen, not infrequently, the English Naval architecture of the last decade compared with some ship of later design. That is not a fair comparison, and if contemporary ships are selected, a very satisfactory result will be attained. Looking at the ships which are included in the programme now under consideration, we have four ships of the *Collingwood* type, which should be capable of 15 knots speed, and the two armoured cruisers would steam 16 knots; but with forced draught, which will, no doubt, be universally introduced into the British ships of the *Collingwood* type, the speed will be raised from 15 to 16½ knots, and the *Colossus* and *Edinburgh* from 14 to 15½ knots, and the cruisers from 16 to 17 knots. I do not wish to enter into more details of this character now. If I did, I think I could give a satisfactory statement to the Committee. But I would, in passing, urge, in connection with the discussion on the shipbuilding for the Navy, that we, as a great mercantile and shipowning nation, should not put out of view the enormous resources we possess in the private industry of the country. It is quite true, as I have said, that iron-clads cannot be improvised; but they ought to be attended—that is the view, I believe, of all the higher professional authorities—by numerous smaller vessels, such as those described by my hon. Friend in his interesting speech in moving this Vote. These auxiliary vessels, and even the light draught coast vessels can be produced with little delay by the private industry of the country upon an emergency. Comparisons are drawn between our Navy and those of other countries; and it is contended that our shipbuilding is not adequate; but I may point out that one of the main reasons why, with the generous appropriation made by Parliament to the Navy, we fail to produce what, looking at other countries, might be considered to be a proportionate amount of construction, is this—that it has been a necessary policy of this country to maintain a very large number of ships in commission. That policy has been forced upon us by the necessity for affording protection to our commerce; but incidentally it has produced this great advantage, that it has tended to give an unsurpassed efficiency to the *personnel* of the British Navy. It may be said that constant practice at sea is less necessary now than in former times, when reliance was mainly placed on vessels propelled by canvas; but I am sure my hon. Friends opposite will admit that steam has not simplified Naval tactics in modern days, and skill and courage are as necessary as ever, and those qualities which we require in sea officers and seamen can only be developed by that constant service at sea which is given in a much larger degree to the officers and men in the British Navy than to those who serve in other Fleets. I think that the timid people who are disturbed by the alleged decay of the Navy should calmly consider how immeasurably we surpass any other Power in the essential elements of Naval strength. The Navy, of course, must lead the van; but the largest force which could be provided by the liberality of Parliament in time of peace is, after all, only at the point of the spear, and the main strength of England, as a Naval Power, must always consist in the commerce and maritime enterprize of the country, and we are all proud to know that in these important elements of Naval power we were never so strong as we are to-day.

CAPTAIN PRICE said, the hon. Gentleman had given the Committee a statement of the condition of the Navy. There were certain words which the hon. Gentleman used which contained the pith of this statement, and would, in fact, form a key to his argument. The hon. Member, speaking of the strength of the Navy, had said—"We occupy a commanding position at the present time." Well, his (Captain Price's) right hon. and gallant Friend who sat beside him, and his noble Friend who sat below him, had both addressed the Committee on the subject of the present strength of the Navy, and had contended that, compared with the Navies of other countries, Her Majesty's Navy was not what it should be. He quite agreed with this contention; but in discussing the matter they had always to face this difficulty—to separate the obsolete from the non-obsolete ships, and that invariably led to dispute, because hon. Members took opposite views of the subject. And there was another difficulty—namely, in comparing the present state of our Navy with that of other countries, we had to consider the duties our Navy had to perform. It might be said by his hon. Friends that England had much more extensive duties for Her Navy to perform, and, consequently, could not concentrate in her home waters such a Fleet as certain other Powers of Europe could do. That was perfectly true; but, as he had said before, the question led to a considerable amount of discussion, and, after all, what they had to consider to-night was, whether sufficient provision was being made for the future. The question was not so much whether our Navy of the present day was stronger than that of any other Power, but whether the Secretary to the Admiralty was asking them to-night to provide sufficient money to produce a Fleet which, when it was constructed, would be able to cope with the Fleets of other countries. It might be said that "'Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof'—do not let us talk about what our Fleet of 1885 is to be; we want to know what our Fleet of 1882 is." But what were they there to discuss? Estimates, not for the strengthening of the Navy in the present year, but in the future. They were at this moment especially engaged in considering Vote 6, which was a certain amount of money for the production of iron-clads, which could not be ready this year, very few of which could be ready next year, and the majority of which would not be ready before 1885 or 1886. While we were told we must not compare our Navy in detail with that of any other country, at least we might do it in a general way. They might speak of a great Power across the water as "another Power," and they might talk of the preparations there being made as preparations that were being made in "another place." He had put this before the House the other day—and, as it had not been contradicted, he wished to repeat it—that in 1885 or 1886 this other Power would have of iron-clad battle-ships of the most recent types, such as his hon. Friend had referred to—that was to say, the most powerful iron-clads, carrying the heaviest guns, the thickest armour, and possessing all the latest improvements—no less than 18, whilst England could not have more than 10. What did he call ships of the most recent types and of the heaviest and most improved class? It was always a difficult thing to make a classification of our Navy; but he thought he could do this—namely, take a broad line and separate these modern ships from all the rest of our Fleet. He would put in this first class all the ships capable of carrying the new type of guns, because not only had we made vast improvement in our ships, but we had made enormous improvement in our ordnance. He put into the first class ships capable of carrying the new type of guns—that was to say, breech-loading guns of 43 tons and upwards; and all vessels not capable of carrying those guns, and only capable of carrying guns of 38 tons or less, he put across the line into the second or third class. He would show that of such vessels a certain other Power, which he would not name, would, as he had said before, have no less than 18 ready in 1885 or 1886. When he said that these ships would be ready he meant that they were at the present moment building, that the money was voted for them, and that the Government was pledged to have them ready by the date he named. But there was another curious thing that would be observed in this classification—namely, that thickness of armour followed very much the same rule as the size of gun. In these first-class vessels that were intended to carry the heavy breech-loading guns they would find that they all—with, perhaps, one exception—had armour of no less thickness than 16½ inches. The vessels dropped, from that, in the second class, to armour of 14 inches thickness and less. He should like to enumerate the 18 vessels which this Foreign Power would have complete in 1885 or 1886; the list was not a long one, and he would read it, in case his statement should, at some future time, be contradicted. The vessels were the *Formidable*, *Admiral Bandin*, *Terrible*, *Caïman*, *Requin*, *Indomptable*, *Admiral Duperré*, *Magenta*, *Neptune*, *Marceau*, *Hoche*, *Tounant*, *Vengeur*, *Foudroyant*, and *Dévastation*. These vessels were either ready, building, or completing; but besides these there were three of the first class to be laid down this year. Now, what had we got on the other side of the same class of vessel? We had the *Inflexible*, *Rodney*, *Howe*, *Majestic*, *Colossus*, *Conqueror*, *Collingwood*, and the *Benbow*, and two others which were to be laid down this year—or, at any rate, they were in hopes that they would be laid down, and he would not make a point of throwing any doubt upon that. There were, then, three on each side to be laid down this year. Perhaps he might be asked why he had not put the *Agamemnon* and the *Ajax* into the first class of English ships. He had not done that because of the size of their guns. He knew they carried thicker armour than some of the iron-clads of the Foreign Power; but he had relegated them to the second class because of the size of their guns; but he had done the same thing with two ships of the Foreign Power. Unless he were contradicted to-night—and he did not think his facts were capable of contradiction—the Power of which he had been speaking would, in a very short time, as regarded iron-clads of the most recent type, be of almost double the strength of this country. There was another Mediterranean Power which would also have seven ships of a similar type, every one of which would be far superior to anything we had or would have in this country; so that if these two Foreign Powers were put together we should find that they had 25 ships of the first class against our 10. He did not know that he had said what he wanted to say quite so well as he should have liked to do; but he had put forward facts and figures which were of serious import. There was another point which had been slightly touched on to-night, upon which he desired to say a word. They were told the other night, on the introduction of the Navy Estimates, that there was a Reserve we could rely upon. The late Secretary to the Admiralty had told them that in time of war the example of the late Government in 1878 would undoubtedly be followed, and the iron-clads at this time building in the private yards of the country for Foreign Powers would be taken. It was said that in time of danger we could look upon such vessels as these as a Reserve. No doubt, so far as men were concerned, the Government knew how many they had to rely upon; but as to ships he would ask them whether, in case of emergency this year, they could lay their finger on a single iron-clad belonging to a Foreign Power that was building in the private yards of this country? Could he tell them that there was more than one iron-clad of this kind that would be available for service next year? They ought to know this, because they had been told distinctly by the late Secretary to the Admiralty that this was a Reserve upon which we could lay our hands in an emergency. As far as he (Captain Price) was informed, there was not one foreign iron-clad building in the private yards of the country that would be ready this year, and, certainly, not more than one that would be ready next year. He would not occupy the time of the Committee any further. The discussion that night, he thought, had taken a practical turn, and some facts had been enunciated, which he and those who thought with him, at all events, thought had not yet been answered, and which, they were afraid, could not be altogether satisfactorily answered by the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir MASSEY LOPES said, he had listened with great care and attention to the speech of his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty; and he was bound to say there were two matters on which the hon. Baronet (Sir Thomas Brassey) did not give them satisfaction. The first was the point raised by the late First Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. W. H. Smith) that the repairs to the ships had not been completed within the time during which it was understood they would be completed; and then there was the statement that the Estimates were not sufficient to maintain our Navy efficiently. Now, he wished to give every possible credit to the present Board of Admiralty for having honestly discharged their important duties, and for having expended the money granted to them in the best possible way. He made no charge on that head; but he certainly did coincide and sympathize with what had been said this evening—namely, that the Navy Estimates which they had before them, and which, he would say, they had had some years before them, were not sufficient for maintaining the Naval supremacy of this country. He asserted that unhesitatingly, and with some sense of responsibility. For some years he had periodically examined the Estimates, and he was bound to say he had failed to find a purpose on which money could be more efficiently and more economically expended than on this. Deducting the non-effective and transport items, there only remained £8,291,000 to be spent on the Navy. An hon. Friend of his had called for a Return at the beginning of the Session; and in that it would be found that, notwithstanding the costly improvements which had taken place of late years in the Navy, we were spending less money on the effective part of the Service than we were 20 years ago. He found from a Return of the expenditure in 1860-1 £12,029,000 was voted; in 1870-1, £9,670,000—less by £2,359,000 than the amount spent 10 years before. When they came to 1880-1 they found they were spending £1,914,000 less than they did in 1860-1. And yet he need not remind the Committee that within the period named we had had considerable expenditure of a novel kind to bear—expenditure on torpedoes, the electric light, and other things newly introduced into the Service. The cost of our Navy, therefore, was rapidly increasing, more particularly in ships, because whilst, in 1860-1, a first-class ship only cost £400,000 or £450,000, now-a-days vessels like the *Inflexible* cost £800,000. It was impossible for us, with our limited means, to build an adequate quantity of tonnage armoured or unarmoured, and, at the same time, attend properly to our repairs. That, he maintained, was not a satisfactory state of things. Then the question of the construction of ships had been raised. It was, as the Committee knew, impossible now-a-days to construct an iron-clad under three or four years. The length of time required in the construction of ships was increasing year by year, and the cost in machinery and everything connected with them was rapidly increasing. The changes which had occurred in the Navy had been most disadvantageous; he did not mean to say that our bluejackets had at all degenerated; but he maintained that our seamanship, good as it was, was not so valuable to us as it was years ago, and we now had to depend more on our ships and machinery than on the physique, skill, and courage of our crews. Many comparisons had been drawn between our Navy and those of other nations, and it would be unwise for us to live in a fool's paradise. It was better for us to know how we stood, and to let the country know how we stood. If the country were made acquainted with the true condition of our Navy, as compared with the Navies of other Powers, there would be no difficulty in getting any amount of money that was wanted to properly strengthen and equip Her Majesty's Fleets. By the year 1885, if we continued as we were doing now, and France continued to do as she was doing, our Navy would not be so strong as that of France. He quite admitted that at present our Navy was as efficient as ever it was; but he would put it to the Committee whether it was relatively so strong, compared with the Navies of other nations, as it was some years ago? Certainly not. That, then, was the difficulty they had to contend with. Look at the duties our Navy had to perform compared with the duties of Foreign Navies. There was, in the first place, our commerce; then there was our Indian Empire, our long line of shore, and last, but by no means least, our daily bread to be protected; therefore, to compare the duties of our Navy with those of the Navies of other countries would be most fallacious. Could we oppose France with anything like an equal Fleet in the Channel or Mediterranean if we were obliged to look upon her as a foe? Certainly not. No one would deprecate more than he a Party or political manner of dealing with Naval expenditure; but he thought that not only the House, but the country, would respond to any call made for an increased expenditure on the Navy. He believed there was no sum they would refuse, provided they knew that it would be properly, judiciously, and economically expended. He was sure, so far as the House was concerned, that they would all be unanimous in doing everything they could to help the Board of Admiralty in maintaining our Naval supremacy. Our supremacy on the sea was our heritage. He hoped we should not rely too much upon our former prestige, for that might fail us, and that we should not lull ourselves into a false security, adopting a fatal parsimonious policy.

ADMIRAL EGERTON said, the Committee would be much more inclined to vote money for the Navy, if the Naval Advisers of Her Majesty could decide on the type of ship to build, for, as the right hon. Gentleman the late First Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. W. H. Smith) had pointed out, there was nothing upon which the Navy now-a-days so much depended as the type of ship and the nature of the guns provided. As all Naval men knew, the Navy depended as much upon the description of armour and the quantity as on the fitting out of the ships. If the type could be decided, much of the time at present lost in the construction of iron-clads would be saved. Everyone knew that in the building of iron ships there was great delay, which was never experienced in the old days in connection with wooden vessels. Once they had decided upon their model, they could proceed rapidly. Everything now turned on the question of expense. Even that vessel which the right hon. Gentleman had alluded to in the course of his speech, the *Polyphemus*, which had been built just as an experiment, with its armament, cost altogether £250,000. It was only right and natural, when they came to such an expense as that, that Parliament should be chary of giving money in this way. As this discussion had shown, however, the tendency in the future would not be to decrease the supplies for the Navy; and he hoped that if hon. Gentlemen opposite came into Office again, they would remember the opinions they had expressed on the present occasion, and would give them a much larger sum in the Estimate than they had at present. He knew there were different opinions expressed by the hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward Reed) and others as to the class of ships which the Government were now building. Some 10 or 12 years ago the class of ship best represented by the *Dreadnought* was very much deprecated by hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House, who had considerable knowledge of what they were talking about; but, as far as his (Admiral Egerton's) own opinion went—and it was, perhaps, not worth so much now-a-days—the *Dreadnought* had proved to be about the very best class of vessel we had. It was not a very pleasant thing for an old sailor to see ships built without masts; but he thought the Admiralty should turn their eyes to them, and the more they had the better it would be for the Service.

Mr. PULESTON said, they had had a very interesting discussion—these subjects always were interesting—and the result had been to bring forth a consensus of opinion to the effect that more money should be expended on the Navy, and expended more judiciously. While he concurred in many of the remarks of the hon. Baronet who had spoken a short time ago, and while he believed that many of those remarks were borne out by the facts, there were several other matters under the Vote which should be considered—matters of minor consequence, but still of great importance in regard to the management of the Navy. He hoped that what he had tried to urge on the House and the Board of Admiralty, on more than one occasion, would be now very seriously taken into consideration —namely, that a Departmental Committee should be appointed to inquire into, not only all the grievances, but all the subjects connected with the Dockyards, which were constantly creating a great deal of dissatisfaction by the inequalities which were prevailing, and which most of them believed most unjustly prevailed. He thought that if the Admiralty were to appoint a Committee to make a searching investigation into the circumstances of Dockyard administration, the result would not be to take more from the Exchequer, but to give general satisfaction to all parties concerned in the Dockyards. It would be a very simple matter to institute this inquiry, and he was sure it would be worth while making the experiment. Hitherto the grievances of the Dockyard people had been dealt with piecemeal, and the result of the piecemeal examination and discussion had been to create greater difficulties by making wider differences between the persons employed in the Dockyards. They had heard, both in the House and out of it, of the differences between the fitters and the shipwrights. The duties of these two important bodies had been clashing, and the pay of the one had been thought inconsistent with that of the other. A Committee such as he proposed would, no doubt, be efficacious in discovering a method of doing away with the differences and distinctions of which he spoke. Memorials had been constantly sent to the Admiralty, but they had proved of no purpose. He had tried to impress this on the Admiralty for some time, but without effect. The matter was a simple one, and he was sure he had suggested to Her Majesty's Government a remedy whith would be very acceptable to them, as to all parties concerned. He might refer also to the case of the mechanic writers, now called Dockyard writers. The new scheme which had been adopted, instead of benefiting this important class, had created still more dissatisfaction, because of the wider difference which had been made between that class and others. And so, again, in the case of the hired men—and he must call attention to this question, because he thought there was no question in the Dockyard which was more worthy of consideration. The hired men sought to be placed in a more equal position to the established men. Why, he would ask, should there be such a discrepancy between the two? After 20 years' service the hired man received a bonus of £36; whereas the established man, after 20 years' service, had an annuity of nearly that amount—namely, £29 10*s*., or a bonus of between £400 and £500, as against £36 in the case of the hired man. He could quite understand that there was a distinction between the two classes; but such a distinction as this, taking all the duties into consideration, ought not to exist. The disadvantage under which these old servants laboured was this—they were too old to be placed on the Establishment, and were discharged at an age when they could not find other employment. Something should be done to improve the position of these men. They devoted the whole of their time to the Service, as did the established men; and he (Mr. Puleston) did not know why they should be turned out, when too old for service, with only the miserable gratuity of £36, whilst the established men were receiving an annuity almost equal to the whole of that bonus. This discrepancy was too great—it was unjust—and he did not think the Admiralty could expect the Naval Service of the country to be conducted as efficiently as it ought to be, whilst those who discharged the duties of their position quite as well as men employed in private yards, whether in the Merchant Service or otherwise, were treated in this manner. Difficulty had been more than once experienced in times of great emergency in getting a sufficient number of men, for the reason that the only inducement to men to enter the service of the Government was the expectation of being looked after in old age. This expectation, after the men had taken service on the Establishment in the Government Dockyards, induced them to resist the allurements of higher wages held out to them. The Government would find in the future, as they had found in the past, that if they did not give the men proper positions they would lose them when better positions were offered them elsewhere. The question as to the shipwrights, again, was an important one. The established shipwright got 5*s*. a-day, whereas the established boiler-maker, pattern-maker, and coppersmith had 5*s*. 6*d*. and 6*s*. Why should there be such a discrepancy? The shipwrights employed as draftsmen got extra pay when so employed, and they claimed to have the same hours as the draftsmen. The Memorials sent to the Admiralty rarely had any attention paid to them. When the Chief Commissioner of Works was Secretary to the Admiralty two years ago, he announced to the House that all the men in the various classes in the Dockyards would have an opportunity afforded them, on the annual visit of the Lords of the Admiralty, to mention their grievances to their Lordships. Well, that had the effect of satisfying the men, and the Department was not troubled with Petitions or Memorials after that. He (Mr. Puleston), for instance, told his constituents that the word of the Secretary to the Admiralty was quite sufficient, and that they must not ask him (Mr. Puleston) to do anything further for them in the matter, otherwise they were liable to be hauled over the coals for using undue political influence, or something of that sort. When the Lords of the Admiralty went down to Devonport his constituents were told that they could have no communication with their Lordships, which was in direct contravention of the understanding which had been come to in the House of Commons. The men were naturally dissatisfied—any body of men would have been dissatisfied at such treatment. Their request, made in a most humble and respectful way, having been refused, the expedient was resorted to of asking the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty to receive a deputation of Members of the House; but an answer was received—not by him (Mr. Puleston), but by an hon. Member sittting on the Ministerial side of the House—couched in the most curt language, beginning—"Sir, I decline to receive the deputation to which you refer," consisting entirely of Members of the House of Commons. What was the position of the men, after having been promised an opportunity of pouring forth their grievances to the Lords of the Admiralty on their annual visit? They were refused that opportunity. They then took up one or two cases that they thought specially deserving representation to their Lordships, because they were cases which had been particularly referred to in the Report previously made by the Admiralty—without going so far as to ask on the part of the engineers for so much as was recommended in that Report signed by the gallant Gentleman the First Sea Lord—and memorialized the Board. But that Memorial was not noticed. Their Memorials were not replied to; the men were not allowed to have an audience of the Lords of the Admiralty; and a deputation of hon. Members were curtly refused an interview with the First Lord of the Admiralty. He confessed he had not even had the honour of seeing the First Lord of the Admiralty; and certainly, after what had passed, he should never again suggest, or dream of venturing to ask that functionary to grant him an interview, although hitherto, not merely in the interests of his constituents, but, as it seemed to him, in the interests of the nation, he had been in the habit of making representations to the First Lord. He should, for the future, feel himself barred from intruding on the First Lord of the Admiralty. After the very pleasant and successful administration of the Secretary to the Admiralty, he hoped the hon. Member would allow him to impress on him this one fact—that a great deal of good to the Service would result from the appointment of such a Departmental Admiralty Committee or Commission as the Lords of the Admiralty might select to inquire into questions connected with Dockyard management, and take into consideration some of the many suggestions—such as those he had just made—and the numerous Memorials which had been brought before the notice of the Admiralty. In this way it would be found that the grievances of the men could be removed much more easily than it was supposed they could, and, after all, at very little or no extra cost to the Treasury; for the question was one rather of adjustment than anything else. They all knew that if a man worked by the side of another who was discharging similar duties, working fewer hours, though belonging to the same class, and receiving 6*d*. or 1*s*. a-day more pay, he naturally felt unhappy and dissatisfied, and asked—"Why am I not put on the same footing as this man?" If a man had to do the same work as another, but received less pay for it, and worked longer hours, he naturally became dissatisfied, and the Service of the country suffered. Since the science of shipbuilding had made such rapid strides, shipbuilding trades, which were of comparatively little importance a few years ago, now had become of the first consequence, although the position of the men employed in those trades had not changed. It was therefore necessary, he contended, that there should be a re-organization of the Dockyard Service. He could not impress this too strongly upon the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty; and, altogether, he thought the Government would see that he was only asking of them that in which it was in their power at once to acquiesce.

MR. GORST said, he was much obliged, and he thought the Committee should be much obliged, to the hon. Member for Devonport (Mr. Puleston) for his courage in venturing, at nearly 12 o'clock at night on the 1st of August, to introduce in Committee of Supply so great a question as that of the re-organization of the Dockyards. There really was something extremely wrong in the way the Business of the Government was managed in the House, because it was impossible at this period of the Session, when everybody was anxious to hurry over the Estimates as fast as they possibly could, that a subject of this kind could have justice done to it. He confessed that if it had not been for his hon. Friend (Mr. Puleston) he should not have been disposed to rise and protest against the conduct of the Government in putting this Vote down at this period of the Session, when the subject of the Dockyards could not be properly discussed. What his hon. Friend had said about the refusal of the First Lord to receive a deputation of Members of Parliament was an illustration of the inconveniences that arose from the First Lord being a Member of the House of Peers. He (Mr. Gorst) was of opinion, and many others agreed with him on economical grounds, that it was most absurd that the head of one of the great spending Departments of the State was not a Member of the popular House of Parliament. If they had a First Lord of the Admiralty in the House of Commons they would not have had to solicit, in the humble, suppliant manner they had been obliged to adopt, permission to come before him at the Office of the Admiralty, in order to tell him what their constituents desired, and they would not have had the curt rebuff which was received when certain Members of the House of Commons intimated that they desired an interview with the noble Lord, and were told that he could not allow them to see him or address him. If the First Lord were a Member of the House of Commons, if he did not desire to see a deputation, they could see him on the floor of the House, and tell him what they thought it to the interest of the Service that he should know. When the First Lord was so far removed from them, when he was in such a high sphere above them, they had no means of approaching him. But, at the same time, they would be guilty of ingratitude if they did not acknowledge that the Secretary, who represented the Admiralty in that House, was remarkable for the courtesy and consideration with which he invariably received every suggestion with regard to the Public Service. He did not wish to pay any unnecessary compliment, and he said this not only to the present Representative of the Admiralty in the House of Commons, but to both his Predecessors, who had shown every possible consideration to Members of that House. He should recommend the Government to adopt some plan or other for making the condition of the Dockyards the subject of independent inquiry. He was not so sanguine as to hope that the Government could be prevailed upon in Committee of Supply to agree to such a course. No doubt next year, just the same as now, the Dockyard Vote would come on for consideration some time in the month of August. He did not believe the Government, whatever good intention they might have, would be able, owing to pressure of Business, to do more than had been done in the past—namely, bring on the Vote some time in August. But it seemed to him that the suggestion of the hon. Member for Devonport (Mr. Puleston) was a valuable one, which might be adopted by the Government in the meantime—namely, to institute an inquiry into the whole of the organization of labour in the Dockyards, because there was no reason why the Dockyards should be as full of anomalies as they were. It was impossible to enter into detail with regard to these anomalies at this period of the Session; but, speaking generally, he might point out that anomalies, such as men being rated in one class and employed in another—for instance, a man being rated as a hammer-man and employed as a smith—were common in the Dockyards. And it was found, as matters were now managed, almost impossible to redress one set of grievances without giving rise to a fresh crop. It was desirable that the thing should be arranged as a whole, and that the labour should be so laid out and remunerated that the various classes of workmen would be content. There was none of this discontent in the private yards. If inquiries were made on the Tyne and on the Clyde, it would be found that there were not the same number of grievances as there were amongst the men in the Royal Dockyards. There was, to begin with, the great anomaly between the established and the hired men. Originally, the hired men were introduced on probation, and had to remain in that category one or two years, until they had satisfied the authorities that they were steady and industrious, and fit to be put on the Establishment. But men now remained on the hired list for 20 years, and there had come to be two classes of workmen—the hired men and the established men. There was no distinction to be drawn between the men. Many of the hired men had been just as long in the Service, and were just as good workmen and just as much attached to the duties of the position as the established men; but they were in the anomalous position of having no superannuation—nothing but a gratuity, which was given to them as a kind of alms, and depended on the will of the Treasury for the time being. Then the hon. Member for Devonport (Mr. Puleston) had referred to the position of the established shipwrights. It would be absolutely necessary, sooner or later, to take into consideration the condition of these men. The efficiency of the shipbuilding and repairing in the Dockyards depended upon the skill of the established shipwrights, who had been treated by the Government in the most cavalier fashion. Formerly these men were what their name indicated—they were men who worked in wood and built wooden ships. When iron shipbuilding started, however, these wooden shipbuilders transformed themselves into iron shipbuilders—they learnt a new trade, and now worked almost exclusively in iron or steel. This iron shipbuilding was much less healthy than wooden shipbuilding; and the steel building, which was now coming most into vogue, was a trade that, in the open market, commanded a much higher price than any other kind of shipbuilding. It commanded a higher price, because it required more skill and more endurance, was less healthy, and required far more outlay on clothes and tools than wooden shipbuilding. In the open market the men who, in the private yards, did the same work that established shipwrights did in the Royal Dockyards, got far higher wages. He had made inquiries last year, both on the Tyne and the Clyde, as to how the shipbuilding trade was going on, and he had learned that all the yards were in full work; that they were looking out for men; and that men were being tempted by the higher wages given. The only advantage the men in the Royal Dockyards had was the deferred pay and superannuations; and that surely was not a satisfactory state of things. The Government were not dealing fairly with these men, who had learnt a new trade, and were now doing work worth far more money than the work they originally undertook in the days of wooden shipbuilding. He knew why the claim of these men had been put off from time to time. It was not because it was not a strong claim, but because, the number of shipwrights being considerable, any increase in the scale of pay would increase the Navy Estimates, and cause a demand—not anything like the demands they were accustomed to deal with, but still a substantial demand on the National Exchequer. The Government, therefore, went on year after year refusing to deal with the question, leaving the men with the same pay that they had 20 years ago. It was a fact, he thought, that for the past 20 years the pay of the established shipwrights had not been raised, and that notwithstanding that the work they did 20 years ago was far easier than that they actually performed now. That was not the way in which a Service upon which the well-being of the country depended ought to be treated by a Liberal Government. The Government would have to take the claims of this class into their serious consideration before long he was sure; and whether the First Lord of the Admiralty preferred to listen to the case from Members of the House of Commons, or to read it in the newspapers, it was clear that he would have to give his attention to it, and that something would have to be done. He (Mr. Gorst) was obliged to the Committee for allowing him to run on at this length on the matter. He hoped that another Session they would have an opportunity of bringing such questions on at a time when the House was fresher, and better able to listen to speeches on such subjects of detail; but he could assure the Committee now that he only spoke from a sense of duty, and because he was sure that the matter would have to be dealt with sooner or later.

Mr. BROADHURST said, he was glad the condition of things in our Dockyards had been brought under the notice of the Committee, for it was true, as the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) had stated, that a large number of anomalies there existed. He was of opinion that a Committee would be altogether unable to grapple with the anomalies. Of course, he had seen very little of the Dockyards; but so far as he had been permitted to see into them he was convinced that no good could be done until there was a thorough investigation—an investigation that could only be conducted by an independent Commission. A Departmental Committee would not give satisfaction. If the Government would get together a Commission composed of men fitted for the task, and charged with full powers to go thoroughly into the question of the working of the Dockyards, to visit all the Yards, to take the evidence necessary to be taken on the spot, to take their own time, and to present a thorough and complete Report to that House, the means would be discovered whereby an important work might be done not only better than at present, but at a far less cost; hundreds of thousands of pounds would be saved to the country. He was convinced that much larger sums than he dare mention could be saved by proper management—by a thorough reorganization of the system observed in the working of the Dockyards, and by putting men to do the work for which they had been trained all their lives. The hon. and learned Member for Chatham had to-night imported into his remarks some controversial matter. He regretted that the hon. and learned Gentleman should have done so; but it was a matter upon which they were very much inclined to dispute with him. What he (Mr. Broadhurst) would like would be that the Commission should thoroughly settle what was a shipwright's work and what were shipwrights. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Chatham had told the Committee to-night that there was a class of men called shipwrights, who now formed the backbone of our Dockyards, and that these were the men who originally worked in wood, but who were now transformed into workers in steel and iron. That they worked in steel and iron was perfectly true; but he was sure the hon. and learned Gentleman did not intend to lead the Committee astray, though the effect of his remarks was to do so. The fact of the matter was that the Dockyards were to-day alive with properly-trained iron workers, the very class of men who were to be found on the Tyne and Clyde, and who were called our shipbuilders. These men were in the Dockyards by thousands. The shipwrights were a distinct body, and their work was as different from that of the iron shipbuilders as it could possibly be. What was wanted was an inquiry that would thoroughly exhaust all the anomalies existing in the Dockyards. The difference existing between the established men and the hired men was one that was not reasonable or just to the men concerned. This was a matter which could never be disposed of by a Vote in Committee in that House; indeed, there was only one efficient way of dealing with the question. It was not by a Select Committee. A Departmental Committee would be equally weak and ineffective. There would be red-tapeism and officialism in another form, and the Members of the Committee would go into the matter with pre-conceived ideas, and with the object of maintaining things to a great extent as they were now. What was wanted was a thorough overhauling of the whole system of extravagance, of abuse, of waste, and of inefficiency with which our Dockyards bristled from the gate to the furthermost part. He had seen, untrained as his eyes were in Dockyard matters, such a condition of things in the Royal Dockyards that would ruin any half-dozen of the largest firms of shipbuilders on the banks of the Clyde if carried on in their yards for three months. He did not want to say that the work done in our Dockyards was altogether unsatisfactory; but it could be said with truth there was a very great deal of unsatisfactory work. There were a great many weak points; there was a great deal of inefficient workmanship in our iron-clads. That workmanship ought to be above suspicion; it ought to be the very best that skill could produce; but it was not, simply because the Dockyards were the centres of disorganization and anomalies of the most alarming description. He could not expect that the Secretary to the Admiralty would to-night say he would appoint a Commission to inquire into the system of working the Dockyards. There was a great necessity for inquiry, and he hoped that as soon as the hon. Gentleman got clear of his foreign engagements he would turn his attention to this subject, and order such an inquiry to be made as would do justice to the nation, and to the men employed in the Dockyards.

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, he was afraid he must, for the moment, leave the question of the Dockyard artizans, and deal with the speeches which occupied the Committee at the early period of the evening. His right hon. Friend opposite (Mr. W. H. Smith) began by saying something with which he (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) was entirely in harmony. The right hon. Gentleman expressed regret that this Vote should be taken at so late a period of the Session. He need hardly say he shared that regret. The right hon. Gentleman, moreover, had said that the Admiralty would be able to alter or to modify their suggestions and their proposals according to the suggestions made in that House; that, at any rate, they had the advantage of the suggestions thrown out in debate in considering their own proposals. He (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) confessed he was present to-night, in his own estimation of his position, rather to learn something from the right hon. Gentleman and others who had addressed the Committee, than to give any instruction or information to the Committee, although that, of course, was part of his duty. It was most instructive to those who were concerned in the administration of the Navy to listen to such speeches as they had heard to-night. Many things had been said which it would be well if the Admiralty took to heart; but, at the same time, a great deal had been said with which he did not altogether agree. His right hon. Friend (Mr. W. H. Smith) pointed out the great loss and inconvenience and waste caused by delay in completing ships. He was entirely at one with his right hon. Friend in that respect. He could conceive nothing more wasteful than that any ship should be delayed longer than was absolutely necessary, because, as the right hon. Gentleman showed, once they had commenced spending money on a ship, the money they had expended was absolutely ineffectual, or unremunerative, until the ship was ready to go to sea. There was every necessity for the greatest urgency in the completion of ships. It was well known that in the course of the time which was occupied in the construction of a ship new discoveries were made, new ideas occurred to the builders, and all these were the cause of endless expense. On every ground he was quite convinced—and he was sure his hon. Colleague (Sir Thomas Brassey) agreed with him—that the one great object to be aimed at was the completion of the work they took in hand as rapidly as possible. While saying this he was free to admit that the principle was not carried out so far as could be wished. As the right hon. Gentleman knew, there were many difficulties in the way. It was, in fact, the last work about the ship which was the most difficult. All the fittings connected with the gunnery and torpedo arrangements, and everything of that sort, were of a very procrastinating nature. In many cases much of the delay that had been experienced in getting ships ready had been due to a change of armament being decided upon at the last moment. These changes were almost unavoidable, and he merely mentioned them because they were a great source of delay. The right hon. Gentleman pointed out that although the Votes had gone up nearly £280,000, and, therefore, there was no stint of money on the part of the House of Commons, we had not got that complete and satisfactory position that we were entitled to hold in regard to Naval matters. He quite agreed with many speakers as to the willingness of the country to grant very large sums of money for the support of the Navy. But, at the same time, it must not be forgotten that there were other claims on the country, and that it was the duty of all to see that they did not unnecessarily, or in too great a degree, yield even to the natural and patriotic desire those who administered the Navy might have to increase its efficiency. With the increase of money which they had received at the hands of the House of Commons it could not be said they had done nothing. In the first place, that dreadful dead weight of the non-effective portion of the Estimates went on by leaps and bounds; it increased at the rate of £40,000, £50,000, and £60,000 a-year. It was all very well for hon. Members to denounce that dead weight, and to say that it was almost a scandal that it should take up so much of the money voted for the Navy. A great part of it consisted of pensions which had been granted by former generations, by former Boards of Admiralty, and that was a debt which they could not get rid of. It must be borne in mind that by the system of pensions, however people might object to it, the present taxpayers were relieved of a certain burden in the shape of the wages they would otherwise have had to pay. If anything could be done with perfect justice to individuals and to classes to diminish the rate of pensions a great service would be done to the Navy. But the Admiralty had not only had to deal with this increase of dead weight; they had spent an increased amount upon shipbuilding. If the Committee took into account the three years during which the present Board of Admiralty had held Office, and compared them with the previous three years, they would find that no less than 10,000 tons were constructed in the latter period more than in the former three years, or, practically, the size of a large iron-clad. If they took into account the unarmoured ships the result was about the same; therefore, something had been done with the money voted by the House. This was sufficient to show that the present Board of Admiralty had not neglected the duties devolving upon it. Hon. Members might think the Admiralty ought to have done more; but, at all events, they had kept well in advance of what was considered necessary in former times. His right hon. Friend (Mr. W. H. Smith) made a great point of the Admiralty being behind, as he thought, with their repairs, and he had said that many ships were mentioned in the programme for repairs which were not completed in the year in which they were promised. The *Audacious* would be finished in a few weeks; the *Rupert* would be finished within the present financial year. The *Bellerophon* was promised to be finished as a gunnery instruction ship, available for general service; but if she were not completed within the present financial year, it would be because, for the purposes of a gunnery instruction sea-going ship, she would require to have armaments of a new type given to her. So far as the repairs to the ship herself were concerned, she would be ready. As to the *Shannon,* it was understood a short time ago that she would be finished; but he could not speak positively. The *Thunderer,* as to which the noble Lord (Lord Henry Lennox) asked, was to have been finished this year; but it had been discovered that more had to be done to her than was expected. There was a point with regard to her turrets which would cause delay. However carefully a programme of repairs might be considered, it was always liable to be altered. Ships were named in a programme to be completed within a year, or to be finished at a certain date; but in the very act of repairing them it was often discovered they required more than it was expected they would, or changes were proposed of a very serious character, or our Naval Advisers desired to have one ship finished before another, though that other might have been named in the programme. For these reasons it was almost impossible, as his right hon. Friend knew, to carry out precisely any programme of repairs. To show that it was not peculiar to the present Administration to name vessels for completion in their programme which were not completed, he was obliged to quote, not with any idea of finding fault, what was done during one or two years of the late Administration. His right hon. Friend had — and he thanked him for it — avoided infusing the least Party spirit into the remarks he had made, and he (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) was the last man in the world to do so. He simply intended to show that, strongly as his right hon. Friend felt on the subject, he himself, when he was at the Admiralty, was unable to do that which he found fault with the present Board of Admiralty for not doing. In 1877-8 there were six iron-clads promised in the programme and not completed in the year. One was promised to be completed, but it was not taken in hand. Eight screw frigates and corvettes were promised to be completed; one was not taken in hand, two were not completed, two were completed early in the next year, and three much later. In the next year three vessels were promised and completed; but four others were promised and not completed, and one was not taken in hand. In the next year two —the *Audacious* and the *Wivern*—were promised and completed; but the *Sultan* and two others which were promised were not completed. He attached no blame at all; on the contrary, he was rather glad to find that the right hon. Gentleman was subject to the infirmities of other people, and that, even in his day, such things occurred as now. It was only natural and proper that delay should occur, because, as he had said, two things happened in the course of the repairing of ships—it was found they required more repairs than it was at first expected, or it was found that the armaments required changing. He could give the right hon. Gentleman the unqualified assurance that the Admiralty would do all they could to complete within the year the four iron-clads promised. His right hon. Friend had asked about the *Black Prince* and the *Resistance.* These were ships about which there had been much consideration by successive Boards of Admiralty, and nothing had been fixed. He understood the *Black Prince* required new compound engines, and twin screws—that, in fact, she could not be repaired under £150,000, which was enough to make one pause and consider seriously before touching her. The noble Lord opposite (Lord Henry Lennox) asked why the *Black Prince* was not placed in the same category as the *Warrior.* They were, no doubt, similar ships, and when she had served her time the *Warrior* would be in exactly the same position as the *Black Prince*—it would have to be seriously discussed whether she should be repaired or not. As he had just alluded to the noble Lord, he might, perhaps, be permitted to answer some of the other interrogatories which he put. He had already answered the question about the *Thunderer.* The noble Lord spoke of a number of ships as obsolete; but that was a word which one or two other speakers greatly objected to. He did not wish to draw any hasty conclusion from our recent experience; but it seemed to him that ships which were sometimes called obsolete might do effective and good service. The noble Lord asked whether it was true that of 18 guns which the *Lord Warden* carried, eight were forbidden to be fired. He (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) did not know that any such information had reached the Admiralty. The *Hotspur* was nearly ready. She had been fitted with 6-inch Nordenfelt guns. The *Glatton* was now in commission as tender to the *Excellent* at Portsmouth, and the *Collingwood,* he had said, would be launched this year. He had made further inquiry, and he was informed that, although only certain progress in regard to her was announced in the Estimates, that rate was in the act of being exceeded; and, as a matter of fact, she would be launched in order to get her engines before the end of the year. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. H. Smith) had also said, speaking of the general condition of the Navy, and of the large number of ships needing repairs, that there were 30,000 tons dropped out of the Effective List, and that these were more than equal to all the tons that we were building. It was very difficult to make any comparison of this kind, or to answer figures stated in a speech; but he had made the best inquiry he could into our position in this matter. He found that since the present Administration came into Office there had been ships removed from the Effective List to the extent of 25,749 tons, which was about the amount stated by the right hon. Gentleman. If they added the tonnage needing repairs, which he set down at 35,620 tons, the total would be 61,000 tons—that was tons displacement. Now the tons building were 35,000; but there was a great difference between the tons weight of hull and tons displacement. He believed that usually a third was added, so there was no great discrepancy between the two figures. Even admitting all the ships waiting repairs were to be put on the Non-Effective List in any comparison of this sort, it must be remembered there were always ships waiting repairs, and that, at the commencement of the date of the comparison, there would be a large number of ships waiting repairs. He did not think, on that ground, there would be such a great discrepancy as his right hon. Friend anticipated.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, his argument was not that there were ships waiting repairs. As the hon. Gentleman had said, there always would be ships waiting repairs. His argument was that the ships requiring repairs were those which, according to the undertaking of the Admiralty, ought to have been completed before this time. He had only given the tonnage of the ships which, according to the programme of 1880-1 and 1881-2, ought now to be effective ships, but which had not been completed.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he presumed there were as many ships in the Non-Effective List at the commencement of the period of comparison as there were at the end. The fact the Committee might go upon was this—that 25,000 tons displacement had been removed from the Effective List of the Navy, and that 35,000 tons weight of hull had been added. He made these observations not from any failure to appreciate the absolute importance of hurrying the repairs as much as possible. His hon. Friend (Sir Edward Reed) had questioned him about the cost of the *Inflexible.* He thought he had made a most complete Return; but he admitted his hon. Friend did ask some time ago for the cost of the armament of the vessel. He would give him on Report the cost of the armament, which was to be added to the cost of the ship. The right hon. and gallant Baronet the Member for Wigton Burghs (Sir John Hay) and the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Captain Price) entered on a comparison of the strength of our Navy and that of France. He was not prepared to follow them in that line of argument. His (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman's) right hon. Predecessor (Mr. Trevelyan) made a statement of his views on that subject in a very exhaustive speech in answer to a Motion of the noble Lord (Lord Henry Lennox). That having been done, he (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) did not think it was desirable to follow in that line of argument, especially in the present circumstances. He could perfectly understand the desire of hon. Gentlemen opposite to bring these points before the Committee, and he did not blame them—indeed, he had no right to do so—for introducing them. He only hoped the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Devonport (Captain Price) would not consider that, because these statements had not been directly contradicted, they were therefore accepted as correct. The truth was that one nation might be more active than others. It was the firm conviction of the Admiralty that what they were doing at present was—he would not say all that everybody could wish to be done —but sufficient to cause such an addition to the strength of the Navy as, at all events, to keep abreast with the requirements of the day. He was not prepared to go into an elaborate comparison between ourselves and the French. Comparisons were often misleading and inexact. He had no doubt a good case might be made out on the one side, and on the other. He did not think it was desirable the matter should be treated by way of comparison, although he fully admitted it was a subject which might well occupy the time and attention of the House, and of those who took an interest in Naval matters. As to the general cost of the Navy, it was not for him to express any opinion whether in future years the Estimates ought not to be increased; but he could assure the Committee that the points which had been indicated so clearly and kindly in the course of the debate would not be lost sight of by the Government. He had to make an apology and a confession to the right hon. Gentleman who made some observations on the subject of guns. He listened to those observations with the deepest interest, and with the great part of them he agreed; but he was sorry to say he was not prepared to give the right hon. Gentleman the information he asked for. He took the blame entirely upon himself. He was under the impression that as no money was voted in the Navy Estimates for guns, the proper time to discuss the gun question was when the Army Vote for Guns was brought on; and, therefore, he did not come down prepared with statistics and figures, which it was necessary he should have, in order to give the right hon. Gentleman an answer. He had thought of interrupting the right hon. Gentleman in his interesting remarks; but he confessed he was disposed to hear what he had to say. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would forgive him for the neglect of duty he had displayed. He would endeavour to give the right hon. Gentleman the information he desired on Report. He did not think he had anything else to do except to reply to the speeches of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) and the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst). It had been said it was a very simple matter to appoint a Committee. So it was a very simple matter to appoint a Committee; but it was not always a very simple matter to meet the recommendations of a Committee, or to make sure that the recommendations of a Committee were very wise and good. He was not disposed to hold out any hope that such a course would be adopted, and still less that the course suggested by his hon. Friend the Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst)—namely, the appointment of a Commission, would be pursued. The hon. Gentleman spoke of inequality and anomaly in the Dockyards. It was true there was a great deal of anomaly, and he could promise the hon. Gentleman that he would give his own personal attention to the subject during the autumn and winter; but he would not hold out any elaborate hope as to what would be done. He and his hon. Friend (Sir Thomas Brassey), who was very well acquainted with all the circumstances of the case, would look carefully into the matter, and see whether any real adjustment could be recommended in accordance with the interests of the public. In conclusion, he had to thank the Committee for the kind manner in which they had treated the proposals of the Government, and for the many excellent suggestions that had been made.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty had promised to look into the questions with respect to the Dockyards which had been submitted to him. What the Committee had a right to complain of was the constant change of the Secretaries to the Admiralty. During this Parliament two able Gentlemen had filled the Office of Secretary to the Admiralty; indeed, so able were they that they had been promoted. The Committee had no guarantee that their hon. Friend (Mr. Campbell - Bannerman) would retain his Office sufficiently long to inquire into the subjects which had been put before him. He trusted the hon. Gentleman would seriously turn his attention to the great anomalies which existed in the condition of the Establishment men and hired men. Memorials and Petitions, which showed there was considerable dissatisfaction amongst these men, were constantly being sent to the Gentlemen connected with Dockyard constituencies. These documents were very respectfully worded, and they put forward the claims and grievances of the men with great plausibility. He asked a Question a day or two ago with regard to the sum which was levied on hired men when they were made Establishment men; and the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty told him the matter did not concern his Department, but that of the Secretary to the Treasury. He then asked the Secretary to the Treasury, and he said the Admiralty had to do with the question. He then repeated his Question to the Secretary to the Admiralty, and he said he knew nothing about the matter. This case was a particularly hard one, and really emphasized, more than anything else, the difference between the hired and the Establishment men. Hitherto hired men, when they passed into the Establishment, had undergone examination; and now, by some Order in Council, they were subject to a fee, to be paid to the Civil Service Commissioners, simply because they were transferred from one Department of the Public Service to another. The men were in a very different position from the Civil servants. It was only fair that if men wished admission to the Public Service they should pay a fee to the Civil Service Commissioners who were appointed to make the necessary examination. The men in question, however, were already in the Public Service, and they had simply to be transferred from one Department to another. He trusted this would be one of the questions which the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty would look into during the autumn, because it had given rise to a great deal of sore feeling on the part of the men. No one who was connected with the boroughs in which Dockyards were situated had reason to be pleased with the present administration of the Dockyards. It would be far better if the First Lord of the Admiralty had a seat in that House, or that the Secretary to the Admiralty should have a far higher position than he now enjoyed. In past times there used to be what was called a Secretary at War, who occupied very much, with regard to the War Office, the position which the First Lord occupied in the other House. The Secretary to the Admiralty was not responsible for the Estimates, he was not a Privy Councillor, and he could not undertake to make an alteration of the Estimates, and he could not at any time undertake to bring them forward. He trusted that between this and next year there would be some change made in the position of the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, that, with respect to the question of fees raised by the hon. Gentleman, the position of things was this. The Civil Service Commission charged certain fees, which were supposed, more or less, to pay for the expenses of the examinations which they held. In the ordinary Civil Service the fees were fixed according to the highest salary to which the person admitted could rise. In the interest of Dockyard men an arrangement had been made according to which they only paid a sum charged upon the actual scale of wages to which they were then admitted, and practically, in the majority of cases, the fee did not exceed 1*s.* The grievance, therefore, was not an enormous one. One shilling was charged on admission, and then, as the men were promoted, they paid proportionately for their rise. The ordinary Civil servant would pay £5 or £6 straight off on the supposition that some day or other he would rise to a certain salary.

Captain PRICE said, they had had a fair promise from the Secretary to the Admiralty that he would look into all the matters connected with the Dockyards; but he hoped one point which the hon. Gentleman would take into consideration would be the suggestion which had been made to-night—namely, that a Committee should be appointed to examine into all the subjects. The *personnel* of the Dockyards was divided into a great many classes, most of whom had grievances which they wished to make known. It was no easy task for the Representatives of the Dockyards to bring those grievances constantly before the House. In what way were the grievances of the various classes of Dockyard men to be made known? The

Committee had been told to-night that the First Lord of the Admiralty declined to receive deputations from Members of Parliament on the subject, and the Representatives of the Admiralty had deprecated discussions of these matters in the House. He did not say that had been done by the present Secretary to the Admiralty, but it had been done before he took Office. The men themselves were not allowed to go in deputation to the Admiralty. How, then, were the grievances of the Dockyard *employés* to be made known? It had been pointed out to-night that a promise was made by a former Secretary to the Admiralty that the various classes of the *employés* in the Dockyards should have an opportunity of representing their grievances personally to the Board of Admiralty when they came round to visit the Dockyards in the autumn. That promise, however, had not been fulfilled. He made the statement deliberately. The promise was elicited by a Question which he himself put in the House—in fact, he would like to remind the Committee of what actually occurred two years ago. He had been referring to certain grievances which had been mentioned to-night—grievances created by the disparity in the position of the hired and Establishment men; and the then Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) said—

> "It was the wish of the Board of Admiralty to postpone the consideration of such questions until the Board of Admiralty visited the Dockyards in the autumn. They would then hear all that could be said on the subject by the various classes of workmen and decide what could be done."—[3 *Hansard*, ccliii. 1049.]

There was, therefore, a distinct promise from the Admiralty to the Committee, that when they went their round in the autumn these questions should be thrashed out, that the men themselves should have an opportunity of bringing their grievances personally before the Admiralty, who would hear all that had to be said on the subject. The promise was a considerable consolation to him; but what occurred? The Admiralty went round the Dockyards in the autumn, the various classes of workmen asked to be able to lay their grievances before the Admiralty; but the Admiralty declined to have anything to say to them. He had received a letter from an *employé* who was connected with one of the leading classes in the Dockyards—the class of shipwrights. The writer of the letter said—

> "The Secretary to the Admiralty promised you that at their annual inspection the Admiralty would receive deputations of workmen; and upon the faith of that reply we made the usual request through the heads of our departments at the time the Admiralty were here last year; but their Lordships said they could not receive any deputation."

The following Session he asked, as he asked now, what facilities were to be afforded for the *employés* of the various departments in the Dockyards to lay their grievances before the Admiralty; and the reply he then got from the Secretary to the Admiralty was—

> "Every person employed in the Dockyards is allowed to make any representation he pleases by letter to the Admiralty. . . . It is quite evident, from the great mass of applications made, that the time at the disposal of the Admiralty would not admit of their personally receiving deputations during their annual visit of inspection."—[*Ibid.*, cclviii. 250]

They, therefore, had a distinct promise from one Secretary to the Admiralty that the Admiralty would personally inquire into the grievances of the men, and they had the statement from his Successor that the time at the disposal of the Admiralty was too short, and that they could not receive any deputations. He desired to know from the present Secretary to the Admiralty whether the Admiralty would take the matter into consideration again, and whether they would now receive deputations of the men? Lord Northbrook would not let Members of Parliament put the matter before him, and the Committee had neither the time nor the inclination to listen to the matter in the House. In point of fact, these discussions were deprecated by the Government. Some of the grievances had existed for many years; he believed the shipwrights had not had an opportunity, either by deputation or otherwise, of personally laying their grievances before the Admiralty for upwards of 10 years. Eight or ten years ago it was a regular thing for the Admiralty to receive deputations when they went round, and he wanted to know whether they would receive deputations now? He wished to know if this particular part of the Naval policy was to be continuous in its operation?

MR. AKERS-DOUGLAS said, he had no wish to detain the Committee at any length; he had merely to ask a question of the Secretary to the Admiralty upon a subject which had escaped particular reference on the part of the hon. and gallant Member for Devenport (Captain Price). His hon. and gallant Friend, in impressing on the Secretary to the Admiralty the importance or desirability of the appointment of a Departmental Committee to inquire into the management of the Dockyards, had mentioned some grievances under which the officers employed at those establishments laboured; but he thought he had forgotten to draw attention to the fact that the riggers in the Dockyards had not received the increase of pay which had been extended to other *employés* in the Dockyards. There had been a general increase of wages in the Dockyards in 1876; but he was informed that the riggers had not in any way participated in that advance of pay, and that they complained of being hardly treated in being excluded from certain benefits conferred on men in similar positions in other departments by the Dockyard Regulations of 1875. He knew that this grievance on the part of the riggers had been before the Admiralty for some two or three years, that the riggers had presented Petitions to the Admiralty, and that the prayer of those Petitions was supported by their chiefs; and, as he believed, was not unfavourably regarded by the Board of Admiralty themselves. He would, therefore, be glad if his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty would give him some assurance that the case of the riggers should be considered.

Mr. PULESTON said, he could not allow one statement of the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Broadhurst), with reference to the quality of the work and the manner in which it was turned out at Her Majesty's Dockyards, to pass unchallenged. He had, as a rule, great respect for the statements and opinions of the hon. Member; but when he said that the work done at Her Majesty's Dockyards was inferior in quality and done in an inferior way, why, the statement carried its own refutation with it. His hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty, and the Civil Lord now present, could testify most fully that all the work done in the Dockyards was executed in the most efficient manner, and that had been the character of the work at all times. So far from its being true that the work done at Her Majesty's Dockyards was inferior in character, it was a fact when, on a former occasion, a large amount of work had been entrusted to private yards, that the arrangement was found to have been carried out at the expense of efficiency. However, his principal object in rising was to refer to another subject. The Secretary to the Admiralty had mentioned, not long ago, that he would cause to be printed and published a scale of the pensions granted to the widows of seamen. He (Mr. Puleston) had addressed one or two Questions to his hon. Friend since that statement was made, as to the time at which this scale would be published; and his hon. Friend had replied that it would probably be ready for printing at the end of the Session. Perhaps his hon. Friend would state whether it was ready now? He had to express his thanks for the way in which his suggestion with reference to the appointment of a Committee had been received; and he frankly admitted that he desired no better Committee than would be constituted by the appointment of the two Gentlemen who had undertaken to act in that capacity. He was sure that in expressing confidence in the two hon. Gentlemen who were to take the matter in hand, he was simply expressing the views of his Colleagues and of the constituency he had the honour to represent. All he asked was that the Department should be as good as their word. In saying that, he did not imply that any pledge had been given, because he was quite aware that this was not the case. The grievances were of a kind that inquiry would find a cure for, and a little attention would remedy them, and secure efficiency in this branch of the Public Service.

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, he feared he should not be able to take any step in the direction of furnishing the scale of pensions alluded to by the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken before the end of the Session. As this would deal with the widows of men killed in action, his hon. Friend would perceive that the question by analogy affected other Departments in the Service than that to which he had referred. With regard to the question raised by the hon. Member for East Kent (Mr. Akers-Douglas) relating to the position of the riggers, he should be quite ready to listen to all that could be urged in their behalf, although he could, of course, give no pledge upon the subject, and had no wish to give rise to any undue expectation on the part of those *employés.*

Mr. BIGGAR said, he took this opportunity of bringing forward the claims of Mr. John Clare upon the Admiralty Department in accordance with the Notice he had placed upon the Paper. He had, on former occasions, had a great difficulty in getting at any responsible official to whom he could make application with reference to these claims; and in bringing forward the matter in that House he had been in this unfortunate position, that the hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench, to whom his observations were addressed, always said that they did not of their own knowledge know anything of the subject, but that the question had been decided against Mr. Clare at some very remote period, and was consequently disposed of. Now, he was disposed in this matter to do what hon. Members had done with regard to other questions brought forward that evening—namely, to ask the hon. Gentleman representing the Admiralty to investigate the claims of Mr. Clare on their merits, and to make an examination into the facts of the case. He would, in order not to detain the Committee unnecessarily, very briefly point out the grounds on which he based his application for an inquiry. Mr. Clare, some years ago, patented an invention in connection with iron shipbuilding, into the details of which he would not enter, and offered his patent to the Admiralty Department. The Board of Admiralty of the day obtained plans from him, and supplemented that, from time to time, by obtaining information as to how the plans were to be worked, and there was no doubt that they constructed vessels in accordance with the plans. Now, Mr. Clare had sent into the Admiralty a claim for a very much larger amount than he (Mr. Biggar) thought the Admiralty would have been right to pay him; and, moreover, in his opinion, he had acted injudiciously in declaring that this sum should be paid in full, instead of endeavouring to compromise with the Government and accepting a lump sum in final settlement. The natural result of this action, on the part of Mr. Clare, was that the Admiralty resisted the claim and fought the case in a Court of Law. The evidence given at the trial against Mr. Clare's claims was exceedingly unsatisfactory; and, in his (Mr. Biggar's) opinion, the verdict was an improper one, Mr. Clare having been afterwards able to show that the evidence on which the Court decided proceeded from witnesses who were—he would not say intentionally dishonest, but mistaken with regard to the facts which they laid before the Court. Since then Mr. Clare had communicated with various Members of Parliament, and his case had been brought forward in three successive years. Having made this brief statement, he asked that the Board of Admiralty should cause the case to be investigated, and if they found there was no justice in the claims of Mr. Clare that they should say so, and he should then feel that he would not be justified in again bringing the subject forward. On the other hand, he thought he should be justified in doing so as long as the Government said simply—"We will not go into the merits of this case, nor consider Mr. Clare's claim." As he had before remarked, he did not wish unduly to occupy the time of the Committee, and for that reason he had not entered upon the merits or demerits of Mr. Clare's invention, or the details of the evidence which Mr. Clare was able to give at the trial in opposition to the evidence given against him; he simply asked that an unbiassed investigation should take place, and that a Report should be made to the House, which should take the place of the opinions expressed upon the case by hon. Gentlemen on the Government Benches.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, his right hon. Friend the late Secretary to the Admiralty had last year made an explanation in reference to the claims of Mr. Clare, with which he believed the hon. Member for Cavan had expressed himself satisfied. From that time to the present those letters from Mr. Clare which constantly arrived at the Admiralty, intimating that he was dissatisfied, had ceased; and the authorities were, therefore, under the impression that Mr. Clare also was at last satisfied, although he had not obtained what he wanted. In view of these circumstances, he was somewhat surprised that the hon. Member for Cavan should have brought the subject forward again. As the hon. Member might imagine, he should not go into the matter farther than to say that the case of Mr. Clare had been tried before a Court of Law, and decided against him. The Lord Chief Justice, who presided at the trial, remarked that in the whole course of his experience he never heard of a claim so wild and so extravagant. The result was that the jury found a verdict for the Crown on every point raised in the claim. Proceedings were subsequently commenced by Mr. Clare against two witnesses whom he alleged to have perjured themselves; but they were abandoned. He thought that nothing need be added to that statement, which, in his opinion, completely disposed of the matter; and, in concluding his remarks, he would merely express his regret that the favourable impression seemed to have been removed which was created by the explanation given by his right hon. Friend last year.

Mr. H. G. ALLEN wished to draw the attention of the Secretary to the Admiralty to a subject he had brought forward on a former occasion. He referred to the proportion which the established men bore to the hired men in Her Majesty's Dockyards, and particularly in the Dockyard with which he was connected, where there had been an addition of 500 hired men, the number of the established men remaining less than it was before the 500 hired men were introduced. He ventured to express the opinion that, under present circumstances, and with the acknowledged shortcomings of late years in keeping up our Naval strength, there ought to be a considerable addition to the number of the established men; and he trusted the Secretary to the Admiralty would be able to say that he would include this question amongst the others of a kindred character which he had promised to consider.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he believed there was, at the present time, an abnormal number of hired men employed at the Dockyard referred to by the hon. Member who had just sat down; but he was unable to see that this constituted any ground for increasing the number of the established men. He believed the number of established men at Pembroke Dockyard compared favourably with that of the established men at the other Dockyards. However, he would look into this along with other questions that had been submitted.

Captain PRICE said, that there was an increase under the sub-head relating to wages to policemen. This increase, although small in itself, was sufficient to show that an additional sum of money was required for this purpose year after year. He had, on a former occasion, called the attention of the late Secretary to the Admiralty to the suggestion that the services of a number of the police employed in the Dockyards at home and abroad might be dispensed with, and a considerable saving of cost thereby effected to the country; and he now asked the hon. Gentleman the present Secretary to the Admiralty whether he would look into the whole question of the Dockyard Police? The cost of this force in the Dockyards at home and abroad constituted a very considerable item of charge, and amounted to something like £50,000 a-year. He had not one word to say against the Dockyard Police; on the contrary, he believed there was not a more efficient force in existence; but it had often struck him that they might utilize for the purposes of the force the seamen and Marine pensioners, who were in every respect fitted to perform the duties of policemen. He remembered that some years ago in some of our Dockyards abroad, where no policemen could be had, a number of pensioners were appointed, who discharged the duties most satisfactorily, and answered exactly the same purpose as the police of the present day. Therefore, he thought that a large number of the seamen and Marine pensioners might now be occupied in the same way. He did not think he should be wrong in saying that the Police Force by this means might be reduced to one-half of its present dimensions; while the effect of having a force of 25,000 police and 25,000 Marine pensioners would be a very considerable reduction of charge in the Estimates. Another great advantage of this plan would be that a force would be almost always ready on which the Admiralty could lay their hands to act as an additional reserve to the Fleet. For these reasons, he again drew the attention of the Admiralty to this question, which he regarded as a very important one, and which he trusted would meet with their favourable consideration.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he thought the Secretary to the Admiralty had given a rather indiscreet reason for supposing that Mr. Clare was satisfied with the way in which his claim had been dealt with by the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant (Mr. Trevelyan) when he occupied the post of Secretary to the Admiralty last year. The hon. Gentleman had rested his supposition on the fact that Mr. Clare had not since written to the Admiralty Department; but he (Mr. Biggar) was afraid that when the correspondence was transferred from him the Admiralty were likely to have a considerable amount of trouble in connection with it. He should have been glad if the hon. Gentleman had been able to say that there should be an investigation of the case upon its merits. As far as he could remember, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant made rather a vague reply to the question last year, which was sufficient to show that the merits of the case had not been considered, and that he had no personal knowledge of the facts.

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, he had himself personally gone into the case, and was unable to give any promise whatever on the subject of a further investigation.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

(5.) £70,787, Victualling Yards at Home and Abroad.

(6.) £64,465, Medical Establishments at Home and Abroad.

(7.) £22,016, Marine Division.

(8.) £1,122,500, Naval Stores for Building and Repairing the Fleet, &c.

Sir JOHN HAY said, he observed on page 116 a considerable decrease in the Estimate for paint, oils, and other materials. It would be in the recollection of the Committee that a particular kind of paint called xerotine-siccative, which was considered to be very economical, had been made use of by the Admiralty, and that it was supposed to have blown up one of Her Majesty's ships. An inquiry had been held into the circumstances of the explosion, and, two months ago, he had asked a Question with regard to experiments that had been made with this curious material. The result of the inquiry had not been communicated to Parliament; and he thought hon. Members would be glad to know what conclusion had been arrived at—that was to say, whether the xerotine-siccative or the Fenians caused the explosion to which he had alluded.

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, he was unable to make any statement with reference to the explosion. The cause of the reduction in the Estimate for paint, oils, &c., arose from the circumstance that the stocks were large, smaller quantities being required for the current year.

Sir JOHN HAY: Will there be any more xerotine-siccative used?

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN: No.

Vote *agreed to.*

(9.) £767,153, Machinery and Ships built by Contract, &c.

Sir JOHN HAY asked whether tenders had been invited for the building of an iron-clad by private persons, and whether any information could be given to the Committee as to the conditions of contract?

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, that tenders had been sent in, but no contract had been entered into.

Vote *agreed to.*

(10.) £479,603, New Works, Buildings, Yard Machinery, and Repairs.

Mr. W. H. SMITH wished to know the state of the barracks at Keyham, and whether their completion might be looked for next year in accordance with the promise which he believed had been given? He would also like to know whether the necessary machinery had been provided—whether, in fact, seeing that a much less sum was asked for this year, the works were actually progressing? He wished, also, to have some information as to the progress of the Works at Haulbowline, on account of which a smaller sum than last year was placed in the Estimates? There was also an item in connection with which he thought some further expense would shortly be required—namely, the works at Malta. He believed the Admiralty had very properly provided for the repairs of several ships at Malta during the coming year, and they had also very properly provided for the increased cost of wages which would have to be paid. But he thought it would be found that further mechanical appliances would be required in the Dockyard at Malta, in order that full use might be made of that establishment, and it seemed to him that a very small provision had been made for the purpose in the Estimates. He should like to see a new dock constructed at Malta, where there was at present only one dock in which a good-sized iron-clad could be placed. If we were to be engaged in severe work in the Mediterranean at any time the dock accommodation there would be found totally insufficient for the Fleet; and therefore he felt that another graving dock at Malta would, in time of need, be of the greatest possible advantage to the country. The existing dock accommodation at Malta had already been used for ships on the Indian Station, which had been repaired there instead of being sent home. For the reasons he had given he trusted the Admiralty would consider whether the present dock accommodation could not be enlarged.

Sir THOMAS BRASSEY said, in reply to the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, he was able to inform him that the number of men employed on the works at Haulbowline was precisely the same as that employed last year. He believed the works would be completed in about three years from the present time. The works at Keyham, he believed, would be finished next year or the year after.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, that only £94,241 was taken this year as against £134,589 in the last Estimates.

Sir THOMAS BRASSEY said, the larger sum included the charge for a number of supplementary works. With regard to the dock accommodation at Malta, provision would be made next year for completing a repairing shed at the cost of £25,000. A larger sum had not been proposed in the Estimates, because, as he understood, the space available in the Dockyard was limited, and it required in consequence some consideration to arrange a satisfactory plan for the completion of the sheds. His right hon. Friend had raised a question with reference to the propriety of constructing an efficient graving dock at Malta. That subject had already engaged the attention of the Admiralty; and although he was not authorized to report any decision upon it, he could assure his right hon. Friend that they were fully sensible of the great and growing importance of the Dockyard at Malta, and of the economical and effective manner in which work was done there.

Vote *agreed to.*

(11.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £69,375, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expense of Medicines, Medical Stores, &c., which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883."

Mr. THOMASSON, in moving to reduce the Vote by £7,900, said, a Select Committee had been sitting on the Contagious Diseases Acts, and there was no likelihood of its Report being presented this Session. Many of his constituents, and tens of thousands of people throughout the country, had been anxious that some protest should be made against the Contagious Diseases Acts this Session; and, therefore, he opposed this Vote. On the 15th of July last there had been presented to the House 12,805 Petitions, bearing 2,019,371 signatures, praying for the repeal of those Acts. Some of those Petitions had been signed on behalf of public bodies who condemned those Acts as utterly immoral; and although the Convocations of the Church of England had not protested against those Acts, yet large numbers of clergymen had done so by Petitions. Only the other week a Memorial from 200 Metropolitan clergymen had been presented to the Prime Minister against the Acts. He not only considered them immoral Acts, but entirely unconstitutional —even more unconstitutional than the Protection of Person and Property (Ireland) Act of 1881. By that Act the Lord Lieutenant, on reasonable suspicion, could commit persons to prison; by the Contagious Diseases Acts any woman could be treated as a common prostitute and summoned before a magistrate. The presumption of the law in other cases was that a person was innocent until proved guilty; but under these Acts a magistrate might assume that a woman was guilty unless she could prove the contrary. Unless a woman could prove a negative she might be detained in a hospital prison for nine months. This was entirely exceptional, and it was not right that the reputation of English women should be committed to the care of the police. No doubt, many hon. Members thought these Acts only applied to a degraded class of women; but he had never yet heard that any class of British subjects could be put outside the pale of the Constitution, and it was not the fact that only degraded women were brought up under these Acts, for hon. Members might be sure that the police would make mistakes—and they had made mistakes, as hon. Members would find from the evidence taken before the Select Committee. Not much more than two months ago a young woman had been brought before a magistrate at Dover, and the magistrate had said that there was no ground whatever for arresting her.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £61,475, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expense of Medicines, Medical Stores, &c., which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883."—(*Mr. Thomasson.*)

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, there were two reasons on which he would appeal to his hon. Friend to consider whether it was desirable to take the opinion of the Committee upon the subject. First, with regard to the administration of this Vote. This was a statutory duty imposed upon the Government by certain Acts of Parliament; and the proper course for the hon. Member, who held a strong opinion against these Acts in common with many other persons, to take would be to repeal the Acts. But so long as they remained on the Statute Book it was the duty of the Government and the House to provide machinery for carrying them out. The second consideration was that a Committee had been sitting on this subject for four years, was on the eve of coming to a decision, and was now considering its Report; and the Leader of those who thought with the hon. Member had withdrawn a Motion he had on the Paper, because that Committee was sitting, and had not presented its Report. On these grounds he appealed to the hon. Member not to press his Amendment.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER said, he had come down to the House the other day to support the Motion of the right hon. Member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld); but as that right hon. Gentleman had not thought proper to divide, he (Mr. R. N. Fowler) must agree with the Secretary to the Admiralty that, as the law enjoined the carrying out of the Contagious Diseases Acts, the Committee was bound to vote the money for the purpose; and, therefore, although he was opposed to those Acts, the Amendment should be rejected.

Mr. THOMASSON said, the right hon. Member (Mr. Stansfeld) had not thought proper to divide, because the Previous Question was carried against him.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:* — Ayes 7; Noes 62: Majority 55. — (Div. List, No. 309.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(12.) £9,973, Martial Law, &c.

Captain PRICE asked whether the Secretary to the Admiralty had had time to consider the question of Marine officers in connection with courts martial?

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, he had not had an opportunity of considering the question yet; but he had not forgotten it.

Vote *agreed to.*

(13.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £118,936, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expense of various Miscellaneous Services, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883."

Mr. MOORE asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, what steps had been taken to meet the requirements of the Roman Catholic sailors in the Squadron at Alexandria? However successful that Squadron might be, it could hardly be expected that there would not be a considerable number of men on the sick-list owing to the hot climate of Egypt, and the necessity for a Roman Catholic chaplain might become very necessary.

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, that, in accordance with a Minute issued sometime ago, he had telegraphed to Sir Beauchamp Seymour, asking whether there were any Roman Catholic clergymen at Alexandria and Port Said who would be available for the Fleet, and the reply was that there were. Therefore, he had not thought it necessary to make any special provision. There was every desire on the part of the Government to give every assistance of this kind; and he imagined that if any force of seamen or marines were landed, the services of the Roman Catholic clergy would be available.

Mr. MOORE said, what he wanted was to have a clear understanding upon this matter. What happened when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) was at the head of the Admiralty? The Squadron was in Besika Bay, and it was supposed there were some Roman Catholic clergymen on shore; but the seamen had to attend the churches on shore, for not a single one of the clergy could speak English, or any language in which they could communicate with the men, and then it turned out that the clergy did not belong to the Catholic Church at all, but to the Greek Church. He did not wish to impute bad faith to the officers in command; but he thought the Minute of 1878 ought to be carried out. He knew Alexandria and Port Said as well as any Member of that House, and he was not aware that the clergy at either of those places spoke English. He hoped the Secretary to the Admiralty would make some satisfactory statement.

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, he could only repeat the answer he gave a week ago. Sir Beauchamp Seymour had every reason to look after the interests of the men under his charge, and he was asked whether there were clergymen available. His answer was that there were. Subsequently he (Mr. Campbell - Bannerman) had been told by the hon. and gallant Member for Cork (Colonel Colthurst) that the clergy at Alexandria were considered to be fit persons in every way, and could speak English very well; but at Port Said there was no one with that qualification. As he had already promised, he would make inquiries into the matter.

Mr. CALLAN said, the matter was most unsatisfactory, and the explanation made it still more unsatisfactory. Were they to be told that in one of the largest Fleets which England had gathered together for the last 20 years no Roman Catholic chaplain was to be engaged? We were at war, although the Prime Minister said we were not at war. ["Question!"] He heard some Radicals call "Question!" That was always the Radical cry whenever a question of illiberality was raised. He stood there as a Catholic Member of Parliament to express his surprise at the explanation that had been attempted to be made in this matter by a Scotch Secretary to the Admiralty. ["Oh, oh!"] If he was interrupted any more by hon. Members below the Radical Gangway, he should move that the Chairman report Progress; indeed, he would make that Motion when he had said what he intended to say. He (Mr. Callan) noticed that an allowance of £3,300 was made in this Vote for chaplains; and what he was anxious to know was — whether any step whatever had been taken by the Admiralty to provide a Catholic chaplain at Alexandria? All they seemed to have done was to telegraph—"Are there Catholic chaplains available?" He understood there was only one English Catholic clergyman in or near Alexandria. Had that one been taken off to the Fleet? Had a salary been voted for him? Had he been placed on board any vessel, or given a steam-launch to go from ship to ship? No; the Admiralty had done absolutely nothing. In June, 1878, under a Conservative Government, the Lords of the Admiralty directed that—

> "When a number of ships forming a squadron are sent on any service that would keep them for a considerable time away from ports where the services of Roman Catholic priests were available, arrangements are," not may, "to be made for a Roman Catholic priest to accompany the squadron."

Had the Admiralty made any arrangement whatever by which a priest should accompany the Squadron commanded by Sir Beauchamp Seymour? If they had not, they were guilty of a deliberate violation of the Order that was made on the 7th of June, 1878. He would ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he had made any effort to comply with this mandatory Order? When were they discussing this matter? At 2 o'clock in the morning, when not the slightest report of their proceedings would appear in the English Press. Where was the hon. Member for Berwick - on - Tweed (Mr. Jerningham)—that hybrid constituency somewhere on the Border? He understood he was at Buxton. It would have been far better if the hon. Gentleman had been here attending to the interests of those people through whose votes he occupied his seat in the House.

It was the duty of the hon. Gentleman to have been here to have held up to public scorn the illiberal, bigoted, and intolerant action of the Government in this matter. ["Oh, oh!"] Well, the "grand old man" was not present. ["Question!"] He was impugning the action of the Government in deliberately violating the Order of the Lords of the Admiralty of the 7th of June, 1878. The Government had sent the *Orontes* to Alexandria without troops, and they sent the squadron without a Catholic priest. Both operations were on a par. In the absence of a satisfactory explanation, he would move that Progress be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Callan.*)

MR. O'SHEA said, he hoped his hon. Friend would not press the Motion he had just made. If the Admiralty were going to send any more ships, surely they would take good care that a Catholic chaplain was sent out there. In such a large Fleet as that at Alexandria it was not unreasonable to expect there should be a Catholic chaplain on board one or other of the ships, so that the Catholics in the Fleet might have a chance of receiving what spiritual comfort they might want.

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, every step was being taken in the matter. According to the Minute he had quoted, certain steps were to be taken if no Catholic clergyman was available. The Admiralty had, first of all, to ascertain whether a Roman Catholic clergyman was available, and to whom ought they to apply but to the Admiral? The Admiral replied that there were Catholic clergymen available. Yesterday, he (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) received the information that there was an English Catholic priest at Alexandria, but not at Port Said. He had already said they would inquire again; and if there was any part of the seamen of the Fleet who could not get the fullest religious comfort, the Admiralty would see that the services of a clergyman were provided. He did not think he could say more.

MR. MOORE said, the Secretary to the Admiralty had been so courteous and considerate that he ought not to be pressed further. He should not have spoken so strongly in this matter were it not that Catholics had been the victims of a system of the grossest oppression and intolerance. A minister of the Protestant Church was granted a place in every one of the first class iron-clads; but Catholic priests had not even the commonest facilities given to them at our Dockyards at home, such as Portsmouth; they had no means of seeing or of giving instruction, or of administering any of the rites of the Church to the Catholics in the Navy. They were simply allowed to seek their way as best they could. In view of the promise of the Secretary to the Admiralty, that he would inquire into the matter fully, he was not inclined to press the subject further.

MR. CALLAN said, he certainly placed more reliance upon the promises of the present Secretary to the Admiralty than he did upon those of officials generally, for whatever the hon. Gentleman had promised him (Mr. Callan) hitherto he had taken some pains to carry out. In this case, there was a direct and absolute Order made by a Conservative Government, which had been deliberately violated by a Liberal Government, or by the Whig Members of the present Liberal Government. The Admiralty had inquired from Sir Beauchamp Seymour whether the services of a Catholic priest were available at Alexandria; but the Admiral was the wrong man to apply to. Dr. Virtue, who had for the last 25 or 30 years acted as Army Chaplain at Malta, had just been elected to the new Episcopal See of Portsmouth. Dr. Virtue knew all about the disposition of Catholic priests in Egypt. Had the Admiralty applied to him in this matter? Dr. Virtue or Cardinal Manning were far more suitable persons to apply to in a matter of this kind than Sir Beauchamp Seymour. If the Secretary to the Admiralty would apply to Dr. Virtue in order that he might, to-morrow, give the Committee the information they desired, he would withdraw his Motion to report Progress.

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, he could hardly be expected to promise to-night that the Admiralty would apply to any individual for information. They had taken the best means at their disposal to ascertain the exact facts, and on Friday he would be quite prepared to answer any questions on the subject.

Mr. SEXTON said, the matter was one of considerable urgency, and in order to avoid misapprehension and disappointment it was well the Committee should thoroughly understand the pledge given to the hon. Member for Clonmel (Mr. Moore). The Secretary to the Admiralty had promised to look into the matter; but that was quite inadequate. He (Mr. Sexton) supposed there were 15,000 men now on board ship in the East, and at any moment their services might be called into requisition. It was a matter of extreme importance that none of those men should be deprived of the ministrations of their Church. If the Committee were to understand that in a day or two, if the Government ascertained from Sir Beauchamp Seymour that there was no proper spiritual comfort obtainable by the Catholic seamen, it would be provided from England or elsewhere, they would be satisfied.

Mr. CAMPBELL BANNERMAN said, that was what he was endeavouring to indicate. A special appointment, or arrangement, was only to be made when no resident clergyman was available. The Admiralty had not yet been able to ascertain whether a suitable clergyman was available. They were told there was a Catholic clergyman available in Alexandria, and he (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) had already promised to make further inquiries as to the truth of the statement. If it was found there was no Catholic clergyman available on the spot, it would be the duty of the Admiralty to carry out the Minute of June 1878 at once.

Mr. CALLAN said, he had no objection to withdraw his Motion; but he would raise the subject again on Report. If the Admiralty were really honest, they would apply at once to the very best authority on the subject. What did Sir Beauchamp Seymour know about the matter? He knew a great deal more about bombardments than about the administering of the last Sacrament to a Christian. If the Secretary to the Admiralty applied to the right person, he could know within an hour what Catholic clergymen were available at Alexandria, or, if there were no Catholic clergyman speaking English at that place, he would be told the nearest port where they could be procured. This information could be procured at once from a rev. gentleman who had been for 25 years a chaplain in Her Majesty's Service—namely, Dr. Virtue, now of Portsmouth. He presumed the hon. Gentleman, instead of sending a special messenger to Dr. Virtue, would rather order it to be asked from the mainmast of Sir Beauchamp Seymour's ship—"Is there a Roman Catholic clergyman who speaks English in the ruined city of Alexandria?" In this matter the Admiralty must condescend to recognize the Catholic Episcopacy. The Catholics of England were a large body, and they insisted upon their rights; and they required, demanded, and compelled the authorities to provide Catholic chaplains in the Fleet.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that the expression which fell from the hon. Member for Clonmel (Mr. Moore) with regard to the conduct of the Admiralty officials savoured of a certain amount of unfairness, and he knew the facts were not altogether as his hon. Friend appeared to think. A relative of his, who was a chaplain at Portsmouth, had told him that nothing could exceed the affability and goodwill shown to Catholic chaplains by Naval officers. They never had the least difficulty in inducing the officers to do anything that was at all reasonable in the way of getting men to Divine Service, or having facilities afforded them for Confession. It was only fair this should be publicly stated. As to the question immediately before the Committee, he believed the real difficulty was to be found in providing quarters for chaplains. Although a Catholic chaplain might have comparatively few men in each ship to look after, it was a mere matter of decency and humanity that the Catholic sailors should be allowed the comforts of religion which a priest could administer. No Catholic priest would hesitate to be put to any amount of inconvenience and suffering in regard to quarters, or anything else, if his duty told him he ought to attend the Catholics serving in the Mediterranean. Formerly Dr. Grant was recognized as an intermediary official between the Government and the Catholic Hierarchy in the matter of chaplains; and he (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) was sure that if any representation were made to any of the Catholic Bishops in England that there was a need of Catholic priests, there would be no difficulty in obtaining the services, not only of one, but of half-a-dozen priests.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(14.) £873,688, Half Pay, &c. to Officers of Navy and Marines.

(15.) £866,127, Military Pensions and Allowances.

SIR JOHN HAY wished to ask a question which he believed his hon. Friend the Civil Lord would be able to answer. The Committee would remember that the case of Captain Brownrigg, who was killed in action, was brought before the House early in the year. At that time, although the Admiralty did all that was right and liberal to the widow and children, the ordinary practice by which a grant from the Royal Bounty Fund was made to the widow and children of an officer who was killed in action could not then be carried out. He thought it would be satisfactory to the Committee to know, on authority, what had been done in the matter?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY said, that, in addition to £2,402, £700 had been given to the widow, and one-third of that amount to each of the seven children.

Vote *agreed to.*

(16.) £330,535, Civil Pensions and Allowances.

(17.) £123,700, Extra Estimate for Services not Naval, Freight, &c. on account of the Army Department.

SIR JOHN HAY said, he did not wish to detain the Committee at that hour of the night; but, as an old officer, and as one who had charge of the Transport Department at the Admiralty some years ago, he was bound to acknowledge the admirable manner in which the Transport Service had been conducted in regard to the Army now embarking for the East. He had taken some considerable pains to ascertain the fact from military officials and others; and he believed that, both in respect to economical arrangement and to the perfect comfort of the troops, the distinguished officer —Admiral Sir William Mends—at the head of the Transport Department deserved the thanks of the Committee and of the House.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, that, in case the observations of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman did not reach the gallant officer in question through any other source, he (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) would take care they were conveyed to him.

Vote *agreed to.*

(18.) £155,457, Greenwich Hospital and School.

SIR MASSEY LOPES said, that some time ago the rumour was current that some alterations were to be made in regard to the Greenwich Hospital and School. He would like to ask whether there was any truth in the rumour?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY said, that since the Estimates were introduced, a Committee, consisting of gentlemen specially conversant with the question relating to the training of boys for the sea, had reported on the general condition of the School. The Committee was originally appointed in consequence of difficulties which had been experienced in sending a full proportion of boys into the Navy, and providing proper outfits for those who were not up to the standard required for the Navy, and who, consequently, were sent into the Mercantile Marine. It was also felt that the standard of physical development insisted upon in all cases tended to exclude the most necessitous boys from the benefits of the school. The Committee had instituted an exhaustive inquiry. The main results were satisfactory; but suggestions were made for improvements in numerous details. An organic change of importance was proposed. It consisted in the subdivision of the School into two parts, the boys being selected in the one case with reference to the physical standard insisted upon in the Navy, while in the other division they were selected with reference to the circumstances of their parents and their claims on the bounty of the country. The final adoption of this suggestion had been reserved for mature consideration. On several important matters of detail the suggestions of the Committee had been already adopted. A more liberal and varied scale of dietary had been approved. It would involve an additional sum of £3,500 a-year for the 1,000 boys under instruction in the School. Some addition had been made to the winter clothing. The instruction in trades, and the employment in domestic duties of a nature deemed to be unfavourable to the physical development of the boys had been curtailed. It was proposed to substitute a larger amount of instruction in seamanship, and additional instructors had already been appointed. Additional accommodation had been provided for the sick by the erection of a new wing to the Infirmary, capable of holding 25 beds. As a measure of precaution, a subway had been formed connecting the east and west sides of the establishment. The present Board were fully resolved to maintain the efficiency of this valuable School, and to support the officers and teachers of the School in the important task of training the boys committed to their care.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, they were to understand, therefore, that no radical change in regard to the Hospital and School would be made—no change in the number of boys—without the House having an opportunity of expressing an opinion on the point.

Sir THOMAS BRASSEY said, that was so.

Vote *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Resolutions [31st July] *reported.*

Resolutions 1 to 5, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Resolution 6.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that in Committee on this Vote he asked the Secretary to the Treasury whether the Government were prepared to accede to certain suggestions which had, year after year, been made to them with regard to the appointment of a Fishery Board for the protection of the coast fisheries in Ireland, in order that the Scotch might not be treated with exceptional favour in this matter. He reminded the Committee that the late Lord Frederick Cavendish promised last year that if he found the representations made on the subject were true, he would see that the suggestion was acted upon. He (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) had consulted the Reports of the Inspectors of Fisheries for 1879, 1880, and 1881; and he found that in every one of those years the Inspectors reiterated the recommendations which they had made in previous years with reference to the neglect of the Irish Fisheries. In the last Report on Irish Fisheries it was stated that it was absolutely necessary that a steamer should be employed to prevent the attacks which were made by French fishermen on the coasts of Kerry and Cork. Under the circumstances he hoped the Secretary to the Treasury would see his way to redeem the promise which the late noble Lord, his Predecessor, made.

Mr. COURTNEY said, since last night he had made inquiries in this matter, and he had found, as he had suggested, that the matter did not rest with the Treasury. It was a question for the Irish Government to examine into. He had communicated with the Irish Office, and they had undertaken that the matter should have their attention.

Resolution *agreed to.*

Remaining Resolutions *agreed to.*

POOR LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

(*Mr. Dodson, Mr. Hibbert.*)

[BILL 251.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Mr. WARTON said, he hoped that, at that late hour (2.40), they would not be expected to go on with the Bill.

Mr. DODSON said, he must really ask the House to be good enough to go on with the Bill. He would not ask the House to go forward with the Bill if it were one which contained any disputed matters. It was a Bill to amend certain admitted flaws in the law, to provide for certain omitted cases, and to remove certain contradictions which existed in the law. It was a Bill that raised no contested points, and it had been before the House for some time. He had no Amendments to propose in the Bill himself; it had been very carefully prepared for the purpose he had stated, and he hoped the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) would not object to go into Committee. If there were any points on which the hon. and learned Gentleman required explanation, he would be very glad to give it.

Mr. WARTON said, that, as the right hon. Gentleman had so kindly appealed to him, he had no objection to go on as far as Clause 12.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 to 12, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 13 (Mode of consent by guardians and managers).

Mr. WARTON proposed to leave out all the words after "as," in line 35, and also the whole of line 36, in order to insert the words "may be sanctioned by the Local Government Board for pauper children sent to such school." This was a very serious matter, because, under this clause, power was given to the Local Government Board to sanction any scale of expenses it might think fit. The Local Government Board might sanction a rate of payment to certain persons which was not in accordance with the Act to which other people had to submit. He knew perfectly well that pressure had been put upon the right hon. Gentleman by Gentlemen (Irish Members) below the Gangway.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, leave out all the words after "as," in line 35, and also line 36, and insert "may be sanctioned by the Local Government Board for pauper children sent to such school."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Mr. DODSON said, he believed he was strictly right in saying that the proposal was intended to remedy admitted flaws in the present law. In the 25 & 26 *Vict.* c. 43 it was said the Guardians might pay for the maintenance, clothing, and education of children when they were sent to a certified school; but in a later part of the same clause it was said that the Guardians might pay, for that purpose, an amount equal to the maintenance of the child in the workhouse. These two parts of the clause were inconsistent, because it was obviously intended by the first part of the clause that the Guardians should pay for the maintenance, clothing, and education of the child; and the second part of the clause—apparently by an omission on the part of the draftsman—only used the word "maintenance." The consequence was that when a child was sent to a certified school there was only power to pay the cost of maintenance. He could assure the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) that the Local Government Board had no desire to take upon themselves in this matter more power than was necessary; but it appeared to him that what was now proposed was the simplest way of dealing with the difficulty.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Remaining clause *agreed to.*

Bill *reported,* without Amendment.

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS, NOTICES OF REMOVAL (SCOTLAND) BILL.

(*Sir Alexander Gordon, Mr. M'Lagan, Mr. Barclay.*)

[BILL 5.] COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 and 2 *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Two years' notice to quit).

On the Motion of Sir Alexander Gordon, Amendment made in page 1, line 12, by leaving out after "holding," to "him," in line 16, inclusive, and inserting—

"Containing five or more acres of arable land, held from the same proprietor, for not less than seven years, or by tacit relocation following on such occupation, shall be liable to be removed or ejected from his holding, or entitled to leave the same, and to be relieved of his obligations as tenant, unless such tenant shall have received from the proprietor of said holding, or his factor or agent, or have given to the said proprietor, or his factor or agent, not less than two years', and not more than three years', notice of removal;"

and in page 1, line 16, after "there," by leaving out to end of Clause, and inserting—

"Are separate ishes as regards lands and houses, or part of them, the notice of removal shall be given not less than two years, and not more than three years, before the ish which is first in date, and such notice shall be in substitution for and not in addition to the notice now required by law. Such notice of removal shall be in writing, and shall be sufficiently given by the person entitled to give the same, by sending to the known residence or place of business of the person entitled to receive such notice, or to his last known address, a registered letter by post, unless the person to whom the notice is sent shall prove that such letter was not left or tendered at his known residence or place of business, or at his last known address."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Saving clause as to bankrupts).

On the Motion of Sir Alexander Gordon, Amendment made in page 1, line 19, after "the," by leaving out to end of Clause, and inserting—

> "Estates of the tenant are sequestrated under 'The Bankruptcy (Scotland) Act,' 1856,' and Acts amending the same, or where the tenant has become notour bankrupt, or has granted a disposition omnium bonorum, or a trust deed for behoof of creditors, or where the tenant has executed or agreed to execute a renunciation of his lease, which shall have been accepted or agreed to be accepted by the proprietor. Nor shall anything in this Act prejudice or affect any right competent to a proprietor to terminate by irritancy or otherwise the lease or leases, and to remove the tenant from the holding on the ground of any failure to implement, or breach of, any stipulation of such lease or leases on the part of the tenant, or any right competent to the tenant to leave the holding, and be relieved from his obligations as tenant on the ground of any failure to implement, or breach of, any stipulation of the lease or leases on the part of the proprietor."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* as amended to be *considered* upon *Thursday*, and to be *printed.* [Bill 259.]

MOTIONS.

REVENUE, FRIENDLY SOCIETIES, AND NATIONAL DEBT BILL.

LEAVE. FIRST READING.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill for amending the Laws relating to Customs and Inland Revenue, and Postage and other Stamps, and for making further provision respecting the National Debt, and charges payable out of the Public Revenue, or by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt; and for other purposes."—(*Lord Richard Grosvenor.*)

Mr. R. N. FOWLER said, he presumed that this Bill would have some explanation. It was a late hour; but, early in the afternoon, the Prime Minister, when asked, stated that it would be explained. It was to be hoped that this explanation would be given at the next stage.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, as the Financial Secretary was in the Chair, he had to say the Bill would be fully explained after being printed and circulated in the usual way.

Motion *agreed to.*

Resolution *reported:*—Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Courtney and Mr. Herbert Gladstone.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 260.]

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland when the Bill in reference to the increase of pay of the officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary would be circulated?

Mr. TREVELYAN said, the moment the Resolution had gone through Committee, and he had obtained leave to introduce the Bill, it would be at once circulated.

Motion *agreed to.*

House adjourned at a quarter after Three o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 2nd *August,* 1882.

MINUTES.]—Supply—*considered in Committee—Resolutions* [August 1] *reported.*

Public Bills—*Resolution in Committee*—Royal Irish Constabulary (Pay, &c.)

Second Reading—Somersham Rectory * [222].

Committee — Entail (Scotland) * [248], *debate adjourned;* Parcel Post * [254]—r.p.

Considered as amended — Customs and Inland Revenue [239].

Considered as amended—Third Reading—Educational Endowments (Scotland) [253], and *passed.*

Withdrawn — Vaccination Acts (Compulsory Clauses Repeal) * [25]; Aldershot Camp Roads * [177]; Sea Fisheries (Ireland) * [158]; Cemeteries * [40]; Death Sentences (Appeal) * [81].

QUESTION.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—ALLEGED MISCONDUCT OF A PICKET OF THE 60th RIFLES.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, I do not see any Member of the Cabinet present; but perhaps some Gentleman on the Treasury Bench will be able to answer the Question, whether they have means of at once refuting the extraordinary statement that has appeared in reference to the supposed attack on our forces in Egypt? If no answer can be given to the Question at the present moment, I hope one will be volunteered in the course of the day.

Lord RICHARD GROSVENOR: I regret, Sir, that the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister is not present. I fully expected that he would have been here by 20 minutes past 12. I regret, also, that on this Bench now we have no information on the subject; but I will take care that information is obtained at the War Office, and that on going into Committee of Supply some Gentleman is here who can make the announcement to the House.

Subsequently—

Sir ARTHUR HAYTER: Sir, the noble Lord the Secretary to the Treasury (Lord Richard Grosvenor) promised the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition that a statement should be made on behalf of the War Office, on the Motion for going into Committee of Supply, in regard to the alarming telegram which had appeared in a daily paper as to the misconduct of an advanced picket of the 60th Rifles last night in Egypt. My official information on the subject is merely negative; but I think that the House will be glad to know that we have absolutely no confirmation whatever from Sir Archibald Alison of the truth of this report, although we are in constant communication with him. Immediately on seeing the report in the paper, the Adjutant General telegraphed to Sir Archibald Alison mentioning it, and asking for details. I have ascertained that up to 4 o'clock no reply has been received. When it arrives it will be laid before the Secretary of State and the Commander-in-Chief. But, through the courtesy of an hon. Member of this House, I have been supplied with a telegram from Alexandria which explains the whole matter. It is as follows:—

> "Wednesday.—In the middle of last night the foremost picket or outpost of British troops at Ramleh, consisting of a corporal and six men, was attacked by about 100 Bedouins. The outpost fell back and fired on the enemy as they retreated. At daybreak [not immediately it will be seen] a company was moved up, but the Bedouins had disappeared."

Therefore, I have no doubt that the corporal and the six men in charge of the outpost merely carried out the orders they had received.

EDUCATIONAL ENDOWMENTS (SCOTLAND) BILL.—[Bill 253.]

(*Mr. Mundella, The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Order for Consideration, as amended, read.

Mr. MUNDELLA: Sir, in moving that this Bill be now considered, I will take advantage of the opportunity to state to the House the names of the Commissioners as approved by Her Majesty. I find that there is a Notice on the Paper in the name of the hon. Member for Stafford (Mr. C. M'Laren) that it is undesirable to proceed further with the Bill until the names of the Commissioners have been given to the House. As I received late last night Her Majesty's Assent to the Commission, there is no object in withholding the names, and I have much pleasure in now stating them to the House. The Members of the Commission are seven—namely, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, the Earl of Elgin, Lord Shand, Mr. John Ramsay, M.P., Mr. J. A. Campbell, M.P., the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and the Lord Provost of Glasgow. The House will see that the Commission is composed very differently from the last one in one or two important respects. I heard no complaints about the Commissioners nominated in 1880, except that there were no Representatives of the municipalities on the Commission; that the mercantile element was not sufficiently represented, while the legal element and the University element were too largely represented. It will now be seen that the Lords Provost of the two principal cities in Scotland are both on the Commission, and that, so far as the mercantile element is concerned, there are no less than four Members of the Commission who have been largely engaged in mercantile pursuits in Scotland. We have the advantage, too, of a Member of the Scotch Bench, Lord Shand, who, like the other six Members of the Commission, has, all his life, taken a considerable interest in popular education in Edinburgh, and I think that City can hardly complain of its share in the Commission, seeing that the Lord Provost, who has always been foremost not only in promoting education, but in promoting the objects which the Edinburgh Town Council have in view, is on the Commission, and that Lord Shand, who is closely identified with popular educational institutions in Edinburgh, is also a Member. I may say, for the whole of the Members of the Commission, that they are appointed because, in the opinion of my noble Friend the Lord President (Earl Spencer), they are all Gentlemen who take a real interest in education. I had the advantage last night of meeting Lord Moncreiff, the Chairman of the former Commission, who stated to me that on that Commission, although there were men of varied politics and varied creeds, politics never interfered in any way with the work of the Commission, and that they knew nothing, as Members of the Commission, about politics and creeds, because every one of them was an educationist, and anxious to do good educational work. I believe it will be so now. Lord Moncreiff further wished me to say, with respect to the name of Lord Balfour of Burleigh as Chairman, that there was no man more fair, or less disposed to introduce politics or creeds with reference to educational questions, than the noble Lord, and that he believed it would be difficult to find anyone who would more ably fulfil the duties that would devolve upon him than that Nobleman, who was his right-hand man on the former Commission. We have considered whether it would be possible to institute a Judge or other judicial authority as Chairman; but it was found, in the first place, it would be unjust to the noble Lord; and, in the next place, it would be wholly impracticable, because this Commission will have work for many years to come, the duties will be very arduous, they will be performed gratuitously, and will require to be performed by Gentlemen who can give a large share of their time, much more than any Judge could give to the work. I hope I have been able to shorten the day's proceedings by this statement, and I move that the Bill be now considered.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill, as amended, be now considered."—(*Mr. Mundella.*)

Mr. RAMSAY said, that, so far as any testimony of his could have weight, he had great pleasure in concurring with what had been expressed by the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella) regarding the services of Lord Balfour of Burleigh upon the Endowed Institutions Commission of 1878. He (Mr. Ramsay) had the honour of acting with his Lordship on that Commission, and every word that had been uttered by the right hon. Gentleman as regarded the opinion expressed by Lord Moncreiff, who was President of the Commission, was quite warranted by the facts of the case. The noble Lord had the opportunity, on several occasions, of acting as Chairman in the absence of Lord Moncreiff, and he never saw anyone better fitted for that position by freedom from political or sectarian bias.

Mr. BUCHANAN said, the statement made by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) about the Commissioners would give very great satisfaction. He was of opinion, however, that it was very much to be desired that the Chairman of such a Commission should be a person of legal training. An Executive Commission rested very much upon the Chairman, and when they had a man accustomed to taking evidence, they soon got at the true facts of a case. In regard to Lord Shand and the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, he wished to say that he recognized, as much as anyone, the great services that had been performed by Lord Shand in connection with the Watt Institute, as well as by the Lord Provost in connection with educational matters in Edinburgh.

Dr. CAMERON asked whether the Lords Provost of Edinburgh and Glasgow were to be appointed *ex-officio* or personally?

Mr. MUNDELLA: They are appointed personally. Both Gentlemen have been greatly identified with education, and it was considered that they should be appointed personally and not *ex-officio*, so that they will not have to change at the expiry of their period of office as Lord Provost.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

Clause 1 (Interpretation of terms).

On the Motion of Mr. Mundella, the following Amendments made:—In page 1, line 19, after "not," insert "except with the consent of the governing body;"

line 20, after "or," insert "corporate;" line 22, leave out "to;" line 23, leave out "corporate;" page 2, line 39, leave out "travelling;" and line 39, after "and," insert "travelling."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Powers of Commissioners).

On the Motion of Mr. MUNDELLA, the following Amendment made:—In page 3, line 7, leave out "limiting," and insert "uniting" before "two."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (Provisions where governing body wholly or partly consists of members of town council, &c.).

MR. J. A. CAMPBELL moved to leave out Sub-section 3, which provides that where the Governing Body includes no persons deriving their qualification from being members of town councils or other public bodies, provision should be made that not less than one-third should consist of members of town councils or other public bodies. He said that the clause, as it stood, might in some cases prove very useful; but in others it would be inconvenient and objectionable, especially in the case of trusts which could scarcely be called public trusts, although coming within the scope of the Bill. He had in his mind a Roman Catholic trust which came under the late Commission; and he stated that there were many other trusts of an educational character connected with particular Churches, one which he had in view being a Free Church Educational Trust. Such as these, he thought, would properly come under the purview of the Commissioners; but it did not by any means follow that the Governing Bodies should be interfered with in the manner proposed—that one-third of the Governing Bodies should always consist of the popular representative element. In Clause 8 there was a provision that Governing Bodies of endowments which the Bill did not include within its range should have an opportunity of voluntarily submitting their trusts to be dealt with under the Bill. That was a very useful provision; but he was afraid its usefulness would be very much interfered with by the sub-section which was now under consideration. In fact, the prospect of having the Governing Body always altered in this particular way, and to such an extent, might effectually prevent many educational endowments being brought voluntarily before the Commission. This section should be limited to such trusts as were of a public character, or, at all events, some provision should be introduced leaving the hands of the Commissioners a little more free than they were as the Bill at present stood. In that case, he (Mr. J. A. Campbell) would be satisfied; but, in the meantime, he would move the rejection of the sub-section. In doing so, however, he wished it to be understood that he would not oppose the due introduction of what might be called the "open element" into every public trust; but, with the two preceding sub-sections before them, he could not but believe that the Commissioners would feel called upon to introduce that open element in every trust in which it would be suitable; but what he objected to was that the Commissioners should be positively compelled to introduce it in cases which could not have been in the view of the right hon. Gentleman.

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 39, to leave out sub-section 3 of Clause 6.—(*Mr. J. A. Cambpell.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

MR. RAMSAY hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council would see fit to accede to the omission of the sub-section. The trusts which his hon. Friend opposite (Mr. J. A. Campbell) was desirous to exclude were originally of a denominational character. A Roman Catholic clergyman, in whom was vested funds left by a member of the Roman Catholic Church for the education of young men for the Ministry of that Church, came to the Endowed Institution Commissioners for the purpose of obtaining more extensive powers; and he (Mr. Ramsay) could not conceive it possible that they could have come before any body of Gentlemen for the purpose of having such a trust framed, and the Governing Body altered in accordance with the provisions of this sub-section. The Free Church endowment to which his hon. Friend had referred was in the same position. It was a fund left by a member of the Free Church for the purpose of educating young men for the Ministry. It would become, if this sub-section were agreed to, and should become part of the Bill, the obvious duty of the Commissioners to introduce some persons who might or might not be of the denomination for the behoof of which the funds were left. The sub-section had been inserted without due consideration of all the circumstances which might affect the public weal; and he could not, therefore, doubt that the right hon. Gentleman would at once consent to its omission.

Mr. WEBSTER said, he must also urge the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) to accept some modification of the sub-section. There were some few endowments, of more or less importance, which would come within the scope of the present Bill as having an educational character, but where, from the nature of the trusts of the parties, by whom they were administered, and of the bequests themselves, it would be preposterous to insist that they should in all cases come under such a provision as that contained in the sub-section. Without at all differing from the right hon. Gentleman as to the importance of a representative element in every endowment where such a thing could be fairly and usefully applied, yet he could not forget that there were not a few small educational and denominational endowments in Scotland where such a provision would be obviously out of place.

Dr. CAMERON said, he trusted the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) would not accede to the Amendment of his hon. Friend opposite (Mr. J. A. Campbell), and for this reason—it proposed to exempt certain endowments from the operation of this Commission. In any case, the proper place to deal with it would be in Clause 8. If the right hon. Gentleman, after having purposed to make this provision for popular representation, was to cut it out, there would be very little left of the concessions which he made so much of on the second reading of the Bill. As regarded funds left to Kirk Sessions, it was to be borne in mind that a large number were left to them as trustees for the poor, and were really public funds, as to which it seemed to him (Dr. Cameron) it would be absurd to make an exception.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE said, he also agreed with the opinion held by the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) that the Amendment ought not to be accepted. He would remind the Vice President of the Council that his Amendment on this clause, by which the representative element was secured in all the trusts where it existed hitherto, was the only one of the important Amendments which he brought down to the House on Saturday, July 15, and on the strength of which hon. Members who were opposing certain provisions in the Bill modified or withdrew their opposition. The other Amendments which he had announced had been almost wholly neutralized by Amendments to them, which the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council had accepted in Committee on the Bill. He wished to point out that there was a marked difference between the insertion of the words "not less" and "not more" in regard to the number of representative Commissioners. Under the former all might be representative men; but under the latter none of them might be. This was the only one of the important Amendments which the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) brought down to the House on Saturday, and for the sake of which he induced hon. Members to modify or withdraw their opposition, and allow the Bill to pass through Committee. They attached great importance to this addition to the clause. It was one of the things he (Mr. Dick-Peddie) contended for more than any other in the Bill; and if the right hon. Gentleman departed from that sub-section, those who, on the second reading, withdrew the opposition they were entitled and called upon by duty to make would have great reason to complain of his conduct. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman would allow the sub-section to stand in the Bill.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, that, in his opinion, the hon. Member for the Kilmarnock Burghs (Mr. Dick-Peddie) need not have assumed so violent a tone on that occasion. He (Mr. Mundella) could assure the hon. Gentleman and other hon. Gentlemen that he was as anxious to make the Bill a workable measure as they were themselves, and he was not disposed to consent to the omission of the sub-section. What was made compulsory was, that in all public trusts there should be an element of popular representation in their Governing Bodies; but he could see no reason, neither did he think the hon. Member would wish, to exclude some private trusts from coming under the operation of the Bill. That was very desirable. The House would not believe that any Roman Catholic Body would go to the Commission if one-third of the popular representative body were to be introduced into the trust. Such a change would create a difficulty, and, therefore, he must ask his hon. Friend (Mr. J. A. Campbell) not to press this Amendment, but to allow the sub-section to stand for the guidance and direction of the Commissioners. At the same time, he thought some words ought to be introduced to meet the special class of cases pointed out by hon. Members on both sides, and he should, after conferring with his right hon. and learned Friend the Lord Advocate, endeavour to introduce such words, for he was quite sure it was not the desire of the House to see Roman Catholics or any other denominational Body outside the purview of the Bill.

MR. C. S. PARKER said, he was about to express the hope, when the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella) rose, that the Government would see their way to accept the Amendment, his attention having been called to many trusts where there would be difficulty if the hands of the Commissioners were tied by that sub-section too firmly. He should support the Amendment, not on the ground that it was undesirable in the majority of these trusts to introduce the popular element—for the Commission of which he was a Member recommended that in all large trusts there should be some representative element—but because there were exceptional trusts where the action of the Commission ought to be left free. The effect of the sub-section as it stood would be to prevent such trusts coming before the Commissioners at all. He was willing and even anxious that, in some form or other, the Government should direct the Commissioners to introduce the popular element in all trusts, except where there was good reason to the contrary. But where there was such reason, he would suggest this course—instead of dealing exceptionally with religious trusts, whether Roman Catholic or Free Church, or of any other Church, let them place some confidence in the Commissioners, whose names had been so favourably received by the House. The tendency throughout in this Bill, in order to conciliate opposition, had, he thought, been too much in the direction of tying the hands of the Commissioners. Let there be words reserving to the Commissioners power, in exceptional cases, to pass over this rule, and re-constitute, without necessarily introducing a representative element that might be wholly unsuited to the circumstances of the case.

MR. ANDERSON thought the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) had come to a very wise conclusion in the matter. He (Mr. Anderson) was very much in favour of having a representative element in every trust which partook at all of a public character; but he thought it would be unfortunate, by an arrangement of this kind, to compel the Commissioners in every case to introduce, whether suitable or not, this element. He therefore thought the conclusion the right hon. Gentleman had come to, to find words that would reconcile those two things and not tie up the hands of the Commissioners too tightly, was a very wise one.

MR. J. A. CAMPBELL said, that, after the explanation of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Mundella), he would withdraw the Amendment.

MR. MUNDELLA said, that he had framed a provision that he thought would effectually meet the whole case. He proposed to insert at the end of the clause the following words:—

> "Provided that this sub-section shall not apply where its application would in the judgment of the Commissioners frustrate the intentions of the founder."

MR. DICK-PEDDIE said, he should be perfectly satisfied with the insertion of the words suggested by the right hon. Gentleman.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed,

In page 4, line 7, at end of Clause, add—"Provided that this sub-section shall not apply where its application would in the judgment of the Commissioners frustrate the intentions of the founder."—(*Mr. Mundella.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

DR. CAMERON said, he thought the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) would have done better if he had adhered to his original intention, because private trusts would then have been provided for in a more logical and a more satisfactory way. The House was perfectly agreed as to what was wanted to be done. If the right hon. Gentleman added the words which he now submitted to the end of the sub-section, it would leave the Commissioners power to deal with all such trusts, whether public and obviously coming under the operation of the Bill, or whether private trusts, excepted by Clause 8, which they wished, and which could only be induced voluntarily, to come in. [Mr. MUNDELLA: That is not the case.] That was the obvious meaning of the section as he read it. He did not see what other meaning it had, than that certain endowments should not come within the scope of the Bill, unless the Governing Bodies, or the persons in charge of the endowment, chose to apply to be brought under it. In that case he thought it would be quite proper that the Commissioners should be empowered to dispense with requirements in certain special cases, which they could not be allowed to dispense with in the case of trusts that must necessarily come under the operation of the Bill.

MR. ANDERSON said, his impression was that the words proposed by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) went too far, and he suggested that the following words would be preferable:—

"Provided that this sub-section shall not apply in cases of trusts that can only voluntarily come before the Commissioners."

This would meet all the cases he had in view, and would be quite wide enough in its operation.

DR. WEBSTER trusted the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) would not accept the proposal of the hon. Member (Mr. Anderson).

MR. MUNDELLA said, he did not think his proposal would have the effect of increasing the number of endowments which the Commissioners would have to deal with.

MR. RAMSAY said, he thought the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) might be satisfied. As he (Mr. Ramsay) understood the sub-section, it provided that all trusts or schemes coming before the Commissioners would be regulated by the provision, in whatever form they might come, whether private or public. He thought the Amendment would be satisfactory in its operation, and that they might leave it to the discretion of the Commissioners to judge whether the provisions of the sub-section would frustrate the intentions of the founder.

MR. R. PRESTON BRUCE said, what was desired was that some provision should be inserted with regard to the intentions of the founder as to religious instruction.

MR. MUNDELLA wished to point out that his Amendment provided that it must be in the judgment of the Commission that the application of the clause would or would not frustrate the intention of the founder. He thought they might fairly leave the matter to them to apply it only in cases where the endowment was left for religious objects.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Words *inserted* accordingly.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 7 (Scope of Commission).

On the Motion of Mr. MUNDELLA, the following Amendment made:—In page 4, line 12, leave out "endowment," and before "severally" insert "endowments."

Amendment proposed,

In page 4, line 16, leave out "herein," and after "nothing" insert "in this Act."—(*Mr. Mundella.*)

DR. CAMERON said, the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell), who was unable to be present, had asked him to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) and the House to the Amendment which stood on the Paper in his name, which proposed to substitute the word "section" for the word "Act." Among the concessions granted by the right hon. Gentleman was one localizing the benefits of endowments; and the proposal of his hon. Friend the Member for Kirkcaldy was, he (Dr. Cameron) thought, more in accord with the spirit of the concession.

Amendment proposed, as an Amendment to Mr. Mundella's proposed Amendment, to leave out "Act," and insert "section."—(*Dr. Cameron.*)

MR. MUNDELLA said, he had examined the point very carefully, and had come to the conclusion that the hon. Member's Amendment would defeat what was a very reasonable provision. When they were discussing the clause in

Committee they decided that the institutions must remain in the localities; but illustrations were given of cases where children came to the schools from districts surrounding Edinburgh and Glasgow for several miles. In the latter case, there were many children who came into the schools from various parts of Lanarkshire. It was said that if they limited the institutions to the localities, they must be careful to insert some words, so that the children who now come to those schools should not be excluded from the benefits of them. The object was that the children who had attended these schools should still receive the advantages of them, wherever they might come from.

MR. BRYCE said, that he moved in Committee the insertion of the word "herein" in the Proviso, making its operation applicable to the clause; but he was satisfied with the Amendment, as it was in accordance with the spirit of his proposal.

MR. BUCHANAN strongly protested against the qualifying words of the Amendment.

Amendment (*Dr. Cameron*) *negatived.*

Amendment (*Mr. Mundella*) *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 8 (Act not to apply to certain endowments).

On the Motion of Mr. MUNDELLA, the following Amendment made:—In page 4, line 26, leave out "1871," and insert "1872."

DR. WEBSTER said, he wished to ask the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate whether Sub-section 1 was properly expressed? It was proposed by the section to exempt from the Commission any educational endowment originally given by present gift made, or by will of a testator who died subsequently to the passing of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872; but it did not seem to be quite clear that the condition of having been made after the passing of the Act applied to an endowment made in the form of a present or gift. He would suggest that the sub-section should be altered, so as to make it clear.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR), in reply, said, any doubt about this matter probably arose from a defect in punctuation; but, in order to make it perfectly clear, he was willing to introduce after the words "present gift made," the words "subsequently to the passing of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872." He would accordingly move that these words should be inserted.

On the Motion of The LORD ADVOCATE, the following Amendments accordingly made:—In page 4, line 24, after "made," insert "subsequently to the passing of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872;" and in line 25, leave out from "education" to end of sub-section, and insert "said Act."

Amendment proposed,

In page 4, line 29, after "Universities," insert "or (3.) To any endowment applicable or applied solely for the purposes of theological instruction or belonging to any theological institution."—(*Mr. Mundella.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. WARTON said, he wished to call the attention of the right hon. and learned Gentleman (the Lord Advocate) to a possible narrow construction which might be placed upon this exemption by Courts of Law which would defeat his intention. Many religious institutions also provided other learning; and he, therefore, would suggest that the exemption should apply to endowments solely or principally applicable to theological instruction.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, he had no objection to the word "mainly" being inserted in the Amendment, and he would, accordingly, move an Amendment to that effect.

On the Motion of The LORD ADVOCATE, Amendment (Mr. Mundella) *amended* by inserting, after the word "solely," the words "or mainly."

Amendment, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 12 (Endowments for apprenticeship fees, maintenance, and clothing to be deemed educational).

On the Motion of Mr. MUNDELLA, the following Amendment made:—In page 6, line 31, after "children," insert—

"And the funds and property of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, so far as applicable or applied to educational purposes."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 13 (Vested interests).

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE, in moving an Amendment in page 6, line 40, to leave out the word "primary," said, he thought there was some truth and some error in what his hon Friend the Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) had said in Committee upon this point, to the effect that the word "primary" was not known in Scotland. It had, therefore, occurred to him to substitute the word "elementary," which was certainly well known in that country, for "primary," and he had placed an Amendment on the Paper to that effect; but, if possible, he would have preferred to do without that, for on examining almost all the schemes that were before the Commission he discovered that that word was not to be found in the directions of the founders, and that the funds were left to forward no particular kind of education, but generally for maintenance and education. As it was quite evident that maintenance and education included elementary education as well as education of other kinds, therefore he thought that to put in a Bill of this kind the phrase "free elementary education" was almost useless, and he now thought of proposing to omit the word "primary," and leave the phrase simply "free education."

Amendment proposed, in page 6, line 40, leave out the word "primary," and insert the word "elementary."—(*Mr. Dick-Peddie.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'primary' stand part of the Clause."

Mr. MUNDELLA said, he could not assent to the omission of the word "primary" without the substitution of some other word, It was exceedingly desirable that any education which might be given by public schools under these endowments should be such as to receive the grant of the Government. He had no objection to accept the word "elementary," and should, if that were accepted, alter the Amendment of which he had given Notice at the end of the clause in order to define what elementary education should be.

Mr. RAMSAY said, he very much regretted that either the word "primary" or "elementary" should be requisite, as the word "education" had a definite meaning, not only in the colloquial use of the term, but in legal phraseology, in Scotland. Education under the Act of 1872 meant not only instruction in the "three R's," but it had a definite meaning as including the higher branches of education where they could be supplied, and the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) had given a satisfactory definition. He (Mr. Ramsay) had no objection to the definition given of the term "primary education;" but he regretted extremely that it had been thought necessary to introduce such a definition at all, because the definition simply said that primary education should mean elementary education as understood in Scotland. There was no such expression as "elementary education" in the Education Act, except in the clause, where it was enjoined as the duty of the parent that he should provide elementary instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic for his child. He felt that that distinct provision in the Education Act was an evidence that such a term as this, introduced for the first time into the law of Scotland, must necessarily have a degrading influence. He felt that it should be resisted by Scottish Representatives; and if the hon. Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie) adhered to his resolution to omit the word "primary," he would certainly support him, and move a Motion at a subsequent period to omit the definition given by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) of the term or expression "primary" education.

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) said, that hon. Members appeared to have overlooked the history of the clause. The word was originally inserted to deal with a particular class of cases, particularly with regard to the fear that the result of the Bill would be to lead to funds now dedicated to primary education being dedicated to secondary education. If either the word "primary" or "elementary" were not included, it would seem to imply that, in certain cases, there would be power to divert funds to other purposes which were dedicated to primary education. The question was entirely between primary or elementary and secondary education, the object being in every case to preserve educational funds for educational purposes.

Mr. C. S. PARKER thought that, on the whole, the Government were right in proposing to insert the word "elementary." He regretted, for his own part, that the clause had been introduced as a concession; but he wished to point out to the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Falkirk Burghs (Mr. Ramsay) that, as the clause now stood, if they were to leave out the word "primary," the effect would be to put more restriction on the Commissioners than if it were left in. He (Mr. C. S. Parker) went generally on the principle of leaving as much discretion to the Commissioners as possible.

DR. CAMERON said, he was of opinion that either the word "primary" or "elementary" should be retained.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON said, he was in favour of the word "primary" being retained. It was a much better word than "elementary."

MR. MUNDELLA said, the reason for inserting the word "primary" was, because primary education was understood all over the world to mean a very early stage of education. He thought they could not do better than take the word "elementary," and define it as signifying in accordance with the Scotch Code.

MR. BRYCE said, there was a good reason which might have some little weight with the Committee in preferring the word "elementary." That word, in its natural sense, did not confine the instruction to particular subjects, but rather implied that the instruction on these subjects should not necessarily be carried on to the highest point of detail, but should contain the elements and rudiments of the knowledge of these particular subjects.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

On Motion of Mr. MUNDELLA, consequential Amendment made in page 7, line 1, by inserting the word "elementary" instead of "primary."

MR. DICK-PEDDIE moved to omit the words—

> "Except to the extent to which such funds are manifestly in excess of the requirements for the purpose of free primary education of the localities to which they belong."

He should not be so unreasonable as to say that funds which were more than requisite for the needs of a locality should continue to be applied to that locality; and he therefore objected to the retention of the words which he proposed to omit, not so much on account of any meaning inherent to them, but because he regarded them with apprehension as opening up room for applying the principles of those persons—and they were numerous—who maintained that the Education Act of 1872 had sufficiently provided for free elementary education, and that, therefore, funds left for that purpose should no longer be applied to it. It was clear that the words he proposed to omit would enable persons holding that view to say that no provision was now requisite for endowments for the purpose of free elementary education, as this purpose had been sufficiently met by the Act of 1872. It was well known that the Vice President of the Council himself held that the Education Act of 1872 sufficiently provided for free elementary education, and that he had again and again expressed himself to that effect. His feeling that these words might be used to warrant the withdrawal of all endowments from the provision of free elementary education had been increased with the announcement made by the Vice President of the Council to-day that Lord Balfour of Burleigh was to be the Chairman of the Royal Commission to be appointed to carry out the provisions of this Bill, because he found that in 1880 that noble Lord had, in supporting, in the House of Lords, the second reading of the Educational Endowments Bill introduced that year, spoken with marked approval of a resolution adopted at a meeting in Glasgow—

> "That it was expedient that funds bequeathed to elementary education before the passing of the Education Act, 1872, should cease to be expended for the purpose for which that Act made due provision."

That he held to be an indication that Lord Balfour of Burleigh considered that free elementary education had been sufficiently provided for by the Act of 1872, and that all endowments for such education should no longer be applied for that purpose. He saw no motive for inserting the words to which he objected, unless they were to be regarded as a direction to the Commissioners to act on the principle embodied in the resolution which had met with Lord Balfour of Burleigh's approval. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman, having conceded the principle in the first part of the clause that funds set apart for free elementary education should not be diverted from that purpose, would not take back the concession by retaining the words he now proposed to omit.

Amendment proposed,

In page 6, line 41, to leave out all the words after the word "purpose" to the end of the Clause.—(*Mr. Dick-Peddie.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'except to the extent which such funds are manifestly in excess of the requirements for the purpose of free' stand part of the Bill."

Mr. ANDERSON said, he sincerely hoped that the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) would not consent to the Amendment, because it would tie up the hands of the Commissioners in a most unfortunate manner. It would prevent a great many funds from being directed to the most useful purposes; and funds which were at present improperly tied up would simply continue to be so tied up, and the Commissioners would have no power to redress grievances of that kind.

Mr. BUCHANAN said, he cordially supported the Amendment of the hon. Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie), on the ground that the words proposed to be left out destroyed the effect of the concession contained in the preceding lines inserted by the consent of the Government. He desired that the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council should name the funds to which the words in question would apply. He would also suggest that the right hon. Gentleman should make it an instruction to the Commissioners to inspect cases in which funds were applied, in the spirit of the founder's disposition, for elementary free education, and well applied at this moment, and that it should be made clear that these funds would not be diverted from those purposes, but continue to be so applied. He gathered from what the right hon. Gentleman had said on a previous occasion, that he was not aware of any case which would be covered by the Proviso.

Mr. R. PRESTON BRUCE said, that the words proposed to be struck out were introduced on his Motion, and were not proposed with the intention imputed by his hon. Friend (Mr. Dick - Peddie). They were not intended to take away the effect of the preceding words introduced by the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council. He (Mr. Bruce) might not think those words particularly advantageous in themselves; but, accepting the principle that funds left by the founder's directions for free primary education should be specially safeguarded, he thought it reasonable to add a Proviso dealing with those cases, which, he must contend, might certainly exist, where those funds were really in excess of what the requirements of the locality were. It would be very unreasonable that, in such cases, they should continue to make use of the funds for that sole purpose when there was no longer the necessity.

Mr. RAMSAY said, he felt assured, that in moving the omission of those words, his hon. Friend the Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie) had not in view the prevention of funds which were in excess of the requirements of a district from being applied to instruction in the higher branches of education. He (Mr. Ramsay) could not conceive it to be possible that any Scotchman could have such an object in view. It appeared to him that it would follow, as a necessity, that the funds for elementary education, when in excess, would be applied to higher education wherever the wants of the locality were supplied. He hoped they would not be put to the trouble of dividing over the Amendment, for he did not think there was much force in the words.

Dr. CAMERON said, he did not think his hon. Friend the Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie) should cavil much about the Amendment. The original proposal made by the hon. Member for Fifeshire (Mr. Bruce) was that such funds should not be applied to higher education unless, in the opinion of the Commissioners, they were manifestly in excess of what was required for elementary education; but it was agreed to leave out the words "in the opinion of the Commissioners," and they had now a question of fact which the Commissioners would not decide, but, if necessary, the Court of Session.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, that he had been asked by the hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan) to name funds that were in excess of requirements of the district; but he was in a difficulty, because he was not acquainted with all the circumstances of endowments in Scotland. The hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) had correctly stated the circumstances. There were some cases which had been brought under his (Mr. Mundella's) notice in which there was such an excess. He hoped the Amendment would not be insisted on, as he could not accept it.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

On the Motion of Mr. Mundella, the following Amendment made:—In page 7, line 2, at end of Clause, add as a new paragraph—

"Elementary education shall mean such education as may be given in the State-aided schools of Scotland pursuant to the provisions of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, and in terms of the Minutes of the Scotch Education Department in force for the time being, with respect to the administration of the Parliamentary grant for public education."

Dr. CAMERON said, the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) had an Amendment on the Paper, to add to the new paragraph the words "but shall not include ancient languages." He supposed, however, there was nothing in the Code restricting grants to schools where these were taught.

Mr. MUNDELLA: No.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 15 (Interests of particular classes to be kept in view).

Mr. WARTON, who had a series of Amendments on the Paper, moved that the Commissioners in framing schemes should deal with educational and other endowments of the trust.

Amendment proposed, in page 7, line 21, after the word "educational," to insert the words "and other."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) said, he should prefer to keep the clause as it was, because all they could cover by the words "and other" would really be benefits incidental to education, and as such would be covered by the word "educational."

Mr. WARTON said, that he should not proceed with the rest of his Amendments.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE moved to omit the words "so far as requisite" from the Proviso at the end of the clause. He would remind the Committee that this clause, as it originally stood, directed the Commissioners to have due regard in any scheme which abolished or modified educational endowments to which any class of children were entitled, whether as belonging to a particular class in life or a particular locality, to make "adequate provision" for continuing to such children the benefits of such endowments. Great objections had been made to this clause, and it had been pointed out that the word "adequate" did not sufficiently provide for the interests of the children concerned; that it left very wide room to the Commissioners, especially when the view which many persons held with regard to the sufficiency which the provisions of the Act of 1872 had made for elementary education was taken into consideration. On the second reading of the Bill the right hon. Gentleman stated, "We propose to make important changes," and instead of providing that "adequate provision" should be made for the class of children in question, that it should provide that the funds "shall continue to be applied for the benefit of such children;" and that, he added, strictly confines the endowments to the class for which they were intended. This was entirely satisfactory, and wholly removed the objection which had been made by himself and others to the clause. But what took place in Committee last Saturday? The right hon. Gentleman accepted eagerly an Amendment which practically took away the whole value of the concession he made, as it provided that the funds, instead of being strictly confined to the class for which they were intended, should continue to be applied for their benefit "so far as requisite." In order to show this, he had put down the provisions of the Bill as it originally stood, as it was announced by the right hon. Gentleman it would be amended, and as it had actually been amended.

Amendment proposed, in page 7, line 32, to leave out the words "so far as requisite."—(*Mr. Dick-Peddie.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

Mr. ANDERSON said, that the words referred to by the hon. Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie) were introduced and accepted by the Committee on his (Mr. Anderson's) suggestion, and the hon. Members now opposing it did not think it worth their while to object to the Amendment so far as to divide the Committee against it. [Mr. Dick-Peddie: I was not present.] But some of the hon. Member's Party were present, and they did not divide the Committee against it. It appeared to him perfectly absurd to confine the Commissioners in the way they would be if these words were omitted, and to devote certain endowments to objects which were not necessary. This was an Amendment in the same direction as one moved on Clause 13, and the House assented to the provision of limitation, "except to the extent to which such funds are manifestly in excess," &c. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) would not accept it.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, he must repudiate the imputation, which the hon. Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie) too frequently made, that he (Mr. Mundella) had broken faith with the House. He had done nothing with respect to the measure, and had no object in doing it, except to make it as effective as possible for the benefit of the people of Scotland, and he was quite willing that his reputation in this House should stand or fall by the results of the working of the Bill in Scotland. He believed there never was a measure connected with endowments which so honestly preserved the interests of classes, or dealt so liberally all round as the measure now under discussion. The English Endowment Act was not so hedged round with respect to the preservation of the interests of classes. The hon. Member admitted that he was not present when this matter was dealt with in Committee, and therefore he was somewhat out of court. The clause was previously much more limited than it was now. The words "poorer classes" gave a wider area than the original words "poor children." As the clause stood it was really a good clause, and gave directions to the Commissioners which he thought they could not deviate from. They must leave something to the judgment of the Commission. Seven Gentlemen would be appointed, and were they not to be trusted to fairly administer those endowments? He certainly could not accept the Amendment, because he believed the clause, as it stood, was a thoroughly good one.

Mr. WILLIAMSON said, he was very glad the right hon. Gentleman intended to adhere to the clause as it stood, as he thought it was an excellent one.

Mr. BUCHANAN said, he thought the right hon. Gentleman had missed the point of the hon. Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie), who, he was quite sure, had not meant anything personal. He also reminded the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) that he had accepted an Amendment by the hon. Member for Glasgow to the same effect.

Mr. LYON PLAYFAIR, in opposing the Amendment, said, there were a number of old endowments which had very improper privileges, such as some connected with the Universities, which were only to be given to persons of the name of M'Donald. At the present moment there was no more special reason for giving them to persons with a particular name than to persons with large noses. He thought the Commission should have power to deal with those endowments, as such conditions were not now requisite, and that the words in question should remain part of the clause.

Mr. C. S. PARKER said, he would appeal to the hon. Members for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie) and Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan) whether they were not exaggerating the effect of these words? It was quite true that, in some slight degree, they modified the concessions made by the Government; but, if his hon. Friends would look at the effect of these words, they would see that they were exaggerating their case. For if, as they proposed, the words were withdrawn, the clause would then read that such endowments should be continued whether requisite or not. He thought with the right hon. Gentleman they should have some confidence in the Commission; and, under these circumstances, he hoped the Amendment would not be pressed.

Mr. WARTON said, he had watched the Bill with considerable interest, and he could say, he thought, that he had never known a Bill conducted more fairly and honourably, or with more patience and attention, than this had been conducted by the right hon. Gentleman; therefore, he considered the right hon. Gentleman did not deserve the charge brought against him by the hon. Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie) of having broken faith with the Committee.

Mr. BRYCE said, the hon. Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie) seemed to think that the impression which had been made on the Government, and the offers which had been made to the Government, came from him and the three or four Members who had acted with him. Several hon. Members of the House thought the Government went too far in the concessions they made, and they regarded it as an inadequate and unsatisfactory measure, because it did not go far enough in the direction of reform. So far from thinking that the Government had dealt unfairly with the Member for Kilmarnock, they who thought there should be a more decided reform were the persons entitled to complain.

Dr. CAMERON said, it struck him that, having swallowed similar words in connection with a former clause, it was not worth while getting into an acrimonious discussion, and he would, therefore, appeal to his hon. Friend (Mr. Dick-Peddie) to withdraw the Amendment.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE, in asking leave to withdraw the Amendment, denied that he intended to be personal to the right hon. Gentleman, and would retract any words used that would appear to impute to him unfairness.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 17 (Tenure of office of teachers, &c).

Mr. MUNDELLA moved the addition, at the end of the clause, of the following words as a new paragraph:—"A scheme may provide for the removal of any religious tests or qualifications applicable to teachers." The right hon. Gentleman stated that the proposal was one that he had promised the Committee to introduce upon Report, and that was his reason for moving it.

Amendment proposed,

In page 7, line 42, at end of Clause, add, as a new paragraph—"A scheme may provide for the removal of any religious tests or qualifications applicable to teachers."—(*Mr. Mundella.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 19 (Provision for future alteration of scheme).

On the Motion of Mr. Mundella, the following Amendments made:—In page 8, line 10, leave out "as they think expedient;" and in line 16, leave out "1869."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 20 (Preliminary inquiry).

Mr. BUCHANAN asked the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) whether he would endeavour to meet the Amendment he (Mr. Buchanan) had proposed in Committee, to the effect of altering the word "may" into "shall" in the provision relating to the holding of a preliminary inquiry?

Mr. MUNDELLA, in reply, said, the meaning of the Bill was, that if any inquiry was made, it should be a public inquiry. He did not think it was desirable that an inquiry should be made whether it was necessary or not.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 23 (Governing body may lodge objections).

On the Motion of Mr. Mundella, the following Amendment made:—In page 8, line 41, after "writing," insert "by any public body or persons interested."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 25 (Approval of Scotch Education Department to schemes).

Mr. RAMSAY said, he had an Amendment to suggest for the consideration of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) with regard to the clause. What he objected to was, to have schemes sanctioned by the Scotch Education Department, and that the Queen in Council should have power to render these legal without their coming before Parliament. He thought it was a very objectionable thing that any measure should operate in regard to anything affecting Her Majesty's subjects without coming formally before Parliament in all cases, and he therefore would move the omission from the clause, after the word "Commissioners," in line 35, of the remainder of the clause consisting of the last two paragraphs.

His reason for that was to prevent the possibility of any scheme agreed to by the Commissioners becoming law without being submitted to Parliament for the consideration of those who might take an interest in the subject.

Amendment proposed, in page 9, line 35, to leave out from the word "Commissioners," to the end of Clause 25.—(*Mr. Ramsay.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'and if they remit the scheme with a declaration, the provisions contained in the immediately succeeding section shall apply' stand part of the Bill."

Mr. MUNDELLA said, that before the words were introduced in Committee they were very carefully considered. His hon. Friend (Mr. Ramsay) was not present in Committee when these words were discussed ; but he (Mr. Mundella) could state that the matter was fully explained in Committee as to the reason why the Amendment could not be accepted. As, however, his hon. Friend had not been present, he would explain it again. If it were made requisite that every scheme that was approved by the Governing Bodies and by the Education Department must come before Parliament, though it was a scheme that everybody was anxious for, the result would be the greatest possible inconvenience and unnecessary delay. For instance, the Commission might approve a scheme, the two months' notice might be given to the locality for objection by any person interested, and though there might be no objection whatever, if the proposal of the hon. Member were agreed to, instead of the scheme becoming law, it would have to come before Parliament. If that was at the close of the Session the delay would be still more inconvenient, because it would then have to be laid on the Table of the House at the commencement of the next Session in February, where it would have to remain two months. Consequently, a delay of eight or nine months was very likely to occur. He would also remind the hon. Member that in his absence, in Committee, the Bill was applied to endowments of £50 a-year; and, in these cases, the inconvenience of delay would be still greater. Further than that, he thought his hon. Friend would see that there was no danger of any scheme slipping through, because so long as there was one person interested in the town, or city, or neighbourhood who objected to a proposed scheme, it must come before Parliament before it could be finally approved.

Dr. WEBSTER said, he had had an Amendment before the Committee to the same effect as this, and requiring all schemes to be laid before Parliament; but he had failed to receive any support. No general countenance had been given to the proposal; but he adhered to the opinion that it was desirable, for the sake of publicity, and giving a fair chance to all parties, not only those locally and directly interested, but the public generally and all who had the right to appeal to Parliament through their Representatives, that the right of objecting in Parliament to any scheme should not be confined to a locality, but be given to any person in the whole country, who should be allowed an opportunity of being heard before the scheme was finally adopted.

Mr. BUCHANAN supported the views of his hon. Friend the Member for Aberdeen (Dr. Webster), and said he could not understand why the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) in this Bill should have deviated from the practice that obtained in the Endowed Schools Commission under the Act of 1878, because, under that Act, all schemes were ordered to be laid before Parliament, and, as far as he (Mr. Buchanan) knew, no inconvenience had arisen. The right hon. Gentleman's objection was, that schemes might have to lie on the Table of the House for six months or more; but, though it was certainly undesirable to have any unnecessary delay, he (Mr. Buchanan) did not think they need grudge the slight further expenditure of time that would be required in order to secure a most desirable object—that there should be perfect publicity in regard to those schemes, and that all, small or large, should come before the House in order that they might see the action of the Commissioners. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would accept the Amendment.

Mr. COCHRAN-PATRICK said, he hoped his hon. Friend (Mr. Ramsay) would withdraw his Amendment after the explanation of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella).

Mr. ANDERSON thought the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr.

Mundella) was a decided improvement on the former practice. Not that he objected to having the schemes laid before Parliament in the case of large endowments where there was any objection; but here there was a complete provision for that—that if any single person objected he could have the scheme laid before Parliament. Not only that, but he would also remind the House that the Bill had been applied to very small endowments, as low as £50 a-year, and it would be a very clumsy thing indeed to apply to schemes of that description the burdensome and cumbersome system of compelling each scheme to lie on the Table of the House two months. He thought the proposal as it stood was quite effective for the purpose.

Mr. RAMSAY said, in accordance with the feeling of the House, he would withdraw the Amendment; but what he had objected to, and what he still objected to, was that the Bill provided that schemes which were not sanctioned by Parliament at all—that never came under the consideration of Parliament—should become law; and he thought it unconstitutional that anything in this country should become law, affecting any portion of Her Majesty's subjects, which had not had the sanction of both Houses of Parliament, and the sanction of those who might take an interest in them. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) had said that any person in the locality might secure that the scheme should be brought before Parliament; but he thought the whole country was affected by the principles upon which these schemes might be framed. He should have preferred very much had the right hon. Gentleman seen his way to accede to the Amendment; but, seeing that the right hon. Gentleman could not do that, rather than put the House to the trouble of a division only to be defeated, he would withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

On the Motion of Mr. Mundella, the following Amendments made:—In page 10, line 4, leave out "month;" in same line, after "said," insert "two months;" and in line 9, leave out "municipal."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 29 (Special case to Court of Session on questions of law).

Mr. RAMSAY said, he had a proposal to make, which was to leave out the whole clause, which provided for an appeal to the Court of Session on questions of law. He did not make the proposal through any want of respect for the decisions of the Court, as no man could have more respect for them than he had; but he thought the power should not be conferred upon them of dealing with questions arising as to these endowment schemes. He did not consider it was desirable, as was done by the clause, to indicate to the Governing Body that it was the desire of Parliament they should raise questions before the Court of Session that might be detrimental to the public interest. The fact was, that he believed the Judges did not desire any such power conferred upon them, and any person who was aggrieved by the action of the Commissioners—by any excess of the powers conferred upon them by the Act—had an opportunity of going to the Court of Session for redress. He therefore thought the clause should be struck out of the Bill.

Amendment proposed, to leave out Clause 29.—(*Mr Ramsay.*)

Question proposed, "That Clause 29 stand part of the Bill."

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) said, the Government could not consent to the proposal. His hon. Friend (Mr. Ramsay) would observe that the grounds of appeal to the Court of Session, as the Bill now stood, were exceedingly limited. The limited grounds were, if a person felt aggrieved by the scheme on the ground of the scheme being one which was not within the scope of, or made in conformity with, this Act. He (the Lord Advocate) took it that, even though there were not a provision of this kind, if the Commissioners exceeded their powers, there would probably be, under Common Law, a power of appeal. But the object of the clause was rather to limit and define the cases in which they could go to the Court; and it appeared to them that it was much better to have this in the limited and sharply-defined form in which it here appeared. For instance, in the case of the remission of a man's salary by the Commissioners, it would be very undesirable that he should have to appeal to Parliament rather than to the Court of Session. The 2nd sub-section gave a like power to persons who were aggrieved with the scheme, on the ground that it did not save or make due compensation for their vested interests. That, again, was a matter where the patrimonial rights of persons were concerned. He thought both of those sub-sections were necessary to safeguard the public.

Dr. WEBSTER said, he would admit that the Bill had now been made so reasonable in regard to appeal, and the grounds of appeal so fairly narrowed, that he could not further complain of it. He thought it quite right that a Court of Law should step in and correct any excess of power by the Commissioners.

Mr. RAMSAY said, he still thought the provision was supererogatory; but, seeing that he had received no support for his proposal, he would ask leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 31 (Scheme to be approved by Order in Council. When to be laid before Parliament).

On the Motion of Mr. Mundella, the following Amendments made:—In page 11, line 35, leave out "forty days;" same line, after "lain," insert "two months;" line 36, leave out "forty days;" same line, after "such," insert "two months."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 32 (Provision as to schemes for endowments under £100 annual value).

On the Motion of Mr. Mundella, the following Amendments made:—In page 12, line 10, after "apply," insert "if;" in lines 10 and 11, leave out "but it shall be lawful for;" and in line 12, after "be," leave out "to."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 46 (Provision for default of governing body).

On the Motion of Mr. R. Preston Bruce, the following Amendment made:—In page 15, line 3, after "of," insert "the school board or of."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

On the Motion of Mr. Mundella, Clauses 45 and 46 *transposed.*

Mr. MUNDELLA said, they had now gone through all the Amendments on the Bill, and he hoped hon. Members would consider he was not asking too much if he moved that the Bill be read a third time. It was quite true that they had had some sharp controversies; but he hoped they would all forget them, and that they would soon all be perfectly satisfied with the working of the Bill. He must thank hon. Members for the diligence which they had devoted to the work, and the ability and success with which they had carried it through. He wished to express his own conviction that, on the passing of the Act, there would not be one child less in Scotland receiving free education than before its passing; but that many thousands more would receive much higher and better education than they could have hoped to receive before the passing of it. The Bill, he believed, would prove a blessing to Scotland, as it would raise the whole tone of public education and quicken the public schools of Scotland, by offering some inducement for every child to reach a higher level. He sincerely trusted that the House would allow the third reading, and that the effect of the Bill would be such as to make it almost memorable in the educational history of the country.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. Mundella.*)

Mr. BROADHURST said, that, while he would not oppose the Motion just made by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella), he trusted he might be allowed to express the hope that, in the future composition of Commissions on educational endowments, all Governments—whether this or any other — would not fail to recognize the right of the working men to some direct representation on them. These Commissions were practically decided upon before they came under the notice of the House, and there was, therefore, great difficulty in moving the appointment of working men upon them; but he thought the Government would have been wise to consult the Scotch Members and ask them to nominate one or two working men. He would ask the hon. Members for Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Dundee whether they could not have nominated men from their respective constituencies, any of whom would have been highly fitted for the work of this Commission? He was not making any complaint against the right hon. Gentleman, but pressing upon the Government that, in all these matters, for the future, the working men must be taken into consideration in a manner which they had not been hitherto. The departure would be a new one; but working men were now taking a different part in public matters from what they once did; and he hoped, in the higher walks of public duty, their claims to representation would be recognized in future. The one fundamental difficulty in regard to that point, however, was that these Commissions were entirely voluntary. There was no payment made to the Commissioners; and it was naturally supposed that, therefore, working men could not take part in the work of a Commission. But what he wished was, that the working men should at least have the refusal of appointments, and he believed that their organizations would be able to find means by which working men could discharge the duties of Commissioners. In saying that he did not wish to reflect in the slightest degree upon the highly satisfactory composition of the present Commission, so far as its members had been selected from the Members of the House.

DR. CAMERON said, he did not rise for the purpose of opposing the Motion for the third reading; indeed, he should not have risen at all, but he felt bound to do so, in consequence of some remarks which had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) as to the effect of the Bill on free education. When it was proposed to allow school boards in Scotland to adopt free education, the right hon. Gentleman objected, on the ground that that would increase the rates; but when they had that experiment in free education conducted successfully, without any demand upon the rates, and they asked that it should be safeguarded from the operation of the Bill, in the same way as a number of matters had been safeguarded and restricted, the right hon. Gentleman refused to allow this; and now he told the House that he did not believe, when this Bill passed, that there would be one child the less receiving free education, while the general character of education in Scotland would be greatly improved. As to the character of the education, he (Dr. Cameron) believed and trusted that would be the case. He had always expressed himself as eager as any hon. Member could be that endowments at present wasted or misapplied should be applied to the purpose of higher and technical education. What he had thought it his duty to protest against, and what he had protested against still, was, that funds which had been well and economically applied for the purpose of promoting free primary education of the poor should not have been safeguarded. Having pressed that, and been refused, he (Dr. Cameron) could not attach much weight to the hope of the right hon. Gentleman, after the right hon. Gentleman had done all he could to stamp out this one successful plantation of free education in the United Kingdom, when he now said that he hoped that free education would flourish in Scotland as vigorously as ever. The next few years would show whether that hope would be realized; but, if it was not, all he (Dr. Cameron) could say was, that while doing an excellent piece of work in the cause of higher education in Scotland—in so far as he proposed to appropriate to that purpose wasted and misapplied endowments—if the effect of Bill proved, as he feared it would, to stamp out this successful attempt at free education in Edinburgh; if that was so, the name of the right hon. Gentleman would be associated with a piece of reactionary legislation — ["No, no!"] —which would reflect very little credit upon its promoters in these days, when one country after another throughout the civilized world was adopting a system of free education.

MR. ANDERSON said, he quite agreed with the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst) in the spirit of the suggestion he had thrown out; indeed, he (Mr. Anderson) could name plenty of men in his own constituency who would be able to serve upon, and who would be an honour to, the Commission, on account of their capability of doing useful work upon it. The hon. Member, however, had seen that the real difficulty lay in the way of payment, for it would be unfair to expect a working man to devote his time gratuitously to the work of such a Commission; in fact, it would be impossible for him to act so inconsistently with his duty to his family as to work for nothing. Still, the suggestion of the hon. Member might put it in the power of the working men to provide means, and he thought that suggestion well worthy of consideration in the future. He did not like to have to disagree with his hon. Colleague, or to say much in opposition to his views; but he (Mr. Anderson) was himself as strong an advocate for free education as the hon. Gentleman could be. But the free education he looked for was a free education that should be general, and that should not require to have a declaration of poverty and pauperism attached to the getting of it. Notwithstanding that the hon. Gentleman had referred to free education in Edinburgh, he (Mr. Anderson) did not believe, if free education in Edinburgh was being well done now, those responsible for it had anything whatever to fear from the Commission that had been appointed. He believed wherever good work was being done no Governing Body would have anything to dread; but he thought it would have been a scandal if they had exempted from the scope of the Bill two of the largest institutions in Scotland—Heriot's and Hutcheson's Hospitals—because they happened to be working under Acts of Parliament of their own. It was, he thought, of great importance, not only to the people of Edinburgh and Glasgow, but to Scotland generally, that these two great institutions should be placed within the purview of a Commission of this kind. Other institutions would have had a good right to complain if these two institutions had been exempted from it. He congratulated the right hon. Gentleman on the skill and patience with which he had engineered this Bill through Parliament, and upon the character of the Commission appointed to do the work. He looked forward with great hope to much good being done on that Commission. He was aware that objection had been taken to the appointment of Lord Balfour of Burleigh as Chairman of the Commission. He did not share in that objection at all. When a man was appointed to a public office, he did not think they should ask what were his politics or what was his Church. If it were a political appointment that was being given him, he would then ask about his politics; and if it were an ecclesiastical appointment, he would ask about his Church; but when it was an educational appointment, he asked what his educational qualifications were. He had reason to believe that Lord Balfour of Burleigh, as an educationist, was an extremely liberal one. He had been told his Lordship was a supporter of the one thing in the Bill which above all else he (Mr. Anderson) approved of—bringing down the date to 1872. That Amendment, which had been passed in Committee by that House, might be strongly opposed and, perhaps, gravely altered in "another place," and it was of importance and great consequence to Scotland that they should have such a man as Lord Balfour there to defend the Amendment, and prevent its being reversed. He (Mr. Anderson) should regard the reversal of that Amendment as a very great misfortune, and one which he sincerely hoped would not take place. Personally, he thanked the right hon. Gentleman for his conduct of the Bill, believing that his feeling was shared generally by the people of Scotland.

Mr. LYON PLAYFAIR said, that he regretted the position which he had the honour to hold as Chairman of Committees prevented him from taking an active part in the discussion on this Bill. He trusted, therefore, that the House would permit him to say a few words in regard to it before it went to "another place." The chief opposition to the Bill in Committee was based upon the supposition that it would interefere with the free education now existing in Scotland. He, however, thought the Bill, as it had emerged from Committee, must have removed very much of the danger which was apprehended on that score. He believed, indeed, that the friends of free education would have reason to congratulate themselves that the institutions which it was proposed to leave out were left in the Bill. The hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) had spoken as if the effect of the Bill would be to crush the free schools in Edinburgh. If that had been the purpose of the Bill, he (Mr. Lyon Playfair) certainly would have asked someone to take his place in the Chair, in order to allow him to protect the interests of free education in its best sense. He believed the schools in Edinburgh were doing excellent work. He had visited, he thought, nearly all of them, and seen the work they performed. He thought it was quite possible to preserve these schools in a free state, largely in the interests of the poor, and yet to grade some of these schools and link them together, so that the poor could attain what was the essence of Scotch education, and which had enabled the Scotchman to prosper in all parts of the world—namely, to go from the gutter upwards to any sphere of life he desired. It would be possible, he believed, to have schools so that some of them might give higher and more technical education, useful to the poorer classes, while the free schools were not interfered with. As it was, the intellectual mind of any country was never too great—only about 7 per cent of the population seemed fitted to go through such higher schools as he hoped to see established and rise to better positions—but where there were these intellectual minds, it was of the greatest importance that they should be enabled to make their way from the lowest to the highest position. Scotland would have been nothing in the past, if that had not been the real essence of its educational system. The Governors of Heriot's Hospital had shown their desire to promote technical education in connection with the Watt Institution, and with the bursaries in connection with the Universities; and he was sure that after the first heat of controversy had subsided, it would be recognized that the purpose of the Bill, in providing a graded education, would serve in the highest degree the interests of the poor in Edinburgh. He believed the same remarks would apply to the Glasgow endowments as well.

Mr. BUCHANAN said, he desired to correct a statement which the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) had made twice over—namely, that the Governors of Heriot's Hospital had asked to be excepted from the operation of this Bill. He (Mr. Buchanan) was aware, he thought, of all the steps that had been taken with regard to Heriot's Hospital, and he could say that that question had never been raised. What they had contended for was, that if free primary education was to be protected under the Bill, the protection should extend to the most efficient free schools in Scotland, which the Heriot Schools admittedly were. He had intended to move an Amendment on the Preamble, to raise the question of free education established by Acts of Parliament, and regretted that he was unable to do so. He was astonished to find that the right hon. Gentleman, who declined to take the responsibility of altering founders' wills made 100 years ago, should now be attacking the dispositions made by Acts of Parliament in recent years. It was more than likely that an Act of Parliament framed in recent years would better conform the intention of the founder to the wants of the time than a strict observance of the letter of the original endowment. He very much agreed with what the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst) had said, and he endorsed his opinion, that there were men to be found in the ranks of the working classes who were quite capable of discharging the duties of Commissioners under this Bill. Perhaps with regard to this matter—and it was really very much a working man's question—they would have made better Commissioners than any other. He was quite sure that in connection with it the name of his Predecessor (Mr. M'Laren), who had done so much for education in Scotland, and who possessed so fully the confidence of the country, would be held in lasting honour in the House. He should not oppose the third reading of the Bill; but he desired to record his protest against the refusal of the Government, in dealing with the matter, to recognize and preserve the popular government of Heriot's Hospital, which had been so admirably directed towards the promotion of education among the poor. Many of his constituents thought the Bill would very possibly affect injuriously their educational interest. It contemplated a diversion of funds from one sort of education to another, and, therefore, from one class to another; but though that had been denied by the right hon. Gentleman, they had not got specific provisions to the effect they desired, but only verbal assurances from the right hon. Gentleman; and he could not allow that opportunity to pass without again presenting his views as to the operation of the Bill as it at present stood.

Mr. HENDERSON said, he wished to bring before the House a matter which was of very great interest to the burgh he represented, with the view of obtaining an expression of opinion from the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella) and the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate as to how it would be affected by the Bill. An Act of Parliament was passed very recently—indeed, it received the Royal Assent only a few weeks ago—for the re-organization of Dundee High School, and a very large endowment of about £20,000 was given on the passing of that Act for the purposes of higher education by one of their citizens. In consequence, however, of smaller endowments which that school enjoyed, of a much earlier date, by Section 9 of the Bill now before the House, the Act which passed only a few weeks ago would come under the scope and purview of the Commission which would be appointed under the Act. Naturally there was a very great deal of anxiety in the new Governing Body recently constituted, that that which had been so recently done should not be so speedily upset; and he hoped those promoting this Bill on the Front Bench would give some assurance that in any future proceedings they would have the support of the Education Department. He thought that the constitution of the Commission would have been greatly improved if a representative of the working class had been placed on it; and he also thought that the constitution of the Commission would have been further improved if there were more representatives of the class who had furnished the endowments. There were several noble Lords upon it, and though he did not object to that, he believed it was a fact that there was not a single noble Lord who had given any gifts for education in Scotland. These endowments came almost exclusively, if not altogether, from the middle class in Scotland; and he thought they ought to have had a stronger representation of the class who had furnished the endowments on the Commission. He could not allow the question of the constitution of the Commission to pass without remarking on the nomination of Lord Balfour of Burleigh as Chairman. He was not going to say—and, indeed, he could not say—anything against the noble Lord as an educationist; but he would say that, in the present state of public opinion in Scotland, it was a most unwise and impolitic thing on the part of the Government to appoint as Chairman of that Commission a noble Lord who was, politically and ecclesiastically, out of sympathy with the vast majority of the people of Scotland. The people of Scotland looked upon the Bill and anticipated the proceedings of the Commission with a great deal of interest and anxiety; and while he thought it was only to have been expected that Lord Balfour of Burleigh should be one of the Commissioners, he must say there would have been much greater confidence if the Government had appointed as Chairman a gentleman who, at least, was in sympathy, politically and ecclesiastically, with the majority of the people.

Mr. C. S. PARKER said, he believed the hon. Member for Dundee (Mr. Henderson) was right in saying that, legally and technically, it would be within the power of the Commissioners to propose a scheme for the alteration of the recent Act of Parliament; but setting aside the consideration that Parliament itself would probably interfere to prevent that, he thought they might safely rely on the Commissioners who had been appointed, and on the Education Department, and individually on his right hon. Friend (Mr. Mundella), to prevent any such reversal of recent legislation, especially when so large an endowment had been handsomely bestowed by Mr. Harris, of Dundee, on the faith of that Act of Parliament. He should like to say a word on the question of free education, upon which the debates on this Bill had very much revolved. He supposed the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson) agreed with what he (Mr. C. S. Parker) believed was the general opinion of Scotland on this point—that at all events, so far as free education was given, it should not be of such a character as to tend to pauperize the recipients, and make them feel as if they were in a different position from their more independent neighbours. The hon. Member for Glasgow apparently looked to a development which seemed to him (Mr. C. S. Parker) still far off in the future—namely, general gratuitous education, as in the United States. In the meantime, the recommendation of the Commission on which he served was this—not by any means to put a stop to free education, but to put some check on what had been called indiscriminate free education. The mischief was done by making gratuitous education not general, but indiscriminate. It ought to be discriminate in one or other of two ways. Either it should be applied for the benefit of parents who really were unable to provide education for their children, or it should be applied for the encouragement of children to industry, and for retaining at school the small percentage of children who had exceptionally good abilities, and whom it was the interest of the State to bring on to higher standards. He believed the interests of free education would be practically safe in the hands of the Commissioners. It ought to be known that the one Member of the former Inquiry Commission who had been placed on this Executive Commission—the hon. Member for the Falkirk Burghs (Mr. Ramsay) — had always been the most vigilant to protect the interests of the poorer classes. Indeed, some of his Colleagues thought he went, perhaps, too far in his wish still to apply old endowments to the relief of the education rate, in those localities where the ratepayers had long been accustomed to get education free. He wished further to say that, however much difference of opinion there might have been on this and other contested issues, they could not but recognize with gratitude the zeal and energy and conciliatory conduct of the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council, and the perseverance with which he had striven on now for three years to bring the Bill to a favourable issue. To him chiefly it was due that the measure had not again fallen through. If they had not had the short time given to them that they had that day, he thought the Members from Scotland generally would have felt that they had just cause for complaint. It was now ten years since the Commission was appointed to inquire into these matters; it was seven years since it reported, and it was three years since the Bill had occupied a prominent place in the Speech from the Throne; and they should have felt considerable resentment if they had been sent back once more to Scotland to explain to their constituents that from pressure of other Business the Bill had made no further progress. Whereas now a word of thanks was due also to the Government that, in the great difficulties they had had that Session, they had seen the propriety, and the necessity, he might almost say, of giving the Scottish Members that short period on Wednesday, in addition to the Saturday previously, for Committee; and certainly Scottish Members had not made an unreasonable use of the time, when, within three hours, they had accomplished two stages of a Bill, which, however much they might differ in opinion, he believed would be looked upon throughout Scotland as a very important contribution to the welfare of the whole people of the country.

MR. J. A. CAMPBELL said, he had great pleasure in joining with the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson) in congratulating the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) in having carried the Bill successfully through the House. At the same time, he desired, most emphatically, to protest against a remark of his hon. Friend the Member for Dundee (Mr. Henderson) in reference to Lord Balfour of Burleigh—namely, that he was out of sympathy with the people of Scotland both ecclesiastically and politically. He (Mr. J. A. Campbell) had the honour of knowing that Nobleman, and had the privilege of serving with him on the late Commission; and he wished to say that his hon. Friend was quite incorrect in saying that Lord Balfour was out of sympathy ecclesiastically with the people of Scotland. He believed in that respect he was emphatically in sympathy with the people of Scotland. As to his political relations, he could assure his hon. Friend, having sat with his Lordship on the late Commission, that politics had nothing whatever to do with the work of an Educational Commission. The late Commission was presided over by Lord Moncreiff, who was a decided politician, and they had as a Member of the Commission Lord Balfour, who was also a decided politician; and he could appeal to his Colleagues that, on that Commission, they heard and thought nothing of politics either of Church or State. With regard to Lord Balfour, it would, in his opinion, have been an extraordinary omission if he, being nominated on the Commission, had not been appointed Chairman, for he had experience which no other Member had, and an extensive knowledge of educational subjects, and a thorough and hearty interest in the object of the Bill.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE, as one of those Members who had taken an active part in opposing certain provisions in this Bill, desired to say, before the Bill left the House, that he trusted that it would be carried out, not as it might be under its own provisions, but in the spirit of the speeches which had just been made by the Vice President of the Council and the Chairman of Committees. If it were so carried out, he had no doubt it would work well. He only regretted that the Bill itself did not embody the spirit of these speeches. Had it done so, he, for one, would have had no objection to make to it. He trusted the Commissioners would work it in the way which the Vice President and the Chairman of Committees had indicated as that in which they wished it to work, and that it would be found that the fears which it had excited would be disappointed. He wished to state what had chiefly influenced him in the part he had taken with reference to this Bill. He was a citizen of Edinburgh, and having for many years been engaged in a profession which brought him into close contact with the working classes of that city, he knew the great value which they attached to Heriot's Schools, and the benefits they had derived from them; and he looked with great jealousy on anything that seemed fitted in the slightest way to trench on the working of these schools for the public benefit. He hoped they would be dealt with in the way in which the Chairman of Committees had suggested, and in that case he, for one, would have no fault to find with the action of the Commissioners. If he had once or twice during the discussion on the Bill spoken with some warmth of the President of the Council, he could assure the right hon. Gentleman that he did not do so from any personal feeling, but only in consequence of his zeal in the interests of free elementary education.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY (PAY, &c.).

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Trevelyan.*)

Mr. SEXTON said, the information they had with respect to this proposal was of the scantiest possible character, and it was desirable that they should have all the information in the possession of the Government in reference to the circumstances now before them. He might point out that the cost of the Royal Irish Constabulary had of late years been largely increased. The original Estimate for 1882-3 was £1,332,146, including £78,000 Extra Pay and Allowances. Owing, however, to supplemental grants for increased duties, the total charge on the Public Revenue for this purpose was now £1,632,000, which, he believed, was nearly double what it was a few years ago. He should like to know what additional burden it was proposed to place on the public with reference to this extra pay, and what was the justification for so very considerable an increase? He was aware that the processes of resignation and enlistment had lately been going on in the Force at a great rate; and it would be well for the House to know how many resignations had taken place during the last three years, and what was the cause assigned for those resignations, so that they should be then in a position to say whether they were of a temporary or a permanent character, and whether the conditions of the Service had been so much changed as to make an increase of pay desirable. The position of the Royal Irish Constabulary was extremely critical; and he would like to know the strength of the Police Force, especially in the county of Limerick, over which Mr. Clifford Lloyd had control. As regarded that officer, it was said he was to succeed Colonel Brackenbury as Assistant Under Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. If that rumour was true, he wished to know whether it was the fact, as stated that morning in *The Times*, that the Police Force in County Limerick, over which Mr. Clifford Lloyd presided, was almost bordering on a state of mutiny; that in nearly every county the police had asked for an increase of pay; that they had been offered 6*d.* a-day extra, and had indignantly refused it; and that in Clare, Kerry, and Cork Counties there was among the police an agitation that demanded the immediate attention of the authorities? The position of the Irish Members was, of course, peculiar in regard to this question, as they had often contended that the conflicts between the people and the police had been provoked by the conduct of the latter. He need not remind the House what their behaviour had been at Belmullet and Ballina; but he thought it only right that explanations and assurances should be demanded from the Government before the House sanctioned the proposed increase of pay. In the county of Kerry three young girls who were standing outside their father's yard were sent to gaol for 14 days for being present at an unlawful assembly. That was done chiefly on the evidence of two policemen, one of whom contradicted himself so flagrantly that he was rebuked by the magistrates on the Bench. Before Irish Members were called upon to vote this money, he wished to obtain an assurance from the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Trevelyan) that the administration of the extremely harsh Coercion Act recently passed, which combined in itself all the oppressive provisions of all the Coercion Acts which had been passed since the Union, would not be left to the discretion of individual policemen, but would be directed by men like the right hon. Gentleman himself, and that he would not fail to exercise such a special supervision over the police as would save the people from the effects of their ill-tempered severity.

MR. GIBSON said, it would be obviously inconvenient to enter upon a wide discussion of the general conduct of the Royal Irish Constabulary on a Vote of this kind. He was extremely gratified that before the close of the Session the Government should have taken this step. With reference to the Resolution to be submitted in Committee, there had been a feeling for some time that the position and claims of the members of the Royal Irish Constabulary required consideration. It might well be that the Government had not been able to yield all that was asked on their behalf; but this was a time when it was important that the grievances of this great and eminently loyal Force should be looked into carefully, with the view of satisfying them as far as possible; and he assumed that the proposals of the Government had been thoroughly well considered, and that they were calculated, to some extent, to improve the position of the officers as well as the men. It should be remembered that the grant which had been already made was confined to constables and sub-constables; while the Inspectors, Sub-Inspectors, and other officers were excluded. It was particularly desirable that at a time like this the services of the Force should be rendered cheerfully and loyally.

MR. TREVELYAN said, he would make a very few remarks on the observations of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), and then proceed to explain the objects and scope of the Bill, with regard to which this preliminary Resolution was proposed. The hon. Member argued that no Irish Representative could give the means of rewarding the Irish police, unless the Government declared that every precaution should be taken that the powerful weapon at their disposal should be used with justice and discretion. It was difficult to make general promises of good administration, especially when these promises came from one who was the mouthpiece in the House of Commons of the Irish Government, and who, when in Ireland, took a large part in that administration itself. But this he would say—that when the long-desired day came when he could throw himself altogether into the administration of the affairs of that country, in which he took so deep an interest, there was nothing which should more fully occupy his attention than to see that the provisions of the new and formidable Act should be carried out in the spirit with which it was introduced—namely, to cope with crime in Ireland while interfering as little as possible with the liberties of that part of the population which desired to live in obedience to law and order. He could promise that no case in which a charge was brought against the police for having exceeded their duty, for having acted with indiscretion or severity, or for having done violence to the feelings and sentiments of the people should pass without his examining it carefully and thoroughly. The hon. Gentleman referred to rumours in the Press as to alleged discontent of the police at Limerick. These rumours, which were greatly exaggerated, had been confined to a single newspaper, though that was a very important one. The telegraphic accounts which he had received from Ireland put a very different complexion upon what had occurred. The nature of the discontent was not in any way connected with any personal question relating to any officer. It was entirely a pecuniary question of allowances and pensions. The grievances of the police were brought forward in a perfectly legitimate manner in answer to a superior officer, who asked whether there were any complaints to be made, and they were made in a very respectful way. It was not the case that there had been any great number of resignations. In the main body of the Force there was no appearance of any general dislike to the Service. Such resignations as had taken place were mostly resignations among the younger members of the Force, and those who preferred a purely civilian life. What in the Army took place in the form of desertion on a larger scale took place in the Constabulary in the far more permissible form of retirement. The hon. Member for Sligo asked what connection there was between the contemplated Bill and the general proposals which appeared upon the Estimates with regard to the pay and allowances of the Constabulary Force. He had not yet reached the stage of asking the House for leave to introduce the Bill; but when it should be before the House the hon. Member would see that, as was almost always the case in Administrative changes, the legislation by which the changes could be effected need not be of an extensive character. The measure would be an enabling, and not an enacting Bill. The pay of the Constabulary was fixed by Act of Parliament, and could not be changed except by leave of Parliament. The hon. Member also referred to what was described as the gigantic increase of the Constabulary Vote. It was true that some years ago the necessary burden imposed upon the country for the maintenance of the Constabulary was very much lighter. The increase in the last four years had been very large indeed. In 1879 there were 10,703 members of the Constabulary; in 1881, 11,034; and in 1881-2, 11,458. The total increased Vote this year was £1,600,000. There were three causes for the great increase of the Vote. First of all, there had been a large increase in the police between the beginning of the last financial year and the beginning of the present; for, whereas in the year 1881-2 the Government estimated for 11,458 police, at the commencement of the year 1882-3 they estimated for 13,007. The cause of the increase, therefore, was the very large addition to the police made during the troubled year 1881-2. The second cause appeared in the Supplementary Estimate under the head of "Additions to the Force, Travelling Expenses, and Expenses of Transport Service." Now, that additional Force was the Force added at the commencement of the financial year, or that was now being added. At the beginning of the present financial year there were 13,007 members of the Police Force, and at the end of July there were 13,512. The third cause of the additional expense was the improvement of the position of men and officers. With regard to the improvement of the position of the men, he was not inclined to say anything then, because an explanation would be given when the Supplementary Estimates were considered in Committee. The Estimate of £180,000 was for the purpose of compensating the men for the great expenses thrown upon them by the harassing and extensive duties put upon them during the last three years, and for their extra labours. The officers of the corps had also undergone great labours and some dangers; and even before they were subjected to these dangers, their pay was, in the opinion of high officers of State, not altogether adequate. The Government had consequently determined to take the subject in hand. The County and Sub-Inspectors had placed two Memorials before the Government, in which they stated that their pay was considerably below that of officers in other branches of the public administration who performed duties not more arduous than their own. In consequence of those Memorials, a Committee was appointed to inquire into the position of the officers of the Constabulary, and certain recommendations were made in their Report, which the Government proposed to carry out. The Government proposed to take power once, and once only, by a single operation, to alter the officers' pay. The County and Sub-Inspectors had compared their position with that of other officers in the pay of the State, and from the Army he had taken one or two cases which bore out their contention. A Sub-Inspector of Constabulary generally became a County Inspector after a service of 23 years. The position of Constabulary officers after 23 years' service would be about equivalent to that of a major in the Army. Now, a major in the Army, after 23 years' service, would be receiving about £420 a-year; while the oldest Sub-Inspectors at present received about £348 in pay and allowances. A County Inspector of 30 or 40 years' service at present received about £531 in pay and allowances, while the colonel of a battalion of 31 years' service received £572, which was more money than was received by a County Inspector at the end of a service of 40 years. The higher ranks of the Constabulary were undoubtedly considerably under-paid, as compared with the higher ranks in the Army. At present the County Inspectors received in pay and allowances £531 a-year; those in the second class received £481 a-year. The Government proposed that under the new pay County Inspectors should receive in pay and allowances for the first year of service £495, for the second year of service £515, and so on until the sixth year, when and afterwards they should receive in pay and allowances £595 a-year. With regard to the Sub-Inspectors, the Sub-Inspectors of the first class at present received £348 a-year in pay and allowances. The Government thought that was not a sufficient stipend for men performing a particularly arduous and important duty after a service of 20 years. Their future position would be that Sub-Inspectors of the first class would during the first three years receive £357 a-year, during the next three years £385 a-year, and during the next six years £410 a-year, and after 12 years' service £435 a-year. The Sub-Inspectors of the second class at present received £281 a-year. He was now coming to the younger officers. The Government did not propose materially to improve their condition; they proposed that the Sub-Inspectors of the second class should receive £287, and after five years' service £305. As to the Sub-Inspectors of the third class, the Government did not propose to improve their pay and allowances. The position of these officers would remain as at present, according to the recommendations of the Committee. He thought the House would agree that a County Inspector should not be in a decidedly inferior pecuniary position to that of a colonel of a battalion. He found that in some counties in Ireland during the present year County Inspectors had under their charge 539 men; in Clare, 612; in Kerry, 601; and in West Galway, 605. In the mere number of the men who were under their charge, County Inspectors compared very favourably with a colonel of a battalion, and in addition to that, their duties required very great zeal, very great continuity, and a very considerable knowledge of law and of men. They required that sort of discretion which must be observed by public officers who had to deal with a civil population. He would not enter into the details of the pensions which were laid down by this Bill; but they would not impose any very great extra charge on the public. The Government would take care that no man should be in a worse position under the new system of pensions than he was under the old system.

MR. SEXTON said, the right hon. Gentleman had made no reference as regarded increase of pay for the men.

MR. TREVELYAN said, with respect to the men, their allowances would be slightly increased in several particulars; but their permanent pay would not be altered. He had now gone through the principal provisions of the Bill, and he did not think that in anything that could throw light upon the financial question started by the hon. Member for Sligo he had omitted any important particulars; The £180,000 which the Government proposed that Parliament should vote would be entirely given in gratuities to the men in the Force. The question of gratuities to the men in the Dublin Metropolitan Force, whose duties had not been so trying and so severe as those of the Constabulary at large, but whose duties had been decidedly increased during the last two or three years, particularly during the last three months, was still under the consideration, and he thought the favourable consideration, of the Government. But they could not expect to share in the very large scale of gratuities with which the Government had thought proper to reward the zeal and self-devotion which the men of the Irish Constabulary had shown during the very trying work of the last three years. The Bill which he proposed to lay before the House as soon as he could get an opportunity was partly for the purpose of rewarding those qualities of the officers, and still more for the purpose of putting them in that position, and on that footing of pay which the duties they performed appeared to the Government to call for. He hoped, in conclusion, that the proposals of the Government would be found to give satisfaction to the Force generally.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he thought the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Trevelyan) had met his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) in a spirit of great fairness; and if the right hon. Gentleman would act in accordance with his general statements of principle, he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) was sure he would do a great deal to restore tranquillity to the Irish people. He did not think, however, it was a very good position to take up at the close of the struggle of the last year to shower rewards on the police, and, at the same time, to preserve them from investigation. He thought such a course would tend to increase the separation and hostility which existed between the Force and the population around them. Men were being arrested as strangers when three miles from their own homes. He trusted that the right hon. Gentleman would communicate with the Lord Lieutenant in reference to the cases mentioned by the hon. Member for Sligo. The Police Force in Ireland was as large as the Army Corps that was being sent to Egypt, and was costing the Empire over £1,500,000 a-year. These facts ought to suggest serious reflections to reasoning minds, and ought to lead many to inquire whether the Government of Ireland was worth the cost to England.

Mr. MOORE said, he trusted that they should hear from the Government some satisfactory explanation of the cases brought forward by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), and that a different light would be put upon what did seem to be harsh proceedings. He rose, however, principally to say that the proposal to increase the pay of the police was, in his opinion, calculated to give satisfaction, and that it would cause rash acts on the part of individual members of the Force to decrease. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Trevelyan) had referred to the slowness of promotion among the officers and consequent dissatisfaction among them. He (Mr. Moore) believed that that dissatisfaction was due rather to the facts that the members of the corps were not promoted to the highest offices, as recommended by a Parliamentary Committee some years ago, and that a valuable appointment was about to be abolished. He thought that, on the whole, the proposition of the right hon. Gentleman was calculated to cause a renewal of the dissatisfaction that was felt. He believed that the best guarantee for the efficient discharge of the delicate and dangerous duties now attached to the office of a constable was to pay them well.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY said, he was not disposed to make any objection to increased pay being given to those who did so much hard work as the officers and men of the Royal Irish Constabulary. But he feared that the effect of the proposal made by the Government would be anything but auspicious. It would be thought in Ireland that the object of the Government was to rule Ireland and dragoon her people with a little more military severity. He trusted that the Chief Secretary for Ireland would use all efforts to show that the extensive powers lately given to the police would not be exercised with wanton cruelty and tyranny. There seemed to be something ominous in the comparison drawn by the right hon. Gentleman between certain grades of the Police Force and of the Army. He should have been glad to have heard some assurances from the right hon. Gentleman that the Government were anxious to reorganize the Police Force, so as to take away much of its present character of a little army, and to set it to legitimate and useful business in the detection and prevention of crime. For that duty, the Police Force was now almost entirely without value and efficiency. The effect of recent legislation and policy in Ireland had been most harmful to the Police Force. When the police had a civil character he maintained that it was not unpopular. Under the temptation of recent and new powers, the police had become almost odious amongst large classes of the peasant population. Indeed, it had assumed such a military character that the Government might as well utilize it for foreign service.

Mr. BIGGAR pointed out that, while the population of Ireland was steadily diminishing, the Police Force required for keeping the diminished population in subjection was steadily increasing.

He had to complain that during the July anniversaries, in conflicts which had arisen between Catholics and Protestants in Belfast and elsewhere, the police had failed to do their duty, and had involved the towns in the liability to pay damages. If the police had done their duty, the riots might have been prevented; but instead they looked on while the riots broke out, and then they interfered with persons who had nothing to do with them. In carrying out the Prevention of Crime Act in Cavan, too, the police alienated the people by the manner in which they had carried out the searches for arms in the homes of widows and harmless persons. That was the kind of Force which it was now proposed to favour, although they were already entitled to large pensions, and might retire at a comparatively early age and take up another walk in life. It was not fair to compare the position of the officers with that of officers in the Army, because the latter had to change their abodes at short notice, and to submit to hardships and exposures from which the officers of the Constabulary were free.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY said, he thought that the hon. Member who had just sat down (Mr. Biggar) hardly took a fair view of the claim of the officers to an increase of pay. The value of money had increased very much of late years, and it was impossible now for Constabulary officers to maintain their position and discharge their duties on the same pay they had a few years ago. Not only had the ordinary duties of the officers become heavier, but they had been obliged to assume much heavier duties than they had carried out hitherto, and it was but fair that they should receive remuneration accordingly. He trusted that it was not true that the Government intended abolishing the office of Inspector General. No doubt the Force required constant supervision; but it would be a mistake to abolish that office. He believed it an exaggeration to say that the Police Force was unpopular generally. Their unpopularity did not extend beyond the disturbed districts. It was true that sometimes the police had acted with harshness. He regretted that those things should have occurred; but cases of that character were comparatively few. He ventured to say that the Constabulary had received in many instances great provocation from the mob, and that they were not open to many of the charges which some hon. Members had brought against them.

Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

MATTER *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That it is expedient to amend the Acts regulating the Pay, Pensions, and Retirement of certain Officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary Force."—(*Mr. Trevelyan.*)

MR. SEXTON said, he wished for some information as to the course the Government proposed to take, not only with reference to this proposal, but to the Estimates for the year. The discontent of the Constabulary Force in Ireland, so far as it appeared on the surface, existed among the men, as well as the officers. That was the view which he thought would be generally taken among the men when they heard of this proposal. The Irish Members would avail themselves of the opportunity which the Government had given them to consider this new proposal in its several bearings upon the condition of the Force; and he was bound to acknowledge the fulness and courtesy which had distinguished the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland.

MR. TREVELYAN said, he would admit that his explanations were more directed towards the position of the officers, because the alterations which it was proposed to make in the allowances to the men were extremely minute—so minute, that to state each special alteration would be a waste of time; but the general effect of them would, he believed, be satisfactory to the men. The last words of the Report upon this subject were—

"In expressing our opinions respecting the alterations we consider necessary in the allowances for men and officers, we would beg to direct Your Excellency's attention to that part of the evidence which described the losses they have sustained in two years, by duties when the expenses were much in excess of the allowances, in some cases the men having exhausted their savings. They should be in future placed in such a position as to be able to discharge their duties, especially those of an exceptional nature, without pecuniary loss to the men, and especially if allowances are granted they should be made to some extent retrospective."

Increased allowances had been made to the men, and he had not detailed them, because they would have taken up a great deal of time. With regard to the retrospective pay, the Irish Government came to the conclusion that they could not adopt that recommendation; but, that the men should not suffer from these allowances not being made retrospective, they had decided to place them in a better position. They had determined to ask Parliament for a Vote of £180,000 by way of a subsidy to the men. That Vote he hoped to be able to ask the House to grant to-morrow.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

House *resumed.*

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow.*

CUSTOMS AND INLAND REVENUE BILL.—[Bill 239.]

(*Mr. Playfair, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Frederick Cavendish.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

Clause 5 (Grant of duty on imitations of coffee and on coffee mixtures).

Mr. COURTNEY said, that after considering the representation made by the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) the Government had come to the conclusion to amend the Bill so as to provide for the sale of packets of coffee mixture of ¼ lb. instead of limiting the sale to packets of ½ lb. and multiples of that quantity. He would, therefore, move that this alteration should be made, and a corresponding alteration of the duty.

On the Motion of Mr. Courtney, the following Amendments made:—In page 2, line 13, leave out "half," and insert "quarter;" and in line 20, leave out "*penny,*" and insert "*halfpenny.*"

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 11 (Grant of duties of income tax).

Mr. WARTON moved to amend the clause by substituting 2¼*d.* for 2⅜*d.* in order to remove a disadvantage which Scotland and Ireland laboured under as compared with England in regard to the levying of that tax.

Amendment proposed,

In page 5, line 6, to leave out the words "three-eighths of a penny," in order to insert the words "one farthing."—(*Mr. Warton,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words 'three-eighths of a penny' stand part of the Bill."

Mr. COURTNEY said, that although, in the case of Scotland and Ireland, the allocation of the tax proceeded on a somewhat different method from that adopted in England, the two former countries suffered no practical injustice in the matter.

Mr. BIGGAR supported the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) as assessing the Income Tax more fairly towards Ireland and Scotland than the Bill would do as it now stood.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK said, the Scotch and Irish Income Tax farmers now paid less than the English; and if the question was raised at all, it might well be asked whether they should not be put on the same footing as their English brethren?

Mr. CALLAN said, that, in his opinion, unless some explanation were given from the Treasury Bench why the Irish farmers should be placed at a disadvantage, a division should be taken on the Amendment.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 115; Noes 22: Majority 93.—(Div. List, No. 310.)

Clause *agreed to.*

Bill to be read the third time *To-morrow.*

ENTAIL (SCOTLAND) BILL [*Lords.*]

(*The Lord Advocate.*)

[BILL 248.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

Mr. BIGGAR: Sir, with regard to this Entail Bill for Scotland, I do not think that, as far as my memory serves me, it has been explained at all to the House; and I think it is a very bad precedent for the Government to bring forward a Bill of such importance without giving any explanation whatever with regard to the provisions of the Bill, or what is attempted to be done by it. This question of entail is one of a complicated nature, and not only is it one of a complicated nature, but this Bill raises the question of the desirability or otherwise of passing a law of this sort. I would say for myself that I think there is nothing more natural than that a person who amasses a large amount of property should be disposed to think that it should be entailed for his family, and that the property which he has amassed by honest industry should be continued in his family for generation after generation. Not only so, but that being one of the matters which is said to be very much implanted in the human breast, I think that a Bill of such magnitude should not be brought forward without proper explanation, and at a time when there is no possibility at all of examining into its provisions. The Bill is a very technical and complicated one, and it seems that it is very unreasonable that it should be carried forward; and I would be disposed also to say that, on general grounds, I am very much opposed to fragmentary reforms in the Land Laws. Even suppose it were conceded—which I do not all concede for myself — that it is desirable that an amendment of the Land Laws should take place, I am personally very much opposed to fragmentary reform, and for this reason, that reforms of a fragmentary nature lessen the chance of valuable reforms in the law. I believe in great reforms of the law; but I do not believe at all in these reforms of a small nature, and the same principle, in my opinion, applies not only to the law with regard to land, but applies equally with regard to all questions. One of the most pernicious customs in this House is the system of asking for small reforms on branches of great questions; and I think it is undesirable, for this reason, that any reform in the English or Scotch Land Laws should take place at this moment. But there is another question with regard to this Law of Entail in which I differ strongly, and have differed very much from some of my political Friends, and it is this. General experience is this—that landowners who own large estates are, as a rule, much more liberal in their dealings with their tenants than small landowners are. What is likely to result if you do away with the Law of Entail? The result will be you will divide large properties into small properties. Each of the persons who gets a small share of a large property thinks that he is entitled to assume the same social position as the person who had the large property. And, Mr. Speaker, what follows, as a matter of course? It follows, as a matter of course——

And it being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow.*

SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Resolutions [1st August] *reported.*

Mr. CALLAN asked, if any inquiries had been made by the Government as to arrangements to be made for a Catholic chaplain to supply the religious wants of the soldiers and sailors despatched to the East?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, in reply, said, that the Admiralty had communicated with the War Department to ascertain what they were doing; and the result was that, as a first step, they had communicated with the Catholic Bishop of Portsmouth, who was well acquainted with the circumstances of the Levant, asking his opinion as to the existing supply of Roman Catholic clergymen at Alexandria, and upon his reply further steps would be taken.

Resolutions *agreed to.*

And it being Six of the clock, the House was adjourned without Question first put till *To-morrow.*

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 3rd August, 1882.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*First Reading*—Educational Endowments (Scotland) * (220); Poor Law Amendment * (221).

Second Reading — Civil Imprisonment (Scotland) (208); Electric Lighting (212); Turnpike Acts Continuance * (198).

Report—Bills of Sale Act (1878) Amendment * (203); Local Government (Gas) Provisional Order * (144).

Third Reading—Local Government Provisional Orders * (No. 5) (162), and *passed.*

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—ALLEGED MISCONDUCT OF A PICKET OF THE 60TH RIFLES.—QUESTION.

VISCOUNT BARRINGTON: I wish to ask the noble Earl the Under Secretary of State for War a Question of which I have given him private Notice. It is, Whether he has received any confirmation as to the alleged scare in regard to a picket of the 60th Rifles, which occurred the night before last?

THE EARL OF MORLEY: My Lords, I have great pleasure in informing the noble Lord that, so far from there being any confirmation of the unfortunate rumour which appeared in one of the daily papers yesterday, we have received a telegram from General Sir Archibald Alison which completely refutes that rumour. The telegram has already been published in the morning papers; but I think it would be satisfactory to the House if I read it to your Lordships—

"Alexandria, August 2, 6.25 p.m.

"Left front picket of Ramleh lines driven in by body of Arabi's cavalry at 2 o'clock this morning. Picket maintained its position 80 yards in rear of its original post. Firing continued some time, and Arabi's men shortly withdrew. Post re-occupied. No casualty."

LORD VIVIAN: Can the noble Earl give any details of the affair?

THE EARL OF MORLEY: Those are the only details which we have received; but I wish to say one word as to the manner in which this report has appeared in the papers. We all acknowledge the great service which newspapers render in time of war. Newspaper correspondents have, I admit, done great services; but in the course of last week, on three separate occasions, rumours of an unsatisfactory character have appeared in the newspapers, which, when explained, were found to be based upon no positive information whatever. The first of these cases referred to an alleged rumour that British soldiers had looted certain houses at Ramleh. The second rumour, to which was given great prominence, was of an alleged British defeat, mentioning the losses which had occurred; and, as the news in this case came from Cairo, it was obviously unreliable. The report of the third rumour was published in one of the newspapers of yesterday. I can only say that these reports, founded, as I have said, upon insufficient evidence, or, as in some cases, upon no evidence at all, cannot but be prejudicial to the Public Service, and must be very disheartening to the gallant soldiers who are made the subject of them. My Lords, I would venture as strongly as possible to appeal to the patriotism of those gentlemen who have the control of these newspapers at home to hold their hands before they introduce into their journals rumours and reports of this kind, without having trustworthy evidence to guide them. I am sure that I need not appeal to them, as my right hon. Friend (Mr. Childers) did in the other House a day or two ago, that, in times like the present, they should, beyond all things, be animated by the same patriotic motives that animate your Lordships and all the rest of the country, and should not do that which I cannot but think must be most prejudicial to the public interest.

THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE: My Lords, I am very glad that this Question has been put, and I am very glad to hear the straightforward and manly answer that has been given to it by the noble Earl—an answer which, I am sure, must be most satisfactory to your Lordships. The fact is, that in times of excitement like this, every Englishman has to do his duty. It is not the Army alone that is concerned, but every civilian and everybody who takes an interest in the matter, and who puts himself forward, whether as a newspaper correspondent, or in any other public capacity, in which he gives information, becomes really a participator in what is going on, and he ought to be as careful in what he says and does in his own individual capacity as those more immediately connected with the conduct of the operations. Now, my Lords, as the noble Earl has just stated, on two or three occasions sensational statements have been put forward, which have been proved to be not only exaggerated, but positively false and untrue. I do not for one moment mean to say that gentlemen connected with the Press who put these statements forward were not under the impression when they sent them that they were correct; but in camps and in times of excitement every sort of statement is put forward. A man comes from the front and says that this has happened or that has happened, and if you repeat all this gossip—for it is nothing more—it goes back to the base of the Army; why, every sort of confusion will arise out of it. I contend at the present moment that those gentlemen who have gone out to Egypt to report for the public journals have a very grave and responsible duty to perform, and not only they, but their employers, the gentlemen who are the editors and proprietors of the daily journals. I am one of those who think that it is of great advantage that everything should be made public; but on occasions like this it is of the utmost consequence that nothing should be stated that is not true; and, therefore, I contend that those gentlemen at home who supervise these statements that come from the seat of war are responsible that they should not allow anything to go into their journals on the subject, unless they are convinced that they are based on truth and justice. Take this case, for instance; it was stated distinctly that the Palace of Ramleh had been plundered by our troops. This was a very grave imputation; but there was not a word of truth in the report. Whatever looting took place was done by Native Egyptians. Whether it was done by the Khedive's own servants or by any other Native Egyptians does not signify—but, at all events, it was not done by our troops. What happens when these reports are published? They go all over the world. If they merely came to England it would not so much signify; but they go all over the world, and make it appear that our troops are perfectly undisciplined and unfitted in every respect to take the field. Well, a statement of this kind has been made about a miserable little outpost affair as far as I can make out. From the telegram just read, it appears that there was an outpost, and from that outpost a picket, consisting of a corporal and six men, was thrown forward. It was a very foggy morning, and by some accident the enemy—the Egyptians—approached the picket without being perceived, and the moment they were perceived the corporal and the six men did their duty. They had been sent forward for the purpose of obtaining information; but in consequence of the foggy state of the atmosphere, they had not been able to get that information, and they finally retired upon their main body, and this has been made to appear to be a great defeat. It is perfectly monstrous. If this sort of thing is to be told now, what will happen, supposing these operations to take wide dimensions? If a miserable outpost affair is to be exaggerated into a great defeat, suppose that a whole company happens to be sacrificed—for we must be prepared to hear of these things occurring in war—what will happen then? What report shall we hear then? It is, therefore, important that every Englishman, whether military or civilian, should do his duty by his country; and I do appeal to the editors of the Press who are loyal, and always ready to support the interests of the Crown and country, not to allow to appear in their journals these sensational articles for the mere object of having them sold in the streets by a lot of little boys late at night. I am sorry to say that I have myself sometimes been taken in by them. I hope this little incident may have a good effect; and I would go further and say that if these sensational telegrams are sent home and found not to be correct, the gentlemen who employ these correspondents will be the first to withdraw them from the seat of war, and thus show their dissatisfaction at the manner in which they discharge their duties, which are very important and very serious, and very detrimental to the public interest if not conducted with great care, prudence, and judgment.

CIVIL IMPRISONMENT (SCOTLAND) BILL.—(No. 208.)

(*The Earl of Rosebery.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

The Earl of ROSEBERY, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, the introduction of this measure was due to the public spirit of Dr. Cameron, one of the Members for the City of Glasgow. It had been referred to a Select Committee of Scotch Members, presided over by the Lord Advocate, from whom it had come up in its present form. He would not trouble their Lordships by going into the details of the Bill; but would simply state that it made important changes in the law of imprisonment in the case of husbands who neglected to aliment their wives or parent their children, whether legitimate or illegitimate. The law of Scotland at present enabled a creditor to imprison a debtor under the Law of Aliment, and if that debtor had no means or friends his imprisonment was practically only limited by the discretion or vindictiveness of the creditor. He had seen persons in prison for 13 months under an alimentary order. Under the Bill it was proposed that, instead of, as at present, the debtor being imprisoned at the suit and at the expense of the creditor, in future it should be at the expense of the public and at the discretion of the Judge. The second form of imprisonment with which the Bill dealt was a Scottish process known by the name of "law burrows," by which, if one used words or threats of bodily harm, they might, on sworn information, be imprisoned for an indefinite period. This Bill practically assimilated the law of Scotland to the law of England, which gave the alternative of binding an accused party over to keep the peace. The third form was imprisonment for non-payment of rates, which was limited under the Bill to six weeks. Where the rates were of sufficient value to make a person willing to incur imprisonment for six weeks in order to avoid their payment, the law gave ample power to attach the property of the debtor.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª." —(*The Earl of Rosebery.*)

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House *To-morrow.*

ELECTRIC LIGHTING BILL.—(No. 212.)

(*The Lord Sudeley.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD SUDELEY, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that the enormous growth of electric lighting in this country, the number of Companies which had been formed for the purpose of furnishing electric light, and the large amount of capital which had been invested in these concerns were sufficient grounds for legislation on this subject, as well as to prevent the growth of monopolies as against the public interest, and to take care that Corporations should have facilities, if they thought it desirable, to purchase these undertakings at a fair rate some future time. This was an attempt on the part of the Board of Trade to grapple with the whole question of the administration of electrical supply—at present in its infancy; and by means of a general Bill to deal with it not only in its present stage, but in its future development. The Gas and Water Companies showed how soon an enormous monopoly might grow up adversely to the public interest. Thus, trading Companies had frequently obtained powers under their Acts of Parliament, which had not always been used for the benefit of the consumer, who had suffered, not only in the price paid, but in the quality and quantity of the article he paid for. In these circumstances, the Government had given great consideration to this subject, and they had come to the conclusion that there should be a central authority who could be put in motion at less expense than would be incurred in obtaining an Act of Parliament. They had thought that the Board of Trade would be a fitting central authority, and it was determined that that Board should grant licences to such Companies as they might think fit, and to make Provisional Orders. Early in this Session a number of Electric Lighting Bills had been introduced, and they had been referred, together with this Government measure, to a Select Committee, where they were very carefully considered. Several Amendments were made in the Government Bill, and the Private Bills had been put aside until this Bill should become law. The representatives of all these Companies were examined before the Select Committee. He was aware that it had been stated that the representatives of the Gas Companies had complained that they had not received proper consideration; but the fact was that, although they all withdrew immediately the Preamble of the Bill had been declared proved, their case was most thoroughly examined in all its bearings, as the counsel for the Municipal Corporations supplying gas remained and argued their case before the Committee, so that it could not be said that the gas interests were not fairly considered. In 1879, a Select Committee went very thoroughly into the whole question of electric lighting, and this Bill was based on their Report. In that Report they stated that—

> "It is desirable that local authorities should have power to give facilities to companies or private individuals to conduct experiments. Any

> monopoly given to a private company should be restricted to the short period required to remunerate them for the undertaking, with a reversionary right in the municipal authority to purchase the plant and machinery on easy terms. The Legislature should show its willingness, when the demand arises, to give all reasonable powers for the full development of electricity as a source of power and light."

Since then there had been a very great development of electricity; but there was no doubt that electric power was still in its experimental stage; and it was desirable that facilities should be given to Companies or private individuals to carry on experiments in the simplest and cheapest manner. The leading features of that Bill were—first, that it would prevent any monopoly growing up against the interest of the consumers; and next that it would provide for the making of experiments. Power was given by the Bill to the Board of Trade to grant licences to Companies and private individuals for a period of five years, such licences only to be granted with the concurrence of the local authority. In the interest of the general public it was desirable that the process of obtaining licences should be simple and cheap. If the Companies had to go before Parliament, and to incur an expense of £10,000 or £20,000, the whole question of electricity was likely to be hung up for years. The undertakers, on applying to the Board of Trade, would have to show that they had a good case, and that the character of their scheme was good. The Board of Trade would institute an inquiry, and, with the concurrence of the local authority, would grant a licence. The measure further provided that at the end of 15 years it should be open to the local authority to purchase the plant and machinery of the Company on fair and reasonable terms, the basis of the purchase being the actual value of the existing plant without compensation for future profit. The price to be given for the undertaking was to be the fair market value, to be ascertained in the manner sketched out in the Bill, without goodwill; it would be the fair market price less depreciation—such a price as would be obtained by the Company if they were selling to another Company without goodwill and with a reasonable allowance for wear and tear. In regard to the period of 15 years, it should be remembered that in the case of a patent the monopoly was given for 14 years only, but the present Bill gave one year beyond that time. A precedent for this provision had been laid down in the Tramways Act, although in that case the period was 21 years. Clause 16 afforded protection to the public by providing that persons who were supplied with electricity should be supplied on the same terms. It was also provided that the consumers should have power to use what form of lamp they liked, in the same way as in case of gas. The main objection to the Bill came from the Gas Companies, who naturally opposed electricity, and did not, of course, like a rival. The Gas Companies did not, in so many words, say that they objected to electricity; their objection was to the system of licences, by which they feared that they would be gradually ousted from the field. The reply to that was that the Gas Companies had no monopoly in lighting. That was specially laid down by the Committee of 1879, who stated—

> "Gas Companies, in the opinion of your Committee, have no special claims to be considered as the future distributors of electric light. They possess no monopoly of lighting public streets or private houses beyond that which is given to them by their power of laying pipes in streets. Electric light committed to their care might have a slow development. Besides, though Gas Companies are likely to benefit by the supply of gas to gas-engines which are well suited as machines for producing electric light, the general processes of gas manufacture and supply are quite unlike those needed for the production of electricity as a motor or illuminant."

This view was again adopted by the Committee which sat the other day. If the Gas Companies were allowed to oppose those licences it was clear what would be the result. Persons wishing to supply electricity for experimental purposes would have to apply for powers to Parliament, at a cost of £10,000 or £20,000; and they could hardly do that. When the experimental stage was past, or whenever the local authority was not willing to take the matter up, and a Provisional Order was applied for, the Gas Companies would have the fullest opportunity of appearing before Parliament to state their case. The Select Committee which sat the other day were of opinion that if the proposed licences were done away with, and if the introduction of electricity were thrown upon the Gas Companies, it would be highly detrimental to the public interest. If the Bill passed, the Board of Trade would be able to take care that such regulations were made as would provide for the interests of the public, and would be able to control the limitation and conditions of supply, and to take such steps as were necessary for the public safety. It was thought most desirable that they should not be in the position in which they were placed as regards the administration of railways, where it was their duty to criticize with no power to correct, and to make recommendations which they could not enforce. If the present terms failed to give that encouragement to electrical supply which it was the object of the Board of Trade to afford, those terms would hereafter have to be altered. It could never be to the public interest, neither was it the wish of the Government or Parliament, to strangle a useful enterprize by refusing it proper means of remuneration. The Select Committee which sat in the other House was a very strong and representative one. It was presided over by Mr. Edward Stanhope, and had given great attention to all the details of the Bill. He would not now trouble their Lordships with any further particulars; but, bearing in mind its great public importance, he trusted they would give a second reading to the measure.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."—(*The Lord Sudeley.*)

Lord EMLY regretted that a Bill of such importance should come before their Lordships at so late a period of the Session, when it was impossible for it to receive the advantage of the deliberations of a Select Committee. But he thought their Lordships all agreed that the Board of Trade, upon whom important powers were to be conferred, possessed the confidence of the public. It was natural that the Bill should be opposed by Gas Companies; but he failed to see what *locus standi* they had for their objections any more than the Stage Coach Companies when railways were first introduced. The great difficulty in the Bill was, of course, the 27th—the Purchase Clause. A Committee of their Lordships' House had reported that every facility should be given to the extension of electric lighting. From the nature of the case all operations in that direction must, for some time to come, be experimental. So much uncertainty still obscured many important questions connected with electricity—for instance, its capability of being stored, its generation by water power, and so forth—that it was impossible that any undertaking could be immediately successful. Under these circumstances, it seemed to him that a power of purchase exerciseable by the local authorities after 15 years—that was, at the time when the undertaking would become profitable—was likely to deter any person from embarking on any scheme contemplated by the Bill. It would be possible, however, to remedy some of the defects of the measure in Committee.

The Earl of CRAWFORD and BALCARRES said, he would like to draw their Lordships' attention to the fact that the clause to which the noble Lord (Lord Emly) referred established a principle that very nearly approached confiscation. The principle it established was that a person should not invest money in this kind of property for a longer period than 15 years. Noble Lords would probably be aware that when a piece of machinery was laid down in a certain place for a definite object, if it had only been worked for a period of three weeks and it was desired to sell it, its value had decreased 50 per cent. It was impossible to sell machinery again at a remunerative price after it had been once placed and used, and this was an important point to consider in connection with the fair valuation of the plant of a Company. He would like to ask the Government whether this Bill was to be taken as a precedent; because if it was it would be a matter of extreme danger, as local authorities might want to buy up the undertakings of Gas and Water Companies at the value of the pipes. He did not wish to oppose the second reading, as the subject was one which greatly interested the public. He believed he was right in saying nearly £9,000,000 had been invested in Electric Light Companies; and that, one would imagine, was a reason why Her Majesty's Government should not endeavour by any legislation to completely choke the enterprize at the very commencement. The statement of the noble Lord, that if the Bill did not work well it might be reconsidered, was most reassuring; and if the noble Lord could only say the Government would reconsider the 27th clause touching the point he had alluded to it would give great satisfaction.

The Earl of CAMPERDOWN failed to see that any just objection could be taken to the 27th clause. What they desired to do was to avoid the creation of one of those gigantic monopolies which had been found so detrimental to the public interests in the past. Nothing of the character of confiscation was contemplated. The term confiscation could only be applied to existing property belonging to existing persons. In the present case, there was neither one nor the other. Again, no objection could fairly be brought against the limit of time fixed in the Bill. The Companies would have 15 years during which to realize a profit, and if they were not satisfied with the conditions of the undertaking naturally they would not proceed with the work. He would remind the House that many tramways had been constructed on leases running from 14 to 21 years, although some persons had expressed the opinion that they ought to have a 40 years' lease. It was very desirable that, where possible, the lighting of towns should be done by the local authorities; and if such conditions as were imposed by the Bill had been enforced in the case of Gas and Water Companies, enormous sums of money would have been saved to the ratepayers.

Earl CAIRNS said, that this clause was a most material part of the Bill. The noble Lord (Lord Sudeley) had said that many objections had been raised to it on behalf of the Gas Companies. That might be so; but the observations he was going to make were foreign to any question which might interest the Gas Companies. The noble Lord said that all that was intended was to grant a 15 years' lease, and that everyone knew what a 15 years' lease was. But there were very few instances of Parliament having granted a 15 years' lease, such as was now proposed. It was not a very good principle, and they were not armed with such a quantity of precedents as the noble Lord seemed to think. The science of electricity was still in its infancy. If they desired to encourage the development of the science, they must hold out reasonable inducements for that purpose. But what inducements did such a Bill as this hold out? A certain time was fixed, during which the exclusive right was given to a body of persons to light by electricity; but, no matter what expense they might be put to, at the end of that time their plant and machinery were to be bought at a valuation —most probably at very little more than the price of old metal. The noble Lord who had introduced the Bill said the clause had been approved of by the Committee; but he himself did not read the Resolution as expressing approval of it. The local authority was to purchase only the "undertaking," which was a word of art, meaning trade or business. The noble Earl had said it was not intended that the undertaking should be bought as a going concern. Then, why not say so in so many words? Instead of that it was to be bought at so much for the plant and fixtures. Care ought to be taken that there should be no impediment thrown in the way of the development of so important an enterprize, and all he urged was that their Lordships should not pass the Bill in too great a hurry. He should be glad to see the measure proceeded with in other respects if the clause bearing on that point were held over for future consideration. He did not see why it should not stand over until next Session. He could not imagine anything more momentous in the interests of electricity than the effect of this clause.

The Earl of KIMBERLEY observed that the question of confiscation was entirely out of the case, as they could not confiscate that which did not exist. The important question was—Did the terms of this Bill offer a sufficient encouragement to the Electric Light Companies to come forward? In the first place, they had no practical experience at present to guide them; nor was it possible to fix any precise limit as to profits. In this Bill there was no limitation of profits. There had been an attempt by Act of Parliament in the case of the Gas Companies to check the monopoly by a limitation of profits. The case of Tramway Companies was a precedent for the proposition that a lease might be granted for 21 years to a Company, and that at the end of that period the undertaking might be sold to the local authority. He agreed that they ought to be cautious, though cautious in the interests of the public. If ultimately it should be thought desirable to extend the powers of these Companies, that might be done by further legislation. At present this was a mere experiment, the object being to avoid the dangerous monopoly which had been given to Gas and Water Companies. With regard to the Resolution of the Committee, he did not agree that the Bill failed to carry the Resolution into effect. It appeared to him, on the contrary, that Clause 27 gave full effect to that Resolution, the word "undertaking" being expressly used in the clause. In his opinion, there was much to be said in favour of the Bill as it stood, and he hoped their Lordships would agree to the second reading, on the understanding that the points referred to would have full consideration in Committee.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, that the noble Earl had referred to the limitation of profits in the case of the Gas and Water Companies. But there was no analogy between that and compulsory purchase.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY pointed out that the clause was passed as it stood by the Committee.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, the attention of the Committee could hardly have been called to the effect of the words they had employed. He thought that the terms offered to the Electric Companies were not quite fair. As the matter stood, these Companies would have to carry on their undertakings with the full consciousness that all the risks would be theirs, and all the profits would go to the public—that was to say, if they failed no one would come forward to help them, and if they succeeded the municipality would step in and sweep up all the benefits. The noble Earl opposite had said, in defence of the policy of the Bill, that they should be very cautious on behalf of the public. For his part, he apprehended that their first duty was to consult the interests of the public, not by thinking merely of the profits which the municipality might or might not make some 15 years hence, but by thinking how soon good would come to the consumers of an article which would benefit them enormously. It was the public who would suffer if these Companies were not allowed to come into the field, and if this new instrument of power, which science had discovered, were compelled to remain useless and unfruitful for several years. The noble Earl opposite talked about going to Parliament next year. But they all knew the difficulty that existed in bringing any legislative undertaking to completion.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he heard with some little surprise the suggestion of his noble and learned Friend (Earl Cairns) that the Bill should be passed, leaving out the Purchase Clause. It was most necessary that it should be known what the terms of purchase were to be. He thought that he could reassure his noble Friends by stating some facts which were in the possession of the Government. There was no wish to discourage the enterprize in any way; but, at the same time, they were anxious not to repeat the fatal errors which were made in the cases of the Gas and Water Companies. It would, no doubt, be satisfactory to noble Lords to know that not only had all the Companies expressed themselves as satisfied with the arrangements proposed in the Bill, but the Board of Trade had information to the effect that one Company, when the Bill passed, would make as many as 95 applications; and there were besides a great number of cases where applications were ready to be made on the footing of the Bill, showing that the persons who best understood the matter and were most interested would not be discouraged in their enterprizes if the Bill passed in its present form. It must be remembered that the Bill contained no limitation as to profit; and he thought that the term of 15 years would give the Companies a tolerably certain prospect of a good harvest being made.

LORD ABERDARE held that it was absurd to contend that the properties of the Electric Lighting Companies could be bought as old iron at the expiration of the term mentioned in the Bill. They would have to be looked upon as going concerns which would increase in value.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN thought that some limitation should be put upon the amount of profit that could be made by the Electric Lighting Companies.

EARL FORTESCUE thought it would be better to err on the side of precaution; but was understood to add that the terms of the Bill would discourage the application of science in this direction as freely as it was applied in others.

LORD TRURO said, that this Bill was not intended to diminish in any way the profits of the Electric Lighting Companies. The action of the Gas Companies in former years had, no doubt, caused some apprehension as to what might happen in the present case; but, as he understood the Bill, the Government were fully prepared to ensure the Companies the legitimate profits which all Companies who embarked in schemes of such a speculative character had a right to expect.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH said, that it should be remembered that these Companies would have to compete with Gas Companies, who already possessed very extensive powers, towards whom Parliament had been too liberal; whereas by this Bill it was proposed to be the reverse, as indicated by noble Lords representing the Government.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* next.

EGYPT—THE RIOTS AT ALEXANDRIA —MASSACRE OF EUROPEANS.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

EARL DE LA WARR asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether there is any Return of the number of Europeans and the number of Egyptians who were killed in the massacre at Alexandria on the 11th of June; and, if so, whether it can be laid on the Table of the House? The noble Earl said, he was desirous of bringing the matter under their Lordships' notice, as statements had been made by Her Majesty's Government which would lead to the impression that the number of persons who were massacred was far below what recent inquiries had shown to be the probable truth. Moreover, Her Majesty's Government had informed the country that the origin of the massacre was not political; but if any outbreak with such fearful consequences ever originated from political causes, it was surely so in this case. There could not be a doubt that the population of Alexandria was highly irritated by the presence of the British and French Fleets, and to them there was every appearance that the affair of Tunis was about to be re-enacted in Egypt. It was impossible to release Her Majesty's Government from a large share of responsibility in this matter. It must be presumed there were reasons for the step which was taken; but he had never been able to understand why the British Fleet was sent at that time to Alexandria, especially after the repeated remonstrance of the Porte, who saw the consequences that would ensue. It had been said that it was done to protect British subjects; but it did not require a Fleet of iron-clads to do this. The presence of such a Fleet, under the circumstances, could only be regarded as a menace, which had produced consequences which could not but be deeply deplored. He trusted Her Majesty's Government would be able to give a detailed Return of the loss of life at Alexandria on the 11th of June.

EARL GRANVILLE: In answer to the noble Earl, I may say, on behalf of the Government, that we have no Report upon the subject; but I am told that about 20 Europeans of different nationalities lost their lives. We have no precise information, nor any information as to the number of Egyptians killed. The noble Earl has reminded the House that I stated at the time that the massacre was of a non-political character. That was the fact upon the first occasion when it was mentioned, and it was the impression of the Admiral at first; but it was distinctly stated by Mr. Gladstone, in the other House of Parliament, that it was subsequently discovered that it had been encouraged by the Military Party in Egypt. I am entirely of a different opinion to the noble Earl as to the effect produced by the presence of the Fleet at Alexandria. A Member of Parliament, the other day, who is intimately acquainted with Egyptian affairs, brought forward some conclusive evidence to show why these things should not be connected at all.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—THE MILITIA ACT, 1875.—QUESTION.

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY rose, and called attention to the 50th clause of the Militia Voluntary Enlistment Act (1875), in regard to militia regiments volunteering their services for the garrisoning of Channel and Mediterranean stations; and asked the Under Secretary of State for War, Whether he can state, in the terms of the last three lines of that clause, that—

> "No commanding officer has certified any voluntary offer (*i.e.*, on the part of his regi-

ment) previously to his having explained to every person offering so to serve that the offer is to be purely voluntary on his part;"

he would ask whether, in consideration of the proved disadvantages in regard to maintaining both the numerical strength and the efficiency of militia regiments caused by the regulations of last year, it has yet been decided (as already announced to be in contemplation by the Under Secretary of State for War) to revert to the regulations of preceding years; whether it is intended to give those militiamen who are to be kept out 56 days this year an extra bounty of £1, or else in the case of married men some separation allowance; whether the Queen's Regulations of 1881 for Her Majesty's Military Forces are to be taken to supersede the Militia Regulations of 1880 in cases where they do not harmonize together as far as the militia is concerned?

The Marquess of LOTHIAN, before the Question was answered, expressed a strong opinion that it was very undesirable that the volunteering of the Militia should be asked for by officers commanding battalions without the sanction of the Secretary of State for War or the military authorities, as it put those regiments whose services were not thus asked for in an invidious position. Speaking for his own regiment, although he had not thought right to call upon them to volunteer for foreign service, he knew for certain that they were ready and anxious to do so. The new system of drilling at military depôts had not been a success, but unpopular—unpopular to such an extent as to interfere seriously with recruiting. He did not wish to cast any blame on those in command of depôts, but upon the system. The work the men were put to during the course of the preliminary drill was not the work for which they were intended.

The Earl of MORLEY: In answer to the Questions put to me by the noble Earl opposite, I have to say that I regret very much that the answer I gave to his Question 10 days ago was so obscure that he has had to repeat the Question to-day. No Militia regiments are at present embodied, nor is there any intention of embodying them, or of employing them out of this country. It is true that many commanding officers have written to the War Office expressing the readiness of their regiments to serve where they may be required. These offers have, I have no doubt, been made by the Militia officers from a general knowledge of the feelings which animate the officers and men under their command. But I need hardly say that before such offers could be officially considered, the regiments would have to be embodied and proper opportunities would be given to the men to volunteer in accordance with the section of the Militia Act referred to in the noble Earl's Question, which will be strictly adhered to. I cannot but think that the offers which we have received evince a highly creditable spirit on the part of the Militia, and prove the alacrity, which was never doubted, to respond to any demands which may, in case of need, be made upon them. That spirit, I am sure, is shared by all the regiments of Militia, although many of them have not as yet thought fit to make any communication on the subject. The selection for service will be made from all the regiments, and will not in any way be confined to those who have already volunteered. As regards the second Question, I explained the other day that the system of drilling recruits on enrolment has not been in operation for a year, and is only applied to regiments which have their head-quarters at the regimental depôts. What I then said was that when the Reports are received we shall have an opportunity of judging how the new system has succeeded, and whether it requires modification. At present, of course, these Reports have not been received; and I cannot by any means admit that the disadvantages of the new system have been proved, as the noble Earl asserts in his Question. With regard to the third Question, no additional bounty will be granted to Militiamen because the period of their training has been prolonged beyond the usual time. The bounty has always remained the same, whether the period of training has been 21, 27, or 56 days. The training can be prolonged by Order in Council, and as this is a part of the engagements of all Militiamen, it is unreasonable to grant an additional sum to them for performing their engagement. Separation allowances have never been granted to Militiamen because the training is prolonged. Every facility, however, will be given to the men to remit a portion of their pay to their families. As to the noble Earl's fourth Question, the Queen's

Regulations of 1881 do not supersede the Militia Regulations of 1880. Clause 42 of Army Circulars, 1881, governs this question, and runs—

> "In all matters which are not detailed in the Regulations for the Militia, 1880, commanding officers will be guided by the Queen's Regulations and Orders for the Army by the field exercise and by the rifle exercises and musketry instructions."

House adjourned at half past Six o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 3rd August, 1882.

MINUTES.]—Supply—*considered in Committee*—Civil Service Estimates, Class II.—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments, Votes 34 to 36.

Private Bill (*by Order*)—*Considered as amended*—*Third Reading*—Ionian Bank *, and *passed.*

Public Bills—*Resolution* [August 2] *reported*—*Ordered*—*First Reading*—Royal Irish Constabulary (Pay, &c.) [264].

Second Reading—Merchant Shipping (Mercantile Marine Fund) [256]; Revenue, Friendly Societies, and National Debt [260]; Intermediate Education (Ireland) * [258].

Committee—Government Annuities and Assurance [190]—R.P.; Allotments (*re-comm.*) [227]—R.P.

Committee—*Report*—Reserve Forces Acts Consolidation * [124]; Militia Acts Consolidation * [123]; Parcel Post [254]; Bombay Civil Fund [225]; Artizans' Dwellings [256].

Third Reading—Customs and Inland Revenue [239], and *passed.*

Withdrawn—Settlement and Removal Law Amendment * [194]; Police * [197].

QUESTIONS.

BRAZIL — THE ST. JOHN DEL REY MINING COMPANY — SLAVE-HOLDING BY ENGLISH SUBJECTS.

Mr. M'COAN asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been called to a Memorandum recently issued by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, showing that some two hundred negroes are now held in slavery in Brazil by the St. John del Rey Mining Company, an English Company working under English Law, and the head office of which is in London; and, whether, if the facts be as stated by the Society, the directors of the Company in question being British subjects are not liable to criminal prosecution under the Slave Trade Act of 1873?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I observe that this Question is substantially the same as was asked of the Attorney General by my hon. Friend the Member for South Durham (Sir Joseph Pease); and as it is a legal Question I shall refer the hon. Gentleman to the Answer of the Attorney General.

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—FALSE CHARGE OF ATTACK UPON SUB-CONSTABLE FINNEY.

Mr. SEXTON (for Mr. O'Kelly) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that Sub-Constable Finney, stationed in the iron hut at Derreenavoggy, near Keadue, reported on the night of the 18th of April that he had been fired at by five men on the public road, and that he had returned the fire; whether it did not afterwards appear that this statement was unfounded, and that, instead of being attacked, the sub-constable had waylaid and threatened to shoot five persons; whether on the night in question Sub-Constable Finney had not asked a man named Muldoon to take his (Finney's) revolver, and fire a shot at him; whether, subsequently, he did not stop two men, named Patrick Walsh and John Regan, and, without provocation, present his revolver and threaten to shoot them; whether Messrs. Muldoon, Walsh, and Regan, summoned Sub-Constable Finney before the Keadue Petty Sessions; and, whether, a few days before the trial day, the Crown entered charges against Finney; whether it was suddenly discovered, on the day preceding the trial, that Finney was insane; and why the opinion of the local dispensary doctor was not taken as to alleged insanity of Sub-Constable Finney; whether Finney has since been discharged from the Ballinasloe Lunatic Asylum; and, what steps the Government mean to take in his regard?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I answered the five first Questions now put to me on the 25th ultimo. The hon. Member will see my Answer in *The Times* of the 26th. With regard to the Question why the local dispensary doctor was not consulted, the Sub-Inspector explains that when he received information that the constable was insane he ordered him into head-quarters in Boyle at once, as he considered it much safer to have him there than in a confined hut. From a Report dated the 31st of July, I learn that the sub-constable, though not then discharged from the asylum, has been pronounced almost convalescent, and is about to be discharged. As regards the further steps to be taken with respect to him, I beg to say that having been placed in a lunatic asylum, legally certified as a dangerous lunatic, he cannot be retained in the Constabulary, and must accordingly be discharged.

POST OFFICE—REPLY POST CARDS AND TELEGRAMS.

Mr. R. H. PAGET asked the Postmaster General, If he will be good enough to inform the House when the Reply Post Cards will be issued; and, if, as a step in the direction of reduced cost of telegrams, he can see his way to allow a telegram of twenty words, answer prepaid, to be sent for one shilling and sixpence?

Mr. FAWCETT: Sir, the Inland reply Post Card will be ready for use on Monday, the 2nd of October. I may take this opportunity of stating that it has been arranged about the same time to issue foreign reply Post Cards, which will be available for most of the countries in the Postal Union. With regard to the latter part of the hon. Member's Question, although I should be very glad when it is thought, in view of financial considerations, that the price of telegrams can be reduced, I do not think it would be expedient to charge a smaller sum for a reply to a message than for the telegram first sent.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—ORANGE MEETING AT ROSSMORE.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, when Major Blair, R.M., went on the platform at the Orange meeting on the 12th July, at Rossmore Park, County Monaghan, he did so in his official capacity; and, whether it is usual for the stipendiaries in command of police drafted to prevent disturbance at meetings to go upon the platform?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The hon. Member is under some misapprehension. Major Blair informs me that he did not go on to the platform at the Orange meeting on the 12th of July.

STATE OF IRELAND—EMPLOYMENT OF SOLDIERS AND MARINES.

Mr. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, On whose recommendation a party of marines, in addition to the ordinary police, is stationed at Aughrim and Kilconnell, county Galway; whether the extra pay or expenses of soldiers or marines is ever levied off a district where the constables in charge of the stations have ever had to report an agrarian outrage to person or property; and, whether he will consider the advisability of restricting as much as possible the use of soldiers or marines?

Mr. TREVELYAN: There are four soldiers at each of the places named in the Question of the hon. Member on duty in aid of the civil power. They are employed there on the application of the special Resident Magistrate. The pay and expenses of soldiers or Marines specially employed on such duty is borne by the Army Votes. Soldiers and Marines will be replaced by Constabulary as soon as the requisite number can be obtained. A Supplementary Estimate has been introduced with this object.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. W. M. MILLER, R.M.

Mr. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that Mr. W. M. Miller, R.M., of Armagh, who for over twenty years has retained the respect and confidence of all classes in his district, by his integrity and independence, has received notice of his compulsory retirement; whether, though growing old, Mr. Miller is still both active and painstaking; if so, on what grounds, and on whose recommendation, the Government are going to supersede him; and, if he can state by whom he will be succeeded?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Mr. Miller was the senior of all the Resident Magistrates, and was one of those whom His Excellency considered should, in the interests of the Public Service, be invited to accept the terms of retirement offered to certain Resident Magistrates on account of age or infirmity. He will be succeeded in Armagh by Major Traill.

THE CHARITY COMMISSIONERS—CONTINUANCE OF THE ENDOWED SCHOOLS COMMISSION.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether it is proposed to bring in a separate Bill to continue the powers of the Charity Commission with regard to endowed schools, or whether the matter will be dealt with in a general Continuance Bill?

Mr. MUNDELLA: It is proposed, Sir, to continue the Endowed Schools Commission for another year in the general Continuance Bill, and during next Session we hope to be able to deal with the whole question.

EGYPT—"CONVICTS" AT ALEXANDRIA.

Mr. HEALY asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether any of the "convicts," whom it is stated were let loose on Alexandria after Arabi's retreat, were caught by the British and punished for burning and pillage; if so, how many; what number are supposed to have been enlarged; and, if anything is known as to what has become of the remainder?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I have to thank the hon. Member for having put off his Question at my request. I am, however, unable to give him any information as to the numbers or fate of convicts released at Alexandria, as the despatches we have received contain no reference to them. All that we know is the fact stated in one of the telegrams, which I read to the House at the time, that the convicts were released on the 12th of July.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked whether it was a fact that the telegram from Sir Beauchamp Seymour, stating that the convicts released by Arabi were setting fire to the town, was sent by the Admiral to the Home Government before Sir Beauchamp Seymour or any British officers had penetrated into Alexandria; and whether he would inquire on what authority Sir Beauchamp Seymour brought that charge against Arabi Pasha?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I think the hon. Member had better give Notice of that Question. My impression is that, at the time the telegram was sent, Sir Beauchamp Seymour had full knowledge of what had occurred at Alexandria.

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—SUB-INSPECTOR O'CALLAGHAN.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What was the amount of public money entrusted to Sub-Inspector H. D. O'Callaghan during the period he was stationed at Drogheda; in what it was disposed of by him; if any receipts or vouchers are forthcoming relative to its distribution; and, if so, whether he has any objections to a copy of same being laid upon the Table?

Mr. TREVELYAN: While Sub-Inspector O'Callaghan was stationed in Drogheda, £6,730 of public money was remitted to him for the purpose of defraying the pay and allowances of the men in his district, and other departmental expenditure. He has duly accounted for all the public money entrusted to him, and all the receipts have passed into the Exchequer and Audit Department, except those for the month of May last, which are still in the Constabulary Department.

ALKALI, &c. WORKS REGULATION ACT, 1881—INSPECTORS.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether, under the provisions of the Act of 1881 relating to alkali and other works, the inspector at Manchester and Salford (with one assistant) has charge of a district which extends to and includes the Isle of Wight; whether there are in that district 250 works to be inspected; whether, under the Acts of 1863-74, the number of works allotted to each inspector was about 40; and, whether he can state what measures Her Majesty's Government proposes to take in order to secure that the Act of 1881 shall be effective in its operation?

Mr. DODSON: It is in a certain sense true, Sir, that the district referred to extends to and includes the Isle of Wight; but it is, in reality, two districts—one north and one south—divided among two Inspectors, one of whom is a Sub-Inspector. The present arrangement of districts, however, is altogether provisional, and the final arrangement can only be made after further experience of the amount of work to be done and of the facilities for visitation. In the entire area referred to there may be as many as 250 works; but many of them are very small, and will occupy only a short time in inspection. Under the previous Acts the number of works allotted to each Inspector was about 40; but they were exclusively alkali works, while now many of the additional works, being in the same neighbourhood, can be visited on the same occasion. The measures which I am now taking in organizing a system of inspection will, I trust, secure the effective execution of the Act, and the Chief Inspector has no fear but that such will prove to be the result.

Mr. WARTON (for Mr. Gore-Langton) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether there is any objection to the printing of the register of alkali and other chemical works under the Act of 1881; and, if not now printed, when it will be?

Mr. DODSON: There will be no objection to the printing of a list of the alkali and other works registered under the Act of 1881, and I propose to lay such a list on the Table of the House as a Parliamentary Paper before the close of the Session.

ADULTERATION OF FOOD ACT—ADULTERATED BUTTER AND MILK.

Lord EUSTACE CECIL asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether his attention has been drawn to the Report of Mr. Blyth, Analyst under the Adulteration of Food Act, to the Devonshire Court of Quarter Sessions, dated June 13th 1882, in which, speaking of the adulteration of butter and milk, he compares the difference of limit between the public analysts of 1874 and that of the Somerset House Certificate at the present time; and, whether he proposes to take steps in the interest of the public to raise the standard of purity in both those articles?

Mr. DODSON: Mr. Blyth, in his Report, speaking of the adulteration of butter and milk, compared the difference of limit between the public analysts of 1874 and that of the Somerset House certificate at the present time. There is no doubt as to the difference in limit between the two bodies. The Somerset House analysts, however, are not alone in their opinion, and I am now in communication with them on the subject; but at present I am not prepared to say whether it would be practicable to define any such standard of purity as would effectually protect the public from adulteration on the one hand, and the honest dealer from prosecution on the other, simply because the natural products in which the latter deals may happen to fall below some arbitrary standard of quality.

STATE OF IRELAND—PROCLAMATION OF COUNTY WICKLOW.

Mr. M'COAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in view of the peaceful condition of county Wicklow, as attested by the Judges of Assize and of the County Court, and, as admitted in a recent Return, that the chief or only reason why the county was and remains proclaimed is its "geographical situation," he will recommend to Earl Spencer the withdrawal of that proscription, which affects the constitutional liberty of more than 70,000 people?

Mr. TREVELYAN: As appears from the Parliamentary Return referred to by the hon. Member, His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant quite recently decided that he could not revoke the proscription of the County Wicklow, and I cannot give the recommendation sought for.

Mr. M'COAN said, he must trespass briefly on the time of the House to show the extreme hardship of the case, and to put himself in Order he would conclude with a Motion. The county of Wicklow had been one of the quietest and most law-abiding in Ireland. Under the iron rule of the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), only four men were arrested in the county under the Coercion Act then in force; one of these was an unjust and despotic arrest, and after considerable efforts had been made on behalf of the innocent man, he was at length released. Notwithstanding the small number of arrests in the county, it was proclaimed and was subject to all the hardships of the old Coercion Act, and the still sterner severities of the new one. He had applied to the present Executive, asking whether the outlawry could not be removed, and the reply was that they felt bound to endorse the act of their Predecessors. The fact that Earl Spencer and the present Chief Secretary felt bound to endorse and continue the action of the late Chief Secretary indicated, he thought, the extreme danger that lurked under the present Coercion Act, even as administered by these two Gentlemen. It showed how it might be abused, and how despotism could be practised under it. A Return he had moved for showed that in 18 months there had been 124 offences for which conviction had been obtained, and there had been no complaint of failure to obtain conviction. Of the total of 124, 62 were trumpery cases of threatening letters, and he described them as trumpery on the authority of the Judge of Assize. There were 16 cases of injury to property, one riot and affray; four came under the elastic head of intimidation, and the remainder were trivial offences. The Lord Lieutenant, while gratified with the quietness of the county, said the necessity for its being proclaimed arose from its geographical position, and this should not be regarded as a reflection upon the inhabitants. They, however, did not share the opinion of His Excellency. The charge of Baron Dowse to the Grand Jury at the County Assizes contained expressions of congratulation upon the absence of crime as compared with other counties. There were only five bills to go before them, and three of these were substantially the same offence. Two were for threatening letters, the accused being two boys, aged respectively 14 and 16. The other cases were for petty larceny. Notwithstanding the notorious fact that the county of Wicklow was less touched with the virus—as hon. Members above the Gangway would say—of the Land League teachings, the Lord Lieutenant thought proper, on account of its geographical position, to proclaim the county. To show the consistency of Earl Spencer, although Wicklow was proclaimed on account of being unhappily coterminous with the county of Dublin, at the same time half the county of Carlow, which was coterminous with Wicklow and no less disturbed, was free from proclamation. He believed also that the County Wexford was not proclaimed, although it had the stimulating advantage of being represented by his hon. Friend behind him (Mr. Healy), and although he believed its criminal statistics were much heavier than either those of Wicklow or Carlow. How was it that the anomaly existed in one county and not in the other two? He had hoped that cases of this kind would not have continued under the present Chief Secretary; and he trusted the facts he had adduced would induce the right hon. Gentleman to recommend the Lord Lieutenant to reconsider the matter. He begged to move the adjournment of the House.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. M'Coan.*)

MR. TREVELYAN said, he should best meet the sense of the House by simply stating that he did not propose to continue the discussion of the subject. Districts were proclaimed in the interests of the public safety, and were carefully considered with a view to those interests; and it was certainly not expedient that those who were responsible for the public safety should give the reasons for the proclamations, nor was it consistent with the public safety that they should do so. He could assure the hon. Member that the matter would not be affected, and the withdrawal of a proclamation would not be expedited, by a debate in the House. It would soon be the duty of Lord Spencer and himself to consider whether the proclamation of Wicklow and of other districts should be continued, and they would do so with the utmost desire to relax the administration of the law, wherever it could be done with due regard to the public interests. The process would not be quickened by the prolongation of the debate. He meant no disrespect to the hon. Member by declining to continue the discussion; and he trusted the House would be allowed to proceed with its ordinary Business.

MR. CALLAN said, that almost all Questions asked by Irish Members were inconvenient, and if such an objection were raised on every occasion, they would be precluded from asking any Questions. He certainly thought that the Chief Secretary might state the reasons for which the county of Wicklow had been proclaimed, especially as he had been asked to do so by an hon. Member who had not very strenuously opposed the Coercion Bill. If, as seemed probable, a Dissolution was at hand, he hoped that Irish constituencies and Irishmen in the English constituencies would show whether they approved the conduct of those of their Representatives who had so often been conspicuous for their absence when the Coercion Bill was under discussion. Out of 130 Divisions on the Bill the hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. M'Coan) took part in only about 40. But they all knew that even a worm would turn at last.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—THE BELFAST UNION.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What was the result of the meeting of Belfast guardians on the 1st instant, and to what decision the Local Government Board has arrived regarding the keeping infirm and aged paupers lying at the workhouse gate all night, although they had urgent tickets for admission from the relieving officer?

Mr. TREVELYAN: In consequence of a communication addressed by the Local Government Board to the Board of Guardians of Belfast Union, the Guardians have requested the Local Government Board to institute an inquiry on oath into the matter referred to in this Question, in order to ascertain the exact circumstances of the case; and the Local Government Board have ordered the inquiry asked for, to be conducted by one of their Inspectors.

ARMY—ARMY PAYMASTERS.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether there are now serving any Paymasters in some of the most responsible positions of the Army Pay Department, who have never received either the regulation or over regulation value of their former combatant Captains' commissions, while other Paymasters serving did, previously to or at the time of their appointment, receive the regulation and over regulation value of their former Captains' commissions; whether the former, in comparison with the latter, have discharged Paymasters' duties at a far less cost to the public and income to themselves; and, if they have received an equivalent; whether those officers, notwithstanding their service, have been largely superseded by officers fourteen years their juniors, who will be presently retired with the rank of Colonel and £450 a year, while the former will get only £400 a year and the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel; whether, within the last twelve months, a paymaster having no money invested in former commissions was allowed voluntarily to retire on the same rank and pay as older officers were compelled to accept on compulsory retirement after twenty-four years' service; and, whether, in consideration of the comparative loss of income to those officers and the saving effected by the public during their service, it is intended to give those officers any equivalent, or to repay them on their retirement the price their commissions would have realised when they became paymasters?

Mr. CHILDERS: Sir, in reply to the hon. Member's first Question, I have to state that paymasters who were formerly combatant officers had either sold out or had joined direct from half or full pay. Those who sold out received their sale money from other officers if they sold out before the 1st of November, 1871; from the public, if they sold out subsequently. The answer to the second Question is that this may be the case. An officer who sold out can only count his pay service towards retirement, whereas the officer who joins without selling counts all his service. The answer to the third Question is, Yes. The retired pay of £450 is limited to the rank of chief paymaster. Certain staff paymasters were superseded by their juniors, either because they had passed the limit of age for promotion, or because they were not selected for the higher rank. The answer to the fourth Question is, Yes; and to the fifth, No. The general answer to all these Questions is that perfect faith has been kept with all these officers.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—CORNELIUS DOYLE.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether there exist any special reasons, unknown to the prisoner and his friends, why Cornelius Doyle, of Keelcoloucht, Killorglin, county Kerry, is still detained as a "suspect;" and, if not, whether the Lord Lieutenant will reconsider his case?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Cornelius Doyle's case was considered by the Lord

Lieutenant on the 23rd ultimo, and His Excellency decided that he could not at present order his release.

AFRICA (SOUTH)—THE TRANSVAAL—THE BOERS AND THE NATIVE TRIBES.

MR. ARTHUR PEASE asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether Her Majesty's Government is aware that bodies of Boers have been for some time past levying war on the native tribes on the western border of the Transvaal; armed Boers crossing and re-crossing the borders, and obtaining arms and ammunition within the Transvaal; whether it is true that the natives are prohibited from armed assistance or munitions of war from British territory; whether the attention of the Government has been called to a report of the Volksraad, in which it is admitted that the object of the Boers is to obtain more land from the natives than was given them by the Convention; and, what steps have been taken by the Imperial or Colonial Government to bring these hostilities to a close, and to protect the natives?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Boers and European adventurers, and, I regret to say, also some deserters from the British Army have been and still are taking an active part in alliance with one tribe to levy war on another, stimulated, no doubt, by hopes of plunder both of land and cattle. They have availed themselves frequently of the proximity of the Transvaal frontier to save both themselves and the cattle which they have stolen. The supply of munitions of war is regulated by the laws of the Colony, and both the Cape and the Orange Free State appear from all accounts to have severely enforced their regulations. A suggestion has, however, been made to them whether, on the cessation of actual war between the several tribes, sufficient ammunition should not be sold to the Native Chiefs to enable them to protect themselves from marauders. The Report and Resolution of the Volksraad to which reference is made affirm that the boundary, as laid down in the Convention, is the "inducing cause" of the present disturbances, and recommend that a Commission should be applied for to rectify the boundary, so as to include the territories of the tribes who are being stirred up by these adventurers. It does not appear to me that there is here any connection of cause and effect. The Government have agreed to a proposal that they should contribute to the expenses of a small body of mounted police—to be provided by the Cape Colony, the Transvaal Republic, and the Orange Free State in due proportions—and which will arrest those who are engaged in these illegal acts and carry them across the respective frontiers to be tried by due course of law. The Government have signified, at the same time, that they only join in this action—

> "As a special and exceptional measure, in order to facilitate united action on the part of the local Governments."

They cannot undertake the duty of preserving order on the border, which properly belongs to the Governments of the adjoining countries.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—DISSOLUTION OF THE CARRICK-ON-SUIR BOARD OF GUARDIANS.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Under what circumstances, upon what evidence, and on what authority, the Irish Local Government Board have dissolved the Carrick-on-Suir Board of Guardians, and appointed Vice Guardians to act instead; and, whether he will lay upon the Table Copies of any letters and other official documents on the subject?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Local Government Board have been obliged to dissolve the Carrick-on-Suir Board of Guardians and appoint Vice Guardians to manage the affairs of the Union, because, through the default of the Board of Guardians, their duties have not been duly and effectually discharged according to the intention of the Acts in force for the relief of the destitute poor in Ireland. In dissolving the Board of Guardians the Local Government Board acted under the authority of Section 18 of 10 *Vic.* c. 31. If the hon. Member moves for the Correspondence he can have it.

IRELAND—THE KEEPER OF THE FREEMAN'S ROLL, GALWAY.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether the Keeper of the Freemans' Roll, in the town of Galway, has yet signified his intention of holding a Court this year for the admission of freemen?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, he was not aware whether the Keeper of the Galway Freeman's Roll had signified his intention of holding a Court this year; but he believed that he had not yet announced his intention of holding such a Court for the admission of freemen. The hon. Member asked him a similar Question this time last year, and the Answer he gave then was that the Court should be held on the 1st of September.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR asked whether the right hon. and learned Gentleman did not consider that it was necessary that a Court should be held, and whether the Keeper was not obliged by the laws regulating his office to hold the Court?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, he had no doubt whatever that this officer was obliged, the same as every other officer performing similar duties, to properly discharge them. He believed that, under the Municipal Corporations Act, these officers were compelled to give notice of the holding of the Court in January of each year.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR asked whether, in view of the fact that this officer had allowed his duties in this respect to fall into disuse for the last four or five years, the right hon. and learned Gentleman would correspond with him and warn him of his neglect?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, it was no part of his duty to do so, and he was not sure but if he was to ask that gentleman as to the reasons for the neglect, he would not ask him what right he had to put the question. Notwithstanding this, however, he would, if necessary, cause a communication to be addressed to him.

THE PARKS (METROPOLIS)—SUNDAY BANDS.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether the promoters of the Sunday bands in the Hyde, Victoria, Battersea, and Regent's Parks are permitted by the Department to sell programmes and let seats within the boundaries of the said parks, in aid of the funds to support the bands; whether any evil results have become known to the Department from such sales, &c.; and, whether it is the intention of the Department to allow the present arrangements, whereby the bands are rendered self-supporting, to be continued during the present and succeeding seasons?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: The hon. Member has correctly described the practice which exists and is permitted in the Parks he names in respect of the Sunday bands. I know of no evil which has resulted; on the contrary, I believe they have given innocent enjoyment to many thousands of people, and I have no intention to interfere with them so long as their promoters observe the law.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR asked whether the right hon. Gentleman would use his influence with the Metropolitan Board of Works to extend the boon to the Parks under their direction?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that he had no authority over the Parks under the management of the Metropolitan Board of Works; but he would communicate with the Board on the subject.

LAW AND POLICE—ALLEGED MORMON RIOTS AT HACKNEY.

Mr. PULESTON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the Mormon riot at Hackney, and to previous disturbances at Mormon meetings; and, whether, as the United States Government has declared polygamy to be illegal, some means can be found to prevent the emigration to Utah of young women and others who may be ignorant of the American Law on the subject?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: With reference to the first part of this Question, I may say that I have seen no reports of Mormon riots either at Hackney or elsewhere. I must remark, as regards the latter part of the Question, that I find new duties almost every day thrown on the Home Office; but I have no authority to prevent young women from emigrating to Utah, or any other place, if they please, nor can I inquire into their matrimonial views or their knowledge of the American law.

EGYPT (MILITARY EXPEDITION)—ADMINISTRATION OF MILITARY LAW.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign

Affairs, Whether instructions have been sent to the Military authorities in Egypt respecting the administration of criminal justice during the occupation, with special reference to the capitulations, and the right of subjects of Foreign Powers in Ottoman territory to be judged by their own consuls in criminal cases in which they are defendants, and in which no Ottoman subject is involved? He might, perhaps, ask, at the same time, Whether the attention of the Government has been called to a paragraph in the corrrespondence of the "Daily News" of the 2nd August, stating that Ricciotti Garibaldi is inviting volunteers to support the Insurrection in Egypt; whether such statement is correct; and, if so, whether Italian subjects found in arms against Her Majesty's troops will enjoy the benefits of the capitulations, and be justiciable by their own consuls?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: The rights of subjects of Foreign Powers in Egypt under the Capitulations are well known to the military authorities, and will, no doubt, be respected to the fullest extent that is compatible with the exigencies of a military occupation. Her Majesty's Government have not sent general instructions on the subject, but are prepared to deal with any difficulty which may arise on the subject according to the particular circumstances of the cases which may be reported. With regard to the second Question, I can only say that we have no knowledge of the report to which the hon. Gentleman refers.

Mr. E. STANHOPE asked the Secretary of State for India, If he will lay upon the Table the telegrams quoted by him on Monday, which have passed between himself and the Government of India, on the subject of the contribution out of Indian revenues towards the cost of the expedition to Egypt?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON, in reply, said, that the telegrams in question were so brief as to make it hardly worth while to lay them on the Table of the House. Some of them were in cipher, and it was not very convenient to give accurately telegrams transmitted in that manner. He had no objection, however, to state the purport of the telegrams. On the 24th of July he telegraphed to the Government of India that the Government at home, subject to any representation the Government of India might desire to make, proposed that all the expense of the Indian troops sent to Egypt should be charged on India. On the 26th of July the Council of India telegraphed that they unanimously objected to that proposal, and that they would address to the Government at home a despatch upon the subject. On the 27th the Viceroy telegraphed—

> "We gather from Reuter's telegram that you have applied to Parliament for consent to payment of the expense of the Indian Contingent by Indian revenues. We conclude that the promise given in your telegram of the 24th July, that representations we may desire to make will be considered before final decision is arrived at, holds perfectly good."

He (the Marquess of Hartington) replied—

> "Yes. Resolutions in Parliament are necessary, whatever final decisions may be."

He added, that he thought Indian interests in the Suez Canal justified them in asking the Indian Government to bear a very large proportion of the charge from the Revenue of India. He would take that opportunity of answering the Question which the hon. Member for Bolton (Mr. J. K. Cross) had put on the Paper—namely, whether he would lay the despatch of the Indian Government on the Table. That was not possible, as he had not yet received the despatch. But he would lay it on the Table when he received it, if there was no objection.

Mr. BOURKE asked whether, when the Indian Government sent the telegrams, they were aware of the number of troops that might be required?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: They were preparing a considerably larger force than they are now asked for.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he has remarked, on pages 44 and 45 of Blue Book, 3230, of 1882, that three days before our Consul General's final rupture with the Egyptian Chamber of Delegates, Lord Granville telegraphed to him for a report as to the "precise effect" of granting all the Chamber demanded, namely, the right to vote that part of the Budget which provided for the internal administration of the country, and that his reply was, that the effect would be that—

> "Official salaries not regulated by contract would be under the control of the Chamber, so

that it would be able to abolish the land survey, and dismiss many Europeans;"

and, whether he will state what reply was given by Lord Granville to this telegram between the date of its receipt (January 13th) and the 15th of January, when, as shown in page 48 of the same Blue Book, our Consul General finally repudiated the demand of the Chamber, declined all compromise, and so led to the formation of the National Ministry and succeeding events?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, no instruction in regard to the powers of the Chamber of Notables was sent to Sir Edward Malet between the dates mentioned by my hon. Friend. On the 16th of January the telegram to Lord Lyons of that date (No. 66 in the Blue Book) was repeated to Sir Edward Malet for his guidance. I cannot accept my hon. Friend's version of Sir Edward Malet's proceedings on the 15th of January. He did not "finally repudiate" the demand of the Chamber, or "decline all compromise;" but he stated to the President of the Chamber the grounds on which he considered that the demands of the Chamber infringed international engagements, and gave no encouragement to a suggestion that he himself should endeavour to find a compromise.

MR. O'DONNELL asked whether Her Majesty's Government did not oppose the claims of the Egyptian Chamber of Delegates to control official salaries not regulated by contract, and to dismiss Europeans?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: The House is aware of the statements I have made in the course of debate. The great majority of officials are dismissable by the Egyptian Government up to the present time. With regard to the action of the English Government, the hon. Member will find all the information in the Papers.

MR. O'DONNELL said, the hon. Baronet had very adroitly avoided answering his Question. In his (Mr. O'Donnell's) opinion, the Government had carefully excluded from the Papers the information he desired.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether his attention has been called to a statement in the second edition of the "Times" of 1st August, as to the absence of the usual native population from Alexandria; whether he is able to state approximately the number of the population before and after the bombardment; and, in the event of the alleged serious diminution existing, he has taken any steps to inquire what has become of the remainder; and, whether he can state that numbers have not perished outside the city, deprived of their means of subsistence?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I am not able to give the figures asked for by my hon. Friend. We have no information as to the number of the Native population of Alexandria who may have left the city with the troops, nor can I say how many have returned, or what has become of those who remain absent.

IRELAND — THE ASSISTANT UNDER SECRETARY TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT — APPOINTMENT OF MR. E. G. JENKINSON.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Government have any intention of appointing, or considering the appointment, of Mr. Clifford Lloyd to the post of Assistant Under Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, vacated by the resignation of Colonel Brackenbury?

MR. TREVELYAN: His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant has appointed Mr. E. G. Jenkinson to fill the office rendered vacant by the resignation of Colonel Brackenbury. Mr. Jenkinson was a Civil servant in India, who early in his career displayed such courage and ability that he was thanked by the Governor General in Council, and subsequently had the approbation of Her Gracious Majesty the Queen conveyed to him by direct despatch from the India Office. Few men have ever had the opportunity of doing more brilliant public service at so early an age, and no man could have taken advantage of the opportunity more effectually than he did. Since then he has filled with distinction a series of offices in India as high as a man of his standing could reasonably be expected to hold, because he is still in the prime of life. Judging from his training and antecedents, and from a knowledge of the manner in which Mr. Jenkinson conducts the business of administration, gathered during an intimate association in public work during the last two years, I am satisfied that he will efficiently discharge the arduous duties of his office.

Mr. GIBSON desired to know what were the terms of the appointment?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I think the office is held during pleasure—exactly as an Under Secretary.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: In the same way as his predecessor held the office?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Exactly.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—MISS MARY KEANE.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he has observed the proceedings of a special Petty Sessions Court, held at Waterford on Friday last (and composed of Mr. Redmond, R.M. Dungarvan, and Mr. Meldon, R.M. Tipperary), with reference to a charge brought under the fifth section of the Crime Prevention Act against Miss Mary Keane, for interfering with the business transactions of Mr. Edward Courtney, a butter merchant; whether, although Miss Keane, pleading that the summons had only been served the day before, requested an adjournment for a week to prepare her defence, secure the attendance of her witnesses, and provide herself with professional assistance, the magistrates refused to adjourn, and sentenced her forthwith to a month's imprisonment, one of them remarking, as a reason for the refusal, that he had come fifty miles to try the case; and, whether, in the further administration of the Crime Prevention Act, care will be taken that due facilities will be given to persons charged to prepare their defence and provide themselves with professional assistance?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, I have had to obtain a Report upon this Question by telegraph, as it only appeared yesterday. The Resident Magistrate informs me that when the case was called, the defendant, Miss Mary Keane, refused to appear, although at the time outside the Court. Information had to be sworn, and a warrant issued to compel her attendance. She then alleged that she had not been served with a summons; but it was clearly proved that a summons had been served on her personally on the previous morning. The charge was gone into, and a case of persistent intimidation proved in the clearest manner. Miss Keane cross-examined the principal witness; but, when called on for her defence, she asked to have the case adjourned for a number of witnesses. When asked to name them she refused several times, and eventually named but one. She refused to state what her defence was, and the magistrates were satisfied that the application for adjournment was not *bonâ fide*, but merely vexatious. Mr. Meldon, the Resident Magistrate, stated so, adding that the magistrates would not adjourn the case, especially as the Court was formed at some inconvenience, and he himself had travelled 50 miles to hear the case; but this was not assigned as the reason for not adjourning. The defendant did not claim that she had made any effort to procure professional assistance or the attendance of witnesses.

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACTS—EMIGRANT AND PASSENGER SHIPS.

Mr. MOORE asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether it is a fact that there are a number of emigrant ships which, on their homeward voyages, come to this Country laden with cattle, returning to America with large numbers of steerage passengers; and, if he can state what, if any, special precautions are enforced for the disinfecting and cleansing of those ships after each voyage with cattle?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: The facts are as stated in the first part of the Question. I am informed that those ships are thoroughly disinfected and cleansed after each voyage, and that they are subsequently inspected by Board of Trade, emigration, and sanitary officers. Emigrants would not be allowed to go out in them if there was any reason to suppose that they were in a condition dangerous to health.

THE ORDNANCE SURVEY—CADASTRAL SURVEY OF WARWICKSHIRE.

Mr. NEWDEGATE asked the First Commissioner of Works, When the cadastral survey of Warwickshire will be completed?

Mr. GERARD NOEL asked when the whole Survey would be concluded?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that the plan of the Survey was based on the supposition that it would be completed in 1890. He could not give the hon. Member for North Warwickshire any other answer than he gave him last year. The survey of Warwickshire would be commenced in 1885.

TRADE AND COMMERCE—BUTTER AND BUTTER SUBSTITUTES.

VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE asked the President of the Board of Trade, When the Statistical Inquiry Committee that is examining into the subject of the better classification of butter, oleomargarine and other butter substitutes, is likely to issue its report; and, whether he will communicate the result of that inquiry to the House?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, he was informed that the Committee was now considering its Report, which would probably be ready in a few days. It dealt with a great many matters besides those referred to in the Question. The Committee had been appointed by the Treasury, which would have to decide whether the Report was of sufficient public interest to have it presented to the House.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—MR. JOHN KAVANAGH.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that Mr. John Kavanagh has now been confined, under the Coercion Act of 1881, for a period of nearly fifteen months; whether the other men, arrested on suspicion of the same offence, and in the same locality, were released eleven months ago; and, whether, as Mr. Kavanagh has now endured a protracted term of imprisonment, the Government will now release him?

MR. TREVELYAN: John Kavanagh has been detained under the Coercion Act since the 11th of May, 1881. Two other men, arrested at the same time in connection with the same offence, were released on the 16th of August and 17th of September respectively. John Kavanagh's case will come up for consideration on the 11th instant.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—THE BENCH AT LISTOWEL.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with reference to the composition of the Bench at Listowel, Whether the application for the presence of the Cork and Clare resident magistrates at the trial of Mr. T. Harrington and others was made after or before the local justices had admitted the accused to bail on the 3rd July, or referred in any way to their adjudication on that day; and, whether he would have any objection to lay upon the Table a Copy of the application?

MR. TREVELYAN: The application for the presence of the two Resident Magistrates was made after the accused had been admitted to bail; but I cannot lay the application on the Table, or give the hon. Member any further information regarding it.

CRIME (IRELAND)—ROBBERIES IN DUBLIN CASTLE.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether two burglaries were recently committed in the Irish Police Stores Lower Castle Yard, and property to the value of about £80 stolen; whether the desk in the office of the Pay Clerk of the B Division was broken open and upwards of £100 stolen; whether the Aide-de-camp's quarters in the Lower Castle Yard were robbed of jewellery valued at about £30; whether a desk in the Chief Secretary's Office was broken open and some £35 stolen; and, whether the property has been recovered and whether the thieves have been made amenable to justice, or whether they are still at large?

MR. TREVELYAN: I have made inquiries in reference to this Question, and find that in July, 1879, property to the value of about £2 was stolen from the General Police Stores in the Lower Castle Yard. No person was made amenable for the offence. About five or six years ago the pay clerk's desk was forced open, and, as well as can be ascertained, about £4 was stolen. No one was made amenable. In April, 1881, some jewellery, valued at £49, was stolen from the aide-de-camp's quarters; upwards of £35 worth was recovered, and one person was arrested and convicted of receiving stolen goods. And in January last a sum of £34 was stolen from a desk in the Chief Secretary's Department; but the thief has not been discovered.

INDIA (MADRAS)—ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN CHINGLEPUT.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Secretary of State for India, Whether he is aware that wide-spread discontent at the administration of justice in Chingleput has existed for a long time among the

Native population; whether he is aware that all the leading Madras newspapers, both English and Native, join in the complaints of the Native population; and, whether he has ordered any steps to be taken in the matter?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Sir, it appears from the Indian newspapers that in May, 1881, charges of attempted extortion were made by some Brahmins in the Chingleput district against the Tahsildar—who is a subordinate Native Revenue officer—of their Talook, and that these charges resulted in a Departmental inquiry and the institution of a variety of criminal proceedings in the Courts. These proceedings, it would appear, were at first favourable to the incriminated Tahsildar, but subsequently seem to have assumed a different aspect. The Tahsildar is said to have absconded, and a warrant to have been issued for his arrest on the charge of stealing certain papers connected with the case. Whether he has been arrested or not is not certain. This information is gathered from the Indian newspapers; but no information on the subject has reached the India Office officially; and, under the circumstances, I have not ordered, and have no present intention of ordering, any steps to be taken in the matter. The case seems to have attracted a great deal of attention in the Press, English and Native; but I am not aware that widespread discontent at the administration of justice in Chingleput can be said to have existed for a long time.

EGYPT—THE CONFERENCE.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any proposals have been made for the admission of Spain to the Conference respecting Egypt?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, no formal proposals have been made; but there have been some confidential conversations on the subject.

Mr. O'DONNELL inquired whether the Government had heard, as stated in the Madrid Press, that Germany had invited Spain to a share in the proposed International Protectorate of the Suez Canal, and that the offer of Germany had been accepted by the Spanish Government?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: No, Sir; I should regard that story as entirely imaginary.

Mr. BOURKE: I beg to give Notice that to-morrow, on going into Committee of Supply, I shall make inquiry of the Government with respect to the position of this country in our relations with Egypt at the present time, and also as to our relations with Foreign Powers on the same subject. And as the proceedings of the Conference are evidently not secret, I shall ask Her Majesty's Government whether they can give us any information with respect to certain telegrams which appear in the papers as to the proceedings at the Conference during the last two or three days, and also with respect to the neutralization of the Suez Canal and its protection both in times of peace and war?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: I can say at once that no arrangements for the neutralization of the Suez Canal have been made. Although I shall be very glad to listen to what the right hon. Gentleman may have to say, it will not be in my power to make any statement with regard to the proceedings of the Conference.

INDIA (FINANCE, &c.)—THE INDIAN BUDGET.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked the Secretary of State for India, When the Indian Budget will be introduced, and whether the Government will grant facilities for the discussion of its details in Committee?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Sir, the Prime Minister proposes that the Indian Budget shall be brought on as soon as the Business of Supply and the Lords Amendments to the Arrears Bill shall have been disposed of, and we hope that that will be by the middle or the end of next week. I propose, before making my Statement on the Indian Budget, to lay upon the Table of the House Papers containing a considerable number of figures, which will enable the House to consider the Budget with greater facility than if no such figures were supplied. This course will also have the desirable effect of considerably curtailing my Statement. I presume it will be for the Committee to determine the extent of the discussion on the details of the Budget.

GIBRALTAR—THE NEWSPAPER PRESS.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Under Secretary of State for the

Colonies, Whether the Government are aware of the action of the Governor of Gibraltar in respect of the local newspaper, "El Calpense," the licence to publish which was revoked on the 20th ultimo; and, whether the Government approve of the action of the Governor?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY, in reply, said, that the Governor of Gibraltar possessed full legal power to act in the manner in which the hon. Member in his Question alleged that he had acted. No information on the subject had reached the Colonial Office.

PORTUGAL—THE "CITY OF MECCA."

MR. ANDERSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If the Papers on the City of Mecca case against the Portuguese Government will be in the hands of Members before the recess; and, if Her Majesty' Government intends to insist on an International arbitration?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: The Portuguese Government have declined arbitration in this case on grounds stated in a Note which is still under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government in consultation with the Law Officers of the Crown. The Papers will be printed and distributed as soon as Her Majesty's Minister at Lisbon has received further instructions in the matter.

BRAZIL — CLAIMS OF BRITISH SUBJECTS.

MR. ANDERSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he can yet say how much longer the unfortunate British subjects who have claims against Brazil are to wait for justice being done them?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Her Majesty's Government are fully sensible of the hardship entailed on the British claimants against Brazil by the long delay which has occurred in the settlement of their demands; but the adjustment of these claims and of the counter-claims of Brazil has been attended with great difficulty. The question has received the most careful consideration at the hands of Her Majesty's Government during the last few months; and they are considering, at the present time, measures which they have reason to hope will facilitate the settlement of this question.

ARMY—ROMAN CATHOLIC CHAPLAINS.

MR. MOORE asked the Financial Secretary to the War Office, What steps have been taken to obtain the services of Roman Catholic Chaplains for the troops serving in Egypt?

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER, in reply, said, he could assure the House that the spiritual interests of the Roman Catholic soldiers who were to serve in Egypt would not be lost right of. No less than five Roman Catholic chaplains were going to the East, and they would be distributed in such a manner as should be most expedient.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he hoped that similar regard would be shown to Presbyterians.

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER said, that two Presbyterian ministers would accompany the Forces.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION (EXPENSES).

MR. GIBSON asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, What does he now estimate the expenses of the Irish Land Commission at for the current financial year; what was the amount of the original estimate; is it intended to submit any Supplementary Estimate on the subject; and, what is the amount of the estimated receipts of the Irish Land Commission for the current financial year from the stamps and fees of suitors?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, the original Estimate for the Irish Land Commission is £92,552, to which should be added £3,500 charged on the Consolidated Fund for the salary of the Judicial Commissioner. I have no information as to the present rate of actual expenditure on the Vote, and have heard nothing of a Supplementary Estimate; but I may mention that the Exchequer issues for the first four months of the year indicate an expenditure well within the limits of the Vote. As the fixed salaries form little more than one-half of the Vote, and the figures of the other items are Estimates based on very slight experience, it would be obviously premature to express an opinion at present as to the probable cost of the Commission in the present financial year. The receipts from fees have been estimated at £6,600; but we have not ventured to form an estimate of the produce of stamps on originating notices, which depends upon the number of such notices.

MR. GIBSON said, that the appointment of the four additional Sub-Commissioners, involving an expenditure of £6,000 each, would amount to £24,000; and there was a further anticipated expenditure of £2,000.

MR. COURTNEY: The right hon. and learned Member, I think, has been too liberal in his estimate with regard to the Sub-Commissioners.

MR. GIBSON: What is it, then?

MR. COURTNEY: I have not the figures by me. I can only repeat that I believe the original estimate will cover the whole of the expenditure.

VACCINATION—ALLEGED DEATH OF CHILDREN AT NORWICH FROM EFFECTS OF OPERATION — THE REPORT.

MR. P. A. TAYLOR asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he has yet received the Report of the Medical Inspector of the Board in regard to the vaccination fatality at Norwich; whether he is aware that other similar cases have since occurred there; and, whether he will issue immediate instructions forbidding the use of the lymph which has produced such results?

MR. DODSON: I have not yet received the report of the Medical Inspector of the Board, as the investigation has not yet been completed. I have heard that one case of erysipelas has occurred at Norwich in a recently-vaccinated child since the group of cases to which my attention was first directed; but, at present, I have no information showing that the erysipelas was due to the lymph employed.

EGYPT—THE PORTE AND THE REVENUES OF EGYPT.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether there is any truth in the statement contained in a telegram from Constantinople, which appeared in the "Times" of Wednesday last, that the Porte is raising money upon the security of the Egyptian Revenues; and, if so, whether the Powers, under existing circumstances, recognise these Revenues as chargeable in that manner?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: We have received no official information with regard to the report mentioned by my hon. Friend. The matter has not been brought before the Powers; but Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that such charges would not be justified.

CRIMINAL LAW (IRELAND)—CASES OF PATRICK REILLY AND JAMES YOUNG.

MR. TOTTENHAM asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, If he will state the reasons why Patrick Reilly, who was returned for trial by the magistrates sitting at Cavan Petty Sessions on 12th June, and Thomas Young, who was returned for trial by the same Bench on 26th June, were not put upon their trial at the recent assizes; and, whether the charge upon which both men were committed was for threatening and endeavouring to intimidate a man who had taken certain Boycotted lands?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): Patrick Reilly was not put upon his trial, because I, in the exercise of my powers, did not think the evidence sufficiently strong against him; and Thomas Young was not put upon his trial for precisely the same reason. The charge against them was that mentioned in the Question. I did not think that the evidence was reliable.

MR. TOTTENHAM: Has the right hon. and learned Gentleman any objection to answer my Question?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): I have answered it.

MR. TOTTENHAM: That was not an answer to my Question.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): I think the House will agree with me that I have given a very complete answer to the hon. Member's Question. He has asked me why these men were not put upon their trial, and I have said that it was because the Crown did not think the evidence sufficiently reliable. Then he has asked me as to whether the charges were for threatening and endeavouring to intimidate a man who had taken "Boycotted" lands, and I have said it was, but I believed that there was not sufficient evidence to sustain the charge.

Mr. TOTTENHAM: The Question is, "If the right hon. and learned Gentleman will state his reasons?"

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson): I have stated the reasons. I had to consider whether the cases were such as should be submitted to a jury or not, and I considered that they ought not to be for the reasons stated.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—THE MILITIA.

Mr. MACLIVER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he will consider the twenty-eight days' additional training of the Militia (practically putting two years' training into one) a reason for giving the men the £1 bounty as well as the pay?

Mr. CHILDERS: No, Sir. A militiaman is liable to serve for 56 days, and I see no reason for the suggestion that he should receive extra bounty for service to which he is liable, and for which he is paid.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—DUBLIN CROWN PROSECUTOR.

Mr. WARTON asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, What is the reason of the delay in the appointment of the Crown Prosecutorship for Dublin?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson): I have to apologize to the hon. and learned Member for not being in the House last night. The reason of the delay is that I have not yet determined upon whom the office shall be conferred. If the hon. and learned Member will tell me in whom he is interested, I will tell him whether the gentleman is among the applicants for the post.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—EXAMINATION OF VOLUNTEER OFFICERS.

Mr. MOSS asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the result of the Examination of Volunteer Officers in Tactics will not be soon made known, the Examination having taken place so long ago as the 6th of June last?

Mr. CHILDERS: Yes, Sir; the results of the examination have been made known to the general officers commanding districts to-day, and will be published.

MALTA—THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Mr. ANDERSON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, If he is aware that it is stated, in Maltese newspapers, that Sir Adrian Dingli is about to be added to the Executive Council; and, if he can give them any assurance that the step in question will not be taken?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY, in reply, said, the report was not true.

EGYPT (MILITARY EXPEDITION)—MAJOR GENERAL FEILDING, C.B.

Colonel ALEXANDER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he can state why Major-General the Hon. Percy Feilding, C.B., commanding the troops at Malta, a very distinguished officer, mentioned in Despatches, and promoted for service in the field at Alma, severely wounded at Inkerman, employed for four years as A.Q.M. General in Ireland, and, after holding regimental command for twelve years, selected to command the troops at Malta, was not sent in command of the three battalions which have recently left Malta for Egypt?

Mr. CHILDERS: No, Sir; I feel sure that the House will support me in declining to answer any Question why a particular officer, however distinguished, is not employed on any particular service, and I much regret that the gallant Officer should set such an example. I may, however, add that he is mistaken in two respects. General Feilding does not command the force at Malta, but is second in command; and no force of three battalions has gone to Egypt from Malta as a brigade requiring the appointment of a brigadier. Three battalions have, at different times, gone to Alexandria from Malta; but they have been replaced by other battalions, and the services of the general second in command are as much required now as they were before the battalions left. The troops in Egypt, whether drawn from home or from the Mediterranean garrisons, will be commanded by the general officers who accompany them from this country.

EGYPT (MILITARY EXPEDITION)—ALLEGED MISCONDUCT OF A PICKET OF THE 60th RIFLES.

Mr. TOTTENHAM asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether there was any foundation for the report which appeared in yesterday's newspapers, with respect to an alleged flight of a British picket at Alexandria, and whether there was any reason to believe that any members of the gallant regiment of Rifles referred to had done anything that was discreditable to a British soldier?

Mr. CHILDERS: I am much obliged to the hon. Gentleman for asking me this Question, and although the hon. Gentleman did not give me Notice of it until we met to-day, I have been able to get a copy of a despatch which the Government received from General Alison last night, and which was in these words. It appears in the newspapers of to-day—

> "Left front picket of Ramleh lines driven in by body of Arabi's cavalry at 2 o'clock this morning. Picket maintained its position 80 yards in rear of its original post. Firing continued some time, and Arabi's men shortly withdrew. Post re-occupied. No casualty."

I also telegraphed yesterday, as I think my hon. Friend the Financial Secretary to the Treasury stated, to know whether there was any truth in the statement made—I think in a most extraordinary and much to be regretted manner—in a supposed message sent to *The Daily Telegraph.* General Alison's reply, in general terms, was that he knew nothing about it, but that the facts were as stated in his despatch. Perhaps I may be allowed to take this opportunity of expressing the hope, which I have expressed before, that editors of newspapers will be cautious in publishing telegrams of this kind. This is the second time it has occurred. Some days ago there was a statement published in another newspaper—which I read in letters six inches long all over London—about a great defeat of the British troops. There was not one iota of truth in it. Considering the very bad effect that these inaccurate statements—I will not use stronger words—produce not only upon the public mind, but upon the Army itself, I hope that newspaper editors will exercise to some extent the use of the scissors, which they know how to use so well, and that they will be cautious as to the insertion of statements of that character.

Mr. TOTTENHAM: Having regard to the observations of the right hon. Gentleman, I will ask him whether, considering that the consequence of this message in *The Daily Telegraph* has been most injurious to the feelings and honour of one of the most gallant regiments in Her Majesty's Service, he will draw the attention of the general officer commanding at Alexandria to the matter, with a view to the exclusion from the British lines of that correspondent?

Mr. CHILDERS: I should not like to give a definite answer to that Question at this moment; but Lord Northbrook and I are in communication with the authorities at Alexandria on this subject, and I think the House will be satisfied that the regulations which have been recently published, and have been made known to the editors of newspapers, as to the duties of correspondents in the field will have the desired effect of producing more care in the despatch of information by those correspondents.

PARLIAMENT — PUBLIC BUSINESS — ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) BILL.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS asked the Premier on what day the House would be called upon to consider the Amendments made by the House of Lords in the Arrears of Rent Bill?

Mr. GLADSTONE: With regard to the Lords' Amendments on the Arrears Bill, I may say that we propose to take a little time, that the House may have an opportunity of fully considering them, and we propose to take them on Tuesday next. I promised to state to-day what course we should take in regard to the Police Bill. My right hon. and learned Friend the Home Secretary is very sorry to find, from the declarations of hon. Gentlemen opposite, that he has no prospect of carrying it without considerable delay and discussion, and it would be probably inconsistent with the pledges given as to the period when the Session will terminate to go forward with it. Under these circumstances, therefore, it will be dropped. I may say we shall continue to press forward Supply as far as we can, with only the interpolation of certain Bills that are not expected to take any length of time. In regard to those Bills, we have been anxious, if we could, to avoid asking the House to sit on Saturday; but we are not certain yet whether it will not be necessary to make a suggestion of that kind. I have a request from Mr. Blunt, who was mentioned the other day, that I would make known, on his behalf—

"That with the exception of receiving, on the 13th of July, Arabi Pasha's letter to Mr. Gladstone, I have had no communication, direct or indirect, with Egypt since the bombardment."

He likewise, as a question arose as to the genuineness of that letter of Arabi Pasha, is desirous that I should state publicly in the House of Commons that the gentleman who took down in English the letter from the dictation in Arabic by Arabi Pasha at Alexandria, on the 2nd of July, is now in England, and can bear testimony to the fact that it was a letter dictated by Arabi Pasha.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS believed that the majority of the names that were put down in opposition to the Police Bill were those of Gentlemen sitting on the Ministerial side of the House.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I understand, Sir, that the opposition of those hon. Gentlemen has for the most part been withdrawn.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: I wish to ask a Question in connection with the statement just made by the Prime Minister, who dwelt upon various topics, but did not conclude with any absolute Motion. It will, therefore, be necessary for me to confine myself to the form of interrogatory. I wish to know whether the right hon. Gentleman is aware that the course upon which he has decided in connection with the consideration of the Amendments made by the other House on the Arrears Bill is most unusual—["Order!"]—especially in connection with a measure which we have been constantly informed—[*Loud cries of* "Oh, oh!"] Well, of course, if necessary, I shall, to make use of a phrase just now employed by the hon. Member for Wicklow, regularize my proceedings by concluding with a Motion. I ask whether that course is not most unusual, especially with respect to a measure in regard to which we have been constantly assured it was most important that it should be definitely disposed of without a moment's delay? I further ask whether the right hon. Gentleman is aware that that tacit understanding has led to arrangements being made by both Houses of Parliament which would cause a great deal of inconvenience, owing to the postponement of the consideration of the Lords' Amendments to a far later date than had been generally anticipated? ["Order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: The right hon. Gentleman is entering into debatable matter.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: I will, if necessary, conclude with a Motion. [An hon. Member: You cannot.] The hon. Member says I cannot. Evidently, he is not aware that I can. I ask the right hon. Gentleman this question—Whether he is not aware that the relative proportion of forces between the Government and the Opposition in both Houses of Parliament, when the month of August is entered upon, proceeds at a rate and in favour of one side which is tolerably well known, and if he can give the House any reason beyond that which he has stated why such an unusual proceeding has been adopted? In addition, I will ask if the right hon. Gentleman thinks that the result of divisions, under these conditions, can be fairly taken as represented the opinion of Parliament?

Mr. GIBSON said, he would like to ask, before the right hon. Gentleman answered the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire, whether there would be a Morning Sitting on Tuesday?

Mr. MACFARLANE asked the Prime Minister whether, in the event of the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill not becoming law in a short time, Her Majesty's Government would consider the propriety of refusing to give the support of the Crown to the evicting of tenants, whose eviction would have been avoided if that Bill had been passed?

Colonel NOLAN asked the right hon. Gentleman whether 100,000 Irish tenants were not worth more consideration than 100,000 Scotch grouse?

Mr. GLADSTONE: In answer to the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Macfarlane), I may say his Question is an expression of feeling which is natural enough; but, at the same time, I do not think he can expect me to give any answer to the effect that we could, under any circumstances, act or do otherwise than perform our duty in the execution of the actual laws, whatever they may be, so long as we find it consistent with our convictions to remain the Government of the country. In regard to the Question of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the junior Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson), I stated a few nights ago that at the close of the Session it will be usual to revert to the Afternoon Sitting, and that will be the course we shall take on Tuesday next. With regard to the Question of the right hon. Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther), I am not quite sure into how many Questions it branches out. There are various interrogations as to the state of my information, with reference to the period of the Session, and the importance of divisions taken at the present period of the Session, on which I do not think the right hon. Gentleman will consider that any opinion given by me is very greatly worthy his consideration. Consequently, I am not disposed to trouble him with an opinion on these matters. The point he has put to me, on which he may fairly expect an answer is—How is it we, who have expressed the greatest possible anxiety to have expedition with respect to the Arrears Bill, have proposed that some days should elapse before we proceed to consider the Amendments, which undoubtedly might have been taken into consideration at an earlier date? My answer is this. We have been extremely anxious to expedite the Arrears Bill both in this and the other House of Parliament. I confess in regard to the other House of Parliament, I was rather at a loss to understand some of the intervals that were allowed to elapse; but if the right hon. Gentleman asks me why we have not asked this House to come to an immediate judgment upon the Amendments made by the House of Lords, I tell him plainly that it is because of the extreme importance which we attach to some of these Amendments, and the consequences that may possibly result from them. On that account we have been most desirous that nothing should be done precipitately, and that the House should have full opportunity of considering before it comes to what may be a very momentous decision.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—THE MILITIA.

Colonel STANLEY: I beg to give Notice that I shall, on Tuesday next, ask the Secretary of State for War, Whether, in view of the Constitutional obligations of calling Parliament together within 10 days after the embodiment of the military, and the fact that the extended time for duty must in many cases expire within a few days after Parliament shall have been adjourned or prorogued, it is the intention of the Government to take the necessary steps during the present Session for embodying any Militia or other regiments?

Mr. CHILDERS said, he had better reply to that Question at once, by saying that the Government had no present intention of embodying the Militia.

THE CHANNEL TUNNEL SCHEME.

Mr. BROMLEY DAVENPORT gave Notice that he would, on Monday, ask the Prime Minister why the Papers on the proposed Channel Tunnel had not yet been laid on the Table, and why the discussion upon them had been deferred so long as to be practically impossible this Session?

Mr. CHILDERS said, he had only today received the final revise of these Papers. They would be laid upon the Table in the course of a few days.

Mr. BROMLEY DAVENPORT asked whether the House would have an opportunity of discussing them?

Mr. CHILDERS said, he did not think it would be possible. He reminded the hon. Member that the Bills before Parliament could not be gone on with this Session.

PORTUGAL—NATIVE EMIGRATION FROM MOZAMBIQUE.

Mr. ARTHUR PEASE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Government have any information from Her Majesty's Minister at Lisbon, or other sources, as to arrangements reported to be in progress for obtaining slaves as "engagés" for the French planters in Nossibe, Mayotte, and Réunion from the Portuguese settlements in Mosambique?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Her Majesty's Consul at Mozambique has reported that a Decree had been passed by the Portuguese Government permitting the emigration of Natives from the Portuguese Possessions on the East Coast of Africa to Mayotte and Nossibe. Her Majesty's Government have expressed to the French and Portuguese Governments their apprehension that such an emigration would, under another name, be tantamount to a revival of the Slave Trade. Her Majesty's Government are awaiting the result of this representation.

EGYPT—LETTER OF ARABI PASHA.

Mr. M'COAN asked the Prime Minister, Whether the person referred to in Mr. Blunt's statement who corresponded with Arabi Pasha was a certain Rev. Mr. Sapûnjy, who was either a Copt or a Syrian by birth, and was now an English missionary, and at the present time in London; and whether it was this gentleman who "took down" Arabi's letter to the Prime Minister?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I have no information as to the name of the gentleman. It is simply stated that he is in England.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

RESERVE FORCES ACTS CONSOLIDATION BILL.—[Bill 124.]

(*Mr. Secretary Childers, The Judge Advocate General, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 to 4, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Calling out army reserve in aid of the civil power).

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, the 3rd sub-section of the clause provided that the Lord Lieutenant should exercise the power of calling out the Army Reserve to aid the civil power in the preservation of the public peace, vested by the section in the Secretary of State. He wished to know what the powers of the Lord Lieutenant were in regard to the Army Reserve?

The JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. Osborne Morgan) said, that under the late law the powers given to the Secretary of State in Great Britain were also given to the Lord Lieutenant in Ireland. A question had arisen whether, under the words of the 30 & 31 *Vict.* c. 110, s. 9, these powers were sufficiently explicit. It was considered doubtful whether, under that section, the power possessed by the Secretary of State would extend to Ireland; and the words contained in the 3rd section were inserted in order to make the matter perfectly clear?

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, there was one Question in connection with the calling out of the Reserves which he wished to put to the Government. He had put the Question a night or two ago, but had failed to elicit a satisfactory answer. Some years ago an alteration was made in the Regulations in reference to the rights of the Reserve Forces when called out for active service. Whereas, before that time, they had been allowed to count their service, in the Reserve, towards their good conduct pay and pension; their rights in that respect were taken away from them by the new Regulations. When a man enlisted, it was always the practice to supply him with a small book giving detailed explanations, shaped for his guidance, of the terms of service which he was under. One of the Regulations contained in that book stated that the Reserve men were to count their Reserve service towards their good conduct pay; and when an alteration in the Regulations was made recently, no change whatever was made in the instructions contained in these small books under which the men had been enlisted all over the country for many years. Therefore, the men naturally concluded, according to the terms contained in the books supplied to them, that they had full right to calculate their Reserve service towards their good conduct pay. When the Reserves were called out on the last occasion, it was found that a great grievance existed in almost every regiment in consequence of the military authorities having declined to sanction the issue of good conduct pay, as regulated by Reserve service. He asked the Government to make an inquiry as to the date on which proper information was issued to the recruits upon this point. If a man joined prior to the issue of direct information, he ought not to be refused the good conduct pay he had a right to calculate upon.

The JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. Osborne Morgan) said, he did not see under what part of the clause now under discussion the question could arise.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, it naturally arose on Clause 5 in regard to the calling out of the Reserves. There were certain Regulations in force as to the terms on which the Reserves were to be called out.

The JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. Osborne Morgan) said, he was afraid he was not in a position to answer the Question at the present moment.

Sir HENRY FLETCHER said, he should be glad if the War Office would tell him, before the Session closed, how many men of the 1st battalion of the Army Reserve had had notices sent to them, and how many men had appeared in answer to their names? He did not press for the information now, because it was possible that even up to the last day the men might be coming in. It was, however, an important matter for the country, and it certainly would very greatly relieve his own mind, if a statement of these facts were made, because he had already heard a good deal about the Reserve, and he had himself expressed a fear that they would not come up when called on. It would, therefore, relieve his mind to a considerable extent, if he were informed before the Recess in what manner the men had answered to the call. He would also like to put one further Question to the military authorities in connection with these matters. He should like, before the House rose, to have some information as to the number of fraudulent enlistments which had taken place during the last 12 months? That was an important matter in connection with the calling out of the Reserves. He was of opinion that it would be ascertained that a great number of men belonging to the Army Reserve had fraudulently enlisted again in the Army on account of not being able to obtain civil employment, and not being in a condition to live on the Reserve pay allowed to them.

Sir ARTHUR HAYTER said, that if his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Horsham (Sir Henry Fletcher) would address to him, or to the Secretary of State, a Question, before the House rose, he would be able to obtain all the detailed information in the possession of the War Office as to the manner in which the men had come up. Perhaps it would be sufficient to say now that they were coming up satisfactorily. A Report had been received from the Bristol district, in which it was stated that every man had appeared in answer to his name. It would not be necessary to move for a Return; but if his hon. and gallant Friend would put a Question later on, he (Sir Arthur Hayter) would be glad to answer it.

The JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. Osborne Morgan) said, that he would endeavour to obtain the information before the rising of the House.

Colonel RUGGLES-BRISE said, he hoped that the calling out of the Reserves at this moment would not be allowed to interfere with the harvest operations of the country. He wished to know if there was any objection to the same system being carried out now as was carried out at the time of the Crimean War, when those farmers who could not obtain a sufficient number of hands in their own neighbourhood to assist them in getting in the harvest, were allowed the services of the men who had joined the Reserves? If the necessity arose this year for any such assistance, would there be any objection to grant it?

The CHAIRMAN said, the question referred to by the hon. and gallant Gentleman did not come before the Committee upon the present Bill, and it would be better to mention the subject on Monday upon the Army Estimates.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (Punishment of certain offences by Army Reserve men) *agreed to.*

Clause 7 (Men exempt from parish offices, &c.).

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, that, under this clause, a man belonging to the Army Reserve was not to be liable to serve the office of constable, or any other parochial, township, or borough office. But it was very well known that Army Reserve men were serving in the Police Forces all over the country. He would, therefore, ask this question—Whether it was not true that the Army Reserve men, to a very large number, were now in the Metropolitan Police Force; and whether they had been called upon to join their regiments at once? He had heard that there were in the Police Force of the country a very large number as well as in the Metropolitan Police Force. Was that so or not?

The JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. Osborne Morgan) was afraid that he was not in a position at present to answer that question. Clause 7 merely continued the present laws—the 30 & 31 *Vict.* c. 110, s. 17, and the 33 & 34 *Vict.* c. 77, s. 9.

Colonel STANLEY said, his hon. and gallant Friend ought to be aware that the clause had nothing to do with the local Police Force. When the Reserves were called out on a previous occasion, a difficulty arose in regard to the men who were serving in the Police Force of the country, not only in the Metropolis, but also in the various Municipal Police Forces of the country. Representations were made to the public bodies by which these men were employed, and there was a general agreement to keep open their places and allow these men to return to their employment in the Police Force when their services were no longer required in the Reserve.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 8 to 12, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 13 (Assembly of Parliament when reserve forces ordered to be called out on permanent service).

The JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. Osborne Morgan) said, he had stated on Saturday that this Bill was purely a Consolidation Bill; but he had forgotten to say that there was a new provision in the measure—namely, the 13th clause, which provided that when the Reserve Forces were ordered to be called out, Parliament should be assembled within 10 days after they were called out on permanent service. The object of that provision was to assimilate the law in respect to the Reserves to that in force in regard to the Militia.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 14 to 16, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 17 (Punishment for inducing reserve man to desert or absent himself).

The JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. Osborne Morgan) said, he had an Amendment to propose in the 2nd sub-section, to insert the words "as if," instead of "to," in line 9, and to strike out the words "in like manner as if such man," in lines 9 and 10. The sub-section would then read that—

> "Section 152 of the Army Act, 1881, shall apply as if a man belonging to the Army or Militia Reserve were a soldier," &c.

The clause was intended to apply to any person who, by any means whatsoever, procured or persuaded a man belonging to the Army or Militia Reserve to be absent without leave or to desert.

Amendment proposed, in page 8, line 9, leave out "to," and insert "as if."—(*Mr. Osborne Morgan.*)

Question proposed, "That the word proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked whether the clause would read intelligibly if the proposed alteration were made?

The JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. Osborne Morgan) said, the second Amendment must be taken in conjunction with the first, and then, instead of the section applying to a man belonging to the Army or Militia Reserve in like manner as if such man were a soldier, it would apply in any case in which a man belonging to the Army or Militia Reserve had been prevented or persuaded to be absent without leave or to desert, just as if he had been a soldier.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Amendment proposed, in page 8, line 9, leave out from "reserve" to "were," in line 10.—(*Mr. Osborne Morgan.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clauses 18 to 24, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 25 (Trial of offences).

The JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. Osborne Morgan) moved, in page 11, line 36, after the word "shall," insert "notwithstanding anything contained in any other Act." It was provided by the Metropolitan Police Act that the Court should always have power in any case, notwithstanding the provisions of any other Act, to fix the minimum amount of fine or term of imprisonment; and the object of the Amendment was to provide that the amount of fine or term of imprisonment should be duly observed by the Courts of Summary Jurisdiction, and should not be reduced by way of mitigation or otherwise, notwithstanding any provision contained in any other Act.

Amendment proposed, in page 11, line 36, after "shall," insert "notwithstanding anything contained in any other Act."—(*Mr. Osborne Morgan.*)

Question, "That those words be there added," put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clauses 26 to 28, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 29 (Repeal of Acts).

On the Motion of the JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL, Amendment made, in page 13, line 35, by inserting, at end—

> "Where a proclamation has been issued, or any man belonging to the Army or Militia Reserve has been called out before the commencement of this Act, this Act shall apply as if such proclamation had been issued, and men called out in pursuance of this Act."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

House *resumed.*

Bill *reported,* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

MILITIA ACTS CONSOLIDATION BILL.

(*Mr. Secretary Childers, the Judge Advocate General, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

[BILL 123.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Childers.*)

COLONEL RUGGLES-BRISE said, he wished to call attention to a number of details, which showed that the Militia was not prospering under the new system. The experience of the last few years in the county of Essex seemed to show that the Force was not so popular as it used to be, and recruiting had steadily fallen off. The enlistments numbered 411 in 1877, and they had since fallen as low as 220 in one year, and 107 in another. He believed, amongst other causes, this was due to the longer period of prior drill which recruits had now to undergo, and to the fact that they were mixed with the older soldiers at the depôt. The payment of 10*s.* per recruit having also been stopped, the effect was seen in the diminution of enlistments. The recruits not only lost more time than they formerly did, but since they had been taken out of the hands of the non-commissioned officers they were not so well treated as they used to be. The consequences were seen in applications for discharge, which had risen to 60 in the year. He hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would follow Lord Cardwell in his treatment of the Militia, and not allow the local element to be disparaged. That element was not as readily forthcoming as it used to be, and the old local character of the Force was, therefore, not being maintained. He would only add that he thought that the commanding officers should have some voice in the selection of the officers of their battalions.

MR. CHILDERS said, the present was simply a Consolidation Bill, and he had not, therefore, prepared himself with the necessary material to answer the remarks of the hon. and gallant Member. He was, however, much obliged to the hon. and gallant Member for his suggestions, and they would be considered as far as practicable. The hon. and gallant Member had spoken as to the extent to which colonels of Militia battalions should have a voice in the selection of their officers. It would not be possible to give them the appointment of the officers, but he would be ready to consider whether they should not have some voice in the matter.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 and 2 *agreed to.*

PART I.

MAINTENANCE AND GOVERNMENT.

Clause 3 (Raising and number of Militia).

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR moved, in line 20, at the end of the clause, to add the words "and shall belong to some county Militia, under the provisions for raising the quotas of the several counties." He thought the Amendment would be in harmony with Clause 38, which made provision for the division of the Militia into quotas for service in several counties of the United Kingdom.

Amendment proposed,

> In page 1, line 30, after "Parliament," insert "and shall belong to some county Militia, under the provisions for raising the quotas of the several counties."—(*General Sir George Balfour.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN) said, it would be highly inconvenient to introduce the words proposed by his hon. and gallant Friend in the present clause. If they were required at all, they would come much better in the 9th clause, which provided that every militiaman should be enlisted as a militiaman for some county, and should be appointed to serve in some corps of that county, or for some area comprising the whole or part of that county.

MR. BIGGAR said, he presumed that the object of the clause was to enable Her Majesty to embody as many Militia as were voted by Parliament. He regretted that the Irish Militia were not placed on the same footing as those of the rest of the United Kingdom. In other parts of the Kingdom there were territorial regiments; but in Ireland it seemed that Militia regiments were not wanted at all.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Organization of Militia).

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR moved, in page 2, line 12, after "officers," insert—

"And for attaching to such corps such staff, composed of officers and non-commissioned officers and men of the Regular Forces, for such periods as may be deemed advisable for aiding in disciplining and training the Militia bodies."

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN) said, he thought that the Amendment proposed by his hon. and gallant Friend was quite unnecessary. According to the present system the Militia regiments belonged to one corps. The 2nd sub-section of Clause 4 made provision for the formation of militiamen into regiments, battalions, or military bodies, either alone or jointly with any other part of Her Majesty's Forces, and also regulated the appointment, rank, duties, and numbers of the Militia officers and non-commissioned officers. If the Amendment were accepted, and the officers and non-commissioned officers of the corps were discarded in favour of a staff composed of officers and non-commissioned officers from the Regular Forces, it would be necessary to have a change in the constitution of the Militia altogether. He thought that Section 71 of the Army Act fully provided for everything his hon. and gallant Friend desired to meet.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Vesting in Her Majesty of jurisdiction under certain Acts in relation to the Militia) *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (First appointments to lowest rank of Militia officer).

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR moved, in page 3, line 12, after "manner," insert—

"Provided the person or persons fulfil all the conditions prescribed by a Secretary of State, as to age, physical fitness, and educational qualifications."

Question proposed "That those words be there inserted."

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN) said, he would accept that Amendment with a slight alteration. He proposed to leave out the requirement that the conditions should be prescribed by a Secretary of State.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, he would accept the alteration.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 12, after "manner," insert the words "provided the person or persons fulfil all the prescribed conditions, as to age, physical fitness, and educational qualifications."—(*Mr. Osborne Morgan.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 7 (Permanent staff).

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, he proposed to add at the end of this clause an Amendment specifying that "all regulations providing for the duties, ranking, and position of such staff, shall be prescribed by a Secretary of State."

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN) said, he proposed to omit Clause 7 altogether.

Motion made, and Question, "That Clause 7 be struck out of the Bill," put, and *agreed to.*

PART II.

Voluntary Enlistment.

Clause 8 (Raising of men by voluntary enlistment) *agreed to.*

Clause 9 (Enlistment, term of service, and re-engagement) *agreed to.*

Clause 10 (Application to Militia recruits of certain enlistment sections of 44 and 45 Victoria, c. 58).

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR moved, in page 4, line 40, after "by," insert—

"Or by any lieutenant or deputy lieutenant of any county in the United Kingdom, or by any justice of the peace, or by."

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. Osborne Morgan) said, the words "justice of the peace" were unnecessary, because all Justices of the Peace could enlist a recruit at the present moment. Indeed, he thought it hardly necessary to insert the Amendment at all, because he believed that, as a matter of fact, every Lord Lieutenant and Deputy Lieutenant was a magistrate.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, the right hon. Gentleman was mistaken; it was not so.

The JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. Osborne Morgan) remarked, that if that was so, he should be happy to accept the Amendment so far as the words "lieutenant or deputy lieutenant in the United Kingdom" were concerned.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, he had no objection to strike out the words "or by any justice of the peace."

Amendment proposed to said proposed Amendment, after "kingdom," leave out "or by any justice of the peace."—(*General Sir George Balfour.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the proposed Amendment," put, and *negatived.*

Amendment, as amended, *agreed to.*

The JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. Osborne Morgan) said, the adoption of the Amendment would necessitate a consequential Amendment in the same section of the same clause. In page 5, line 3, it would be necessary to leave out the word "an," in order to insert the words "lieutenant, deputy lieutenant, or."

Amendment proposed, in page 5, line 3, leave out "an," and insert "lieutenant, deputy lieutenant, or."—(*Mr. Osborne Morgan.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 11 (Enlistment of men discharged with disgrace from Army or Navy, or contrary to rules) *agreed to.*

Clause 12 (Enlistment of militiamen in regular forces) *agreed to.*

PART III.

General Provisions.

Clause 13 (Area of service of Militia).

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR moved, in page 6, line 24, after "part," insert—

"And such volunteers from the Militia shall be formed into separate battalions and companies, and provided with such staff of officers and men of the Regular Forces as may be prescribed by a Secretary of State, or may be attached to and form part for the time of such corps of the Regular Forces under regulations as may be issued by any officers to whom Her Majesty may, by the advice of a Secretary of State, delegate powers."

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Sir ARTHUR HAYTER said, it was impossible for the Government to accept this Amendment. In point of fact, it was altogether contrary to the whole spirit of the clause. The clause, as it stood, re-enacted the existing law under the 38 & 39 *Vict.* c. 68. ss. 49 & 50, and empowered Her Majesty, if she thought fit, to employ the Militia in the Channel Islands, the Isle of Man, Malta, and Gibraltar, but only when a voluntary offer of service was made. What the hon. and gallant Member now proposed was that the Militia should be allowed to volunteer and form separate corps of Volunteers to be attached to, and form part of, the Regular Forces, being officered by officers of the Regular Army. That would be altogether contrary to the present system. It would create a special corps of Volunteers, and entirely alter the existing law. Nor would it prove very effective, because, as a rule, militiamen desired to serve with their own bodies, under their own officers. For these reasons, he felt bound to oppose the Amendment.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, that it was part of the old system to allow volunteers from the Militia to serve with the Regular Army. He believed that it would be found that in 1756, when the present system of Militia came in force, such a practice was in existence. At the same time, if the Government did not think it desirable to insert the Amendment, he would not press it upon them, but would withdraw it

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 14 (Oath of allegiance of militiaman) *agreed to.*

Clause 15 (Preliminary training of Militia recruits).

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR moved, in page 6, line 39, insert—

"And may be trained by such staff of officers and men of the Regular Forces or of the Militia, as may be prescribed."

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN) said, he would accept the Amendment; but it would be necessary to insert after "officers," the words "non-commissioned officers."

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, he accepted the proposed alteration.

Amendment proposed to said proposed Amendment, to insert after "officers," "non-commissioned officers."—(*Mr. Osborne Morgan.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clauses 16 to 25, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 26 (Punishment for inducing militiaman to desert or absent himself).

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN) said, he had an Amendment to propose in this clause similar to the one which he had already explained in dealing with the corresponding clause of the Reserve Forces Consolidation Bill. He proposed, in page 10, line 39, to leave out "to," and insert "as if."

Question, "That the word 'to' stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That the words 'as if' be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

On the Motion of THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL, Amendment made, in page 10, line 39, by leaving out the words "in like manner as if such militiaman."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 27 (Fraudulent enlistment, or false answer of militiaman) *agreed to.*

Clause 28 (Liability of deserter, absentee, or fraudulent enlister to further service).

On the Motion of THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL, Amendment made, in page 12, line 11, after "deserter," by inserting "or absentee without leave."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 29 (Record of illegal absence of militiaman) *agreed to.*

Clause 30 (Appointment of lieutenants of counties) *agreed to.*

Clause 31 (Appointment, approval, and removal of deputy lieutenants).

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR moved, in page 13, line 26, after "Act," insert—

"And a Return of all persons by name who have been appointed deputy lieutenants or have ceased, shall be annually laid before Parliament, made up to thirty-first December, within ten days after Parliament meets."

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN) said, he had no objection to the Amendment.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clauses 32 to 42, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 43 (Trial of offences and recovery and application of fines under Militia Acts).

On the Motion of THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL, Amendment made, in page 17, line 8, after "shall," by inserting "notwithstanding anything in any other Act contained."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Remaining clauses *agreed to.*

House *resumed.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

SOUTH AFRICA (NATAL)—NATIVE SUBJECTS OF THE CROWN.

RESOLUTION.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he rose to call attention to the recent despatches of the Secretary of State for the Colonies regarding responsible government in Natal with special reference to the policy pursued towards the Native subjects of the British Crown in South Africa, and to move for Papers on the subject. He was anxious that Great Britain should occupy the South rather than the North of Africa, yet we had practically no power over the South African Colonies, which might at any time decide to proclaim themselves independent. He had had his Motion on the Paper for a long time, and the importance of it had now to a certain extent died out, as the Colony of Natal had shown its indisposition to accept responsible government in the terms in which it was offered by Her Majesty's Government; but the fact remained, nevertheless, that Her Majesty's Government did absolutely propose to make over to a body of Colonists, variously estimated at from 20,000 to 30,000, the rule and dominion over 400,000 black Natives of the territory. No opportunity would be given to the Natives, or to the British Parliament, to express any opinion beforehand as to the justice or propriety of a proceeding which embraced the fortunes, not only of these immediate 400,000, but to a large extent of the hundreds of thousands of Natives beyond the border, who, unlike the Maoris, rather increased in number and vitality than succumbed to the White man. He was not one of the "Rule Britannia" school. He was in no degree in favour of extending our Empire; but he felt that we must exercise great care and great consideration before we withdrew from an Empire and a rule which we had already exercised, and it was in that sense that his mind had been a good deal exercised in regard to the policy which successive Governments of Her Majesty seemed to be bent on carrying out in South Africa. It seemed to him that the Natives of South Africa, who were now subjects of the British Crown, had a very strong case indeed for the continuance of the protection which had hitherto been accorded to them. It was unfortunately the case that where the mercantile interests of these islands were concerned, the people were much more disposed to take strong views with regerd to empire than to strictly observe the principles of faith and honour. This mode of conduct was strikingly displayed in our treatment of the Basutos, who had given up their independence on condition of being protected, and were then, without any consultation of their wishes, handed over to the Government of a Colony. He was in favour of retaining British control over the Native States of South Africa on various grounds. These Natives had already been receiving the protection of the British Crown, and in justice that protection could not suddenly be withdrawn. This policy might impose certain burdens on this country; but they would not be great, as, with the exception of the Zulus, the Natives were peaceable and docile, and the further one went into the interior the more peaceable they were. To afford this protection contingents from the Sikhs, Afghans, Beloochees, and other Indian troops might be employed. The climate would suit them; it would enable British troops to be employed elsewhere, which, owing to the smallness of the Army, would be an advantage, and a larger Indian force might be maintained, without keeping too many Indian soldiers in India. The South African Natives, when civilized, were a peaceful, hard-working people, quite capable of becoming good subjects, and especially capable of becoming good Christians. Further, it would be for all parties better that, under English guidance, these Colonies should eventually become English-speaking Colonies than Dutch-speaking Colonies, in some respects antagonistic to us. The more this subject was discussed, the more was he convinced that while our highway to India through the Suez Canal was very useful in time of peace, our real resource, in a time of difficulty and war, was the route by the Cape, and it was, therefore, of the utmost importance that we should maintain our hold on the South African Colonies. He begged to move the Resolution of which he had given Notice.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty that She will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before this House, further Papers relating to the policy pursued by the Government of Natal towards the Native subjects of the British Crown,"—(*Sir George Campbell,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, he desired to point out that, although the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) began by admitting that the time for bringing forward his Resolution had passed, as the Colony of Natal had recently declined to accept responsible government, yet he had managed to bring into his speech a variety of subjects, and had stated views as to the proper mode of dealing with the Natives in South Africa, in which he (Sir Henry Holland) hoped very few Members would be found to concur. The hon. Member had not hesitated to declare that this country ought to take under its direct protection and care all the Natives outside the Colonies. This was a very sweeping proposal; and the way in which it was to be worked out, if he had rightly understood the hon. Member, was most extraordinary. First, he proposed to flood the poor Natives with Sikhs, Beloochistanees, and other Indian troops; secondly, to make the Natives pay all the expenses, so that this country should not be mulcted; and, thirdly, to make them all Christians. The question how to deal with Natives outside the Colonial frontiers was grave enough; but it could hardly be disposed of in this off-hand manner. Then, as regarded Natives within our Colonies, the hon. Member said he would not go into detail; and it was fortunate he did not, for it would have been very difficult for him to show from the correspondence that Her Majesty's Government were prepared to hand over the absolute government of the Natives to the Colonists upon their acceptance of responsible government. He (Sir Henry Holland) should be very much surprised if hon. Members on the Government Bench assented to this view. In truth, the very reverse was the fact, for the Government made it an express condition that all legislation affecting the Natives should be subject to the consideration and, if necessary, veto of the Home Government. But he (Sir Henry Holland) had interfered in the debate mainly to protest against it being thought, as the hon. Member seemed to think, that the Natives were now unfairly treated and oppressed by the Colonists. The hon. Member had drawn a contrast in this respect between the Cape Colony and Natal in favour of the former. He (Sir Henry Holland), while contending that the Natives in the Cape Colony were well treated, was satisfied that they were not less well treated in Natal. During all the time that Sir Theophilus Shepstone managed Native affairs the greatest consideration was shown to them; and he asserted, from his experience at the Colonial Office, that, as a rule, the Natives were well satisfied and content. The best proof of this was, that during all the time when there was so much disturbance in Zululand, and elsewhere outside the Colonial frontiers, the Natives within the borders remained quiet, and, indeed, supported the Colonial cause. And, as a further proof, he would point to their increase of numbers, and to their increasing wealth and prosperity, and generally improved condition. These were facts, and he had thought it only due to the Colonists to rise in his place and defend them against attacks of this kind. There were no grounds for assuming that the case would be different if they had responsible government; but, if they were so inclined, the Home Government had reserved a power to interfere.

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY said, that during the 10 or 15 minutes his hon. Friend the Member for Kirkcaldy had addressed the House, he had managed to introduce more new ideas, more average questions, and more involved and insoluble problems than he had ever heard in one speech before. The questions of the disposition of the Indian

Army, of the Constitutional rights of interposition, of the general question of Colonial Government, he would, with the hon. Member's permission, pass by. With respect to Natal, that Colony was quite an exception among our Colonies. It enjoyed a representative system of its own to a certain extent, but had not full responsibility. His hon. Friend was perfectly right in saying that the question of full, responsible, representative institutions was not the pressing question. He begged distinctly to express his agreement with his hon. Friend opposite (Sir Henry Holland) as to the conduct of the Colonists to the Natives. There was, no doubt, great temptation to a certain class among the Colonists to trespass on the rights of the Natives. But he was convinced that the great body of the Colonists did not do so. He wished to tell his hon. Friend that there was no such thing as a particular territory occupied by the Natives, while the rest was given up to the Colonists. The Natives and Whites freely intermingled with each other, and were on the best terms. Lord Kimberley, in his recent despatch on the question of responsible self-government in the Colony, had dwelt on the importance of securing the rights of the Natives in their locations. These "locations" were a very different thing from a territory. They were lands vested in trustees for the good of the Natives, and Lord Kimberley desired to see the Natives secured in the enjoyment of them. There could be no doubt that, if the offer of self-government had been accepted by the people of Natal, the Colonial Office would have taken care that the provisions hitherto made for the protection and prosperity of the Native population should be secured to them by legislative enactment. The Basuto Question was entirely distinct. After the receipt of Lord Kimberley's despatch, the Colonial Assembly was dissolved in order to obtain the opinion of the people by a fresh election on the questions submitted to them by that despatch. No official information or Papers had been received, and for the present he could say no more on the subject.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that as there were no Papers to give, he would, of course, withdraw his Motion. He wished to explain, however, that he in no degree charged the people or the Government of Natal with oppressing the Natives.

MR. O'DONNELL said, he thought the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy did well to keep a sharp look-out on the treatment of the Natives of South Africa. When the South Africa Bill was under discussion, he (Mr. O'Donnell) had succeeded in passing an Amendment, the effect of which had been described in the statement that Natal was forbidden to annex anything. The Bill had been virtually dropped, and after five years the Government had recognized that the Irish Members were fully justified in the 26 hours' vehement opposition which they offered to it.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Main Question again proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881 — RELEASE OF PERSONS DETAINED UNDER THE ACT.

OBSERVATIONS.

MR. SEXTON said, that in accordance with the Forms of the House, and after what had just taken place, he was precluded from moving the Resolution with regard to the circumstances connected with the present administration of the Protection of Person and Property (Ireland) Act; but he thought he might usefully occupy the attention of the House in calling attention to the subject connected with the administration of the Act of last year. He promised to keep well within the terms of his Motion whilst he endeavoured to press on the Government one or two aspects of the case, with the view of inducing them to put a stop to coercion by the infliction of punishment upon innocent persons. On the 1st July last he saw by the Returns that there were 186 persons still in prison under that Act, and he did not think that since that time the number had been very much diminished, and if he said there were at present 150 persons still there, he was well within the mark. These might be divided into two classes—those who were suspected of personal complicity in crime, and those who were not so suspected; and even in regard to the former class, he thought the time had come when they should be set at liberty. The Protection of Person and Property Act was passed on the plea that the Government knew who were the guilty men, and that they would be put on their trial but for two circumstances—first, that witnesses were afraid to come forward to give evidence; and, secondly, that juries were unwilling to convict. He contended that the Coercion Act of the present year removed these grounds for passing the Act. The law now afforded ample security against intimidation of every kind, while Government officials were empowered to conduct trials without the intervention of a jury. With regard to those "suspects" who were not accused of complicity with crime, there were still 60 of them in prison; and he based the case for their release upon the statement made by the Prime Minister, on the 2nd of May, that the list of "suspects" would be examined immediately, as the Irish Members understood, with a view to the release of all who were not suspected of personal complicity with crime. Three Irish Members were released, but 60 "suspects" of the class in question were still in prison. Why had they not been released? If they had been brought before the Summary Courts established by the Coercion Act, the whole, or nearly the whole, of them would ere now have served out the full period of the maximum sentences which such Courts might have passed upon them. The Chief Secretary had assured him that he would consider the propriety of releasing these men when the time for harvest operations had arrived. Harvest operations were now going on, and yet the men were in prison. One whose case he had repeatedly mentioned was a young man with an aged father, who stood much in need of the son's help. More influential persons who had been arrested at the same time had long been set at liberty, and from these anomalies the Act appeared to be administered in a random and zig-zag fashion. There were cases in which farms were left in charge of the prisoners' wives and female relatives, to the great detriment of the families' interests. The further imprisonment of these men could not apparently serve any other purpose than vindictiveness. The Coercion Act would expire on the 30th of September, and to keep all the "suspects" in prison until that day and release them all at once would not have a salutary effect upon an imaginative and warm-hearted people. The Executive ought to show a little graciousness in dealing with such a people, and ought not to act the part of political Shylocks by keeping these men in prison till the last moment the Protection Act would allow. They might fairly let them out in the present month.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, that the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had made two counts against the Government, upon which there was a good deal to say from the points of view of strict logic and practical reason; but there were two or three considerations which required to be remembered in judging the charge brought against the present policy of the Government in Ireland. The first count was that of putting persons into prison under the Protection Act when the Government were armed with a very powerful Crimes Prevention Act The hon. Member would believe him, he hoped, when he said that one of the features of the Crimes Prevention Bill which commended that measure to himself was that it would enable the Government to dispense with a species of legislation which might have a temporary effect, but could not have a permanent one in maintaining law and order. But the operation of the Act must necessarily be slow. That Act, he believed, would do a great deal to increase the confidence of witnesses in giving their testimony; but it would accomplish that purpose slowly, because some convictions of criminals must take place the justice of which would commend themselves to the general population before that population, unaccustomed now to convictions in agrarian cases, could feel that punishment followed crime. When convictions of that kind had been obtained, he had no doubt that evidence would slowly but steadily be coming forward. They knew well, however, from experience, that such a condition of things had not yet arrived. Since Lord Spencer had come into Office about 50 persons had been put in prison under the Protection Act; but from what districts and under what circumstances had they been imprisoned? He believed that no person had been imprisoned under the Protection Act by Lord Spencer for intimidating or "Boycotting." Thirty-five of those 50 "suspects" were from Galway and the neighbourhood of those terrible murders which had shocked Ireland and England. Eleven were from Dublin; but these were put in prison in consequence of, and in connection with, the recent murders there, which were connected with the Fenian Society. Three were from the County Cavan; but they were arrested distinctly and avowedly on account of a very serious outrage committed on a man named Trimble. One was from Sligo, and, though he did not know that case very well, he believed the arrest was on suspicion of having taken part in an unlawful assembly.

MR. SEXTON: Was he the man arrested on the old warrant?

MR. TREVELYAN: Yes. Hon. Members might say that 35 was a large number to have arrested, even in connection with terrible offences like the murder near Loughrea; but the real cause of the arrests having been so numerous was that an unhealthy state of society existed in that district with which any Government would have been unable to cope without them, even under the more potent weapons provided by the Prevention of Crime Act. He allowed that when the Protection Act expired these men would have to be released. He allowed that whatever crimes might be committed they could not, after the 30th September, put any person into prison on suspicion. He disliked extremely to have to stand up there and appear to account for imprisonments which he was responsible for, but the reasons for which he could not give. He looked forward with pleasure to the time when he should be free from the responsibility of detaining men for reasons which he could not state publicly, and when none would be imprisoned except after conviction by a judicial tribunal. But he could not think that any legitimate charge could be brought against the Irish Government, because in the transitory state of society before the effects of a terrible social plague had vanished, and before the country had become accustomed to that healthier mode of punishment provided under the Prevention of Crime Act, Earl Spencer had thought it necessary, during an interval of two or three months, to make arrests which were absolutely necessary for the preservation of human life. The second part of the hon. Gentleman's remarks referred to persons who were still in prison on account of suspicion of intimidation. The hon. Gentleman had referred to a speech made by the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Administration, and had fairly summarized the promises which the right hon. Gentleman gave regarding the release of certain "suspects" in prison when that speech was delivered. The hon. Gentleman said that the Government had been tardy in fulfilling their promise. They would admit, with regard to the first part of the right hon. Gentleman's promise, that he at once proceeded to enlarge the three Members of Parliament. He did so because he was thoroughly convinced that their being out of prison would not be in any sense to the danger or disadvantage of the community at large, but that it would be to its profit. The right hon. Gentleman's course of conduct had been absolutely justified by the facts. It was impossible for anyone to say that any evil had resulted from the enlargement of the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) and his Friends. Their release had caused the addition of three Members to the House who had given valuable assistance during an important portion of their proceedings. At the time Earl Spencer came into power there were about 255 persons in prison on suspicion of the lighter crimes known to the Protection Act. The hon. Member for Sligo, whose figures were almost always accurate, told them that the number now in prison on account of those lighter crimes was 60, and he believed the exact number was 55. The enlargement in three months of no less than 200 persons suspected of those offences was a large instalment of the fulfilment of the right hon. Gentleman's promise. His promise was that the cases of those persons should be considered, with a view to their enlargement, if it would not be dangerous to the peace of the country. Wherever the Lord Lieutenant had been able to come to a conclusion that the enlargement of these people would be as innocuous, or nearly as innocuous, as the enlargement of the hon. Member for Cork and his Friends, His Excellency had released them. The 50 persons who remained in prison were probably persons whose dangerous character certainly was of a much deeper class than that of the 200 who had been already dismissed. But the Government most certainly did attach great weight to the considerations put forward by the hon. Member for Sligo. It was not intended, however, that there should be a general gaol delivery on the 30th of September, when the Protection Act would expire. He was thankful to say—and it was impossible to imagine any subject which could give greater pleasure to those who now sat upon the Treasury Benches—that the diminution in outrages, though not as rapid as could be wished, was, perhaps, as rapid as could reasonably be hoped. Every month the outrages decreased in number by about 80, and since the terrible series of murders that had disheartened the country a few months ago, they had decreased in gravity and importance as well as numerically. The diminution had gone on steadily during the last four months, and that was more than could be said of any other equal period since the passing of the Act. It was in the hope that the Prevention of Crime Act was now beginning to work in the manner desired, and in the hope that measures much more agreeable than the Coercion Act to the Government were beginning to have a good effect, and that the spirit of sympathy with Ireland which actuated the men who were now carrying on the government in Ireland—in Ireland itself—had begun to tell upon the people at large, that he looked forward with the belief that in the earlier part of the next two months they might see that work which the hon. Member for Sligo was constantly urging them to hasten—namely, letting out those persons whose presence in their district would not be absolutely and immediately dangerous to life and order—brought to something very like completion.

Mr. REDMOND said, that if anything could remove the irritation felt from the operation of the Coercion Act, it was beyond question the conciliatory speeches of the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, which had done very good service in that direction. They noticed with pleasure the great contrast between his tone and that of the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster); and he (Mr. Redmond) would not be speaking honestly if he did not express the great gratification with which he had listened to the manner in which the present Chief Secretary approached irritating and perplexing questions. But he wished to point out to the right hon. Gentleman that his very encouraging statement regarding the diminution of crime was a very significant fact in support of the argument of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton). It appeared that the release of the "suspects" was followed by a diminution of outrages; but that was exactly what the Irish Members had always prophesied; their contention having been from the very first that the men who were imprisoned as "suspects" were, in fact, the best guarantees for the peace and order of their respective districts. The release of 200 prisoners was, of course, an instalment of what the Prime Minister had promised; and it now only remained for the Government to prove their sincerity by ordering the release of the comparatively few remaining "suspects."

Mr. HEALY said, he would remind the Prime Minister that in announcing the release of the three imprisoned Members of Parliament on May 2, he had said that—

> "The list of persons similarly imprisoned will be carefully examined further, with a view to the release, in accordance with like principles and considerations, of all persons who are not believed to be associated with the commission of crime."—[3 *Hansard*, cclxviii. 1967.]

That was the promise of the right hon. Gentleman, which had not yet been completely fulfilled. Coercion, however, was defended on ever-varying grounds, and the present excuse was that the "suspects" still in prison were persons dangerous to the peace of their localities. That was the opinion, not of the Government, but of the local Sub-Inspector. Warrants were issued upon one ground, and the men were kept in prison upon another. He recognized, in common with his hon. Friend who had last spoken, the perfectly good spirit with which the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant approached Irish questions. He did not admit, however, that the law was administered in that spirit of sympathy with Ireland which the right hon. Gentleman alleged. He protested against the cant about benevolence in dealing with Ireland. It was just like the benevolence of the hangman who, when he had pinioned you, adjusted the rope round your neck, and, drawing the black cap over your head, shook hands with you. If the Government wished to keep Ireland down, they should do it; but let there be no more cant of that kind. They had been told that the Lord Lieutenant had arrested only 50 persons. Well, he had arrested 35 in connection with the Galway murder, and 11 in connection with the murder in Dublin, and shut them up in prison for three or four months—for they must be released at the end of September. It was not wise to put men charged with such crimes into gaol for so short a time. If these men belonged to secret societies, of course they would endeavour to gain recruits among the "suspects" from all parts of the country who were in prison with them. In fact, the Government had set up schools of art, national academies, to enable these men the better to indoctrinate others with their own ideas at the public expense. The Galway murder was committed on Thursday, Mr. Clifford Lloyd appeared in Loughrea on Friday, and by the following Sunday 35 men were sent to gaol on his warrant. In fact, Mr. Clifford Lloyd was the most powerful man in Ireland. He did the acts, and the Government had to sustain him in what he did. It was through him that they committed the blunder of putting a priest in prison. Mr. Clifford Lloyd sent up the name of Eugene Sheehy, omitting the word "Rev.;" and so the Government, without knowing that he was a priest, arrested and put him in prison. A person named Starkey, whom he had seen in Court the other day, swept the Millstreet district of 60 men on the information of Connell, the informer. The diminution of crime was to be attributed, not to the Prevention of Crime Act, but to the Arrears Bill and the changes that had taken place in the *personel* of the Government of Ireland. Though the right hon. Gentleman rejoiced that the Prevention of Crime Act was about to lapse, he was glad to take advantage of it after all. But if the Coercion Act was effective, why make use of the other Act, which would expire so soon? He advised the Government to acknowledge that the Coercion Act had been a failure, and leave it to be remembered solely in connection with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster). The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Trevelyan) said that they would not have a general gaol delivery on the 30th of September. No; the English were too great hypocrites for that. About the 20th of September the Lord Lieutenant would take thought and dribble out the prisoners one by one, so that public attention might not be excited. As they had a Coercion Act, let the Government use it, and let them temper their severity with a little justice.

LAW AND POLICE (ENGLAND)—INSECURITY OF LIFE AND PROPERTY.

OBSERVATIONS.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON, who had given Notice that he would call the attention of the House to the insecurity of life and property in England; to the extraordinary precautions lately found necessary for the protection both of public and private individuals; to the dangers to which public buildings are now exposed; to the publication in London of a revolutionary journal; and to the growth of secret societies; and to move—

> "That the existence of associations in the United Kingdom, organised for the purpose of carrying out political designs by unlawful means, demands the most serious and prompt consideration of Her Majesty's Government,"

said, there seemed to be some desire to divert public attention from the great importance of the subject; but, however much it might be for the advantage of any Department to represent matters as progressing smoothly, there could be no doubt that the public advantage was best served by a full knowledge of the facts of the case.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON, resuming, said, he would compare the six months at the opening of last year with the last six weeks of the present year; and it would be found that, so far from the country having become less subject to these alarms, the contrary was the fact. In the opening of the year 1881, there were rumours of a Fenian attack, and orders were sent to the Volunteers to look to their stores of arms and ammunition, and the same instructions were also sent to some of the depôts. How true those alarms were was proved by the explosion at the Salford Barracks, when a large section of them was blown down, and by the tremendous incendiary fire at Plaistow, which destroyed £500,000 worth of property; while in March, May, June, and July almost equally serious attempts were made on public and private property. Grave as were the outrages which were then committed, at that very moment special precautions were deemed necessary at Chelsea and Wellington Barracks, at Devonport, Chatham, Croydon, and at Richmond, in Yorkshire; *The Times* Office was under special police protection; at Clerkenwell there was a large supply of arms kept; *The Freiheit* was still published, notwithstanding repeated prosecutions; and today, at the trial of the man Walsh, at the Central Criminal Court, elaborate precautions were considered desirable, policemen going about with revolvers in their pockets. The Premier, in his movements in London and in the country, was carefully guarded by the police. That meant that a certain number of persons were watching for an opportunity to make an attack upon him. He had shown that the secret societies existed, that they were dangerous to life and property, and that they extended all over England. They had a common origin and a common action. They were not of sudden growth. They took a long time to get established, but when once established they were very difficult to root out. No truer words were ever spoken than those spoken by the late Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright) the other day, when he said that secret societies were now the most living and dominant mischief in Ireland. Of course, they were now, but they were not three years ago. The Government endeavoured to counterwork secret societies by secret agencies of their own, whereas in public they often gave encouragement to secret societies. Many Gentlemen would not now be Members of that House were it not for the heavy Socialistic vote thrown at the last Election, and there was a not unnatural reluctance on their part to offend those who controlled or influenced that vote. Words supposed to have been spoken by the Prime Minister had given encouragement to these secret societies. It was an idea very widely spread that the Prime Minister had somewhere intimated that a murder in Manchester and an explosion in the heart of the Metropolis had brought theoretical opinions into the sphere of practical politics. That outrageous sentiment had assisted secret societies, and had encouraged people to join them. What secret societies wanted was exactly to bring theoretical opinions into the sphere of practical politics. When the Prime Minister stated the means by which theoretical opinions could be brought into the sphere of practical politics, was it likely that perverse men would neglect using those means? There was another piece of advice which was supposed to have been given by the late Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster—that if our rulers were sufficiently alarmed they would yield. It might be said that the right hon. Gentleman meant moral means of alarming; but the question what were moral means and what were immoral means depended upon the conscience of the man who used them. There were a number of persons who thought the dagger and the pistol were not immoral means to induce their rulers to take action in matters which they had at heart. There were a number of persons who thought murder and explosion were justifiable means; and could we wonder that we had the doctrine of murder publicly supported in England and assassination preached? What ought the Government to do? The Home Secretary had been singularly unsuccessful in dealing with secret societies. Prevention was better than cure. The Government ought to refrain from foolish and rash speeches both in that House and in the country. They should endeavour to restrain themselves, and not give encouragement to these societies by using words of a double construction—words which they could explain in one way to their own consciences and their own friends, but which were taken by the world at large in a very different manner.

Mr. COURTNEY said, the hon. Member for North Shropshire had, no doubt, expected that his right hon. and learned Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department would have been present to reply to his observations; but his right hon. and learned Friend had no reason for suspecting that the hon. Gentleman was going to bring forward his Motion that evening. He would undoubtedly have been in his place if he had thought the speech they had just heard would have been delivered. But, with the highest respect to his right hon. and learned Friend, he did not think the House had lost very much by his absence, because he believed that if his right hon. and learned Friend had been present he would have thought that that speech deserved scarcely anything more than his silence. He should like to know whether any good would be attained by the speech just delivered? The hon. Gentleman had referred to what had been spoken and to what had been written in many newspapers. He (Mr. Courtney) would recommend the hon. Member to practice two economies, that of reading and that of belief. He would advise him, in the first place, not to read all the rubbish which appeared in the newspapers, and especially not to reproduce it in speeches in that House; and, above all, he would recommend him to exercise some economy in the amount of the belief which he gave to what he read. The hon. Member complained of the patronage which had been given by the Government to what was going on; and if that was so, it was a curious sort of patronage, for they had successfully prosecuted both the editor and the compositor of *The Freiheit.* He also complained that some Members of the Government had indulged in vague and foolish speaking. He dared say that some Members of the Government, including himself, were open to that charge; but he thought it rested with those who complained to show them the example. They would not get to the bottom of these things by such speeches as that which the hon. Member had delivered; they must meet them in a practical way. The Government was fully aware of the necessities of the case, and if they had not shown more activity —some people thought they had shown too much—in suppressing open evidence of discontent, it was because it was felt that they must deal with it in a more radical manner.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that certainly the House had not lost anything by the absence of the Home Secretary, as the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury had amply filled his place in giving utterance to remarks of a personal character. He (Mr. Arthur O'Connor), however, rose to complain of the want of facilities for discussing the Estimates and the details of public expenditure. Supply had been put off this year till a period when the House was exhausted, and even then the necessary details for the discussion were not before them. The Appropriation Accounts, which by Act of Parliament should be laid on the Table by the 28th of March, were not even yet upon the Table, and they had to go into this discussion without them. The financial changes which had been made in the Army and Navy Departments made it the more important that the House should be furnished with those Papers with a view to a proper discussion of the Estimates. Some of the salaries of State officers were charged on the Consolidated Fund, and some were made part of the Estimates. The House, he thought, should have been furnished with information with regard to that difference of treatment. While the salary of the Lord Lieutenant was charged on the Consolidated Fund, the expenses of his Household were charged on the Estimates. There were similar anomalies in connection with judicial establishments and diplomatic expenditure. In connection with Greenwich Hospital there was a fictitious debt, on account of which part of the sum voted went into the Consolidated Fund. There were other complications with the Board of Trade and with the Navy, and it was almost impossible to obtain an intelligible view of the financial position of the Hospital. These complications were misleading to the Committee in the voting of the Estimates. He had made every effort for the past three years to master the details of the Public Accounts, and had come to the conclusion that the control exercised by Parliament over the Public Expenditure was of a most illusive kind. The charge upon the Consolidated Fund ought to be restricted to the permanent Debt and to the Civil List, and then the Estimates and the Accounts would be more intelligible, and simplification would probably save a good deal of clerical and other labour.

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £4,587, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries of the Officers and Attendants of the Household of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and other Expenses."

Mr. SEXTON said, the Vote contained an item of £829 for the salary of the Private Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He believed that that office was now vacant, and that Mr. E. G. Jenkinson, who had up to this time held the office of Private Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, had now been appointed to the post of Assistant Under Secretary. Now, the post of Private Secretary was a very important one, and he wished to impress upon the Government the necessity of making a judicious selection of the person who was to succeed Mr. Jenkinson. The Private Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant was not, strictly speaking, a public official; but he was the medium of communication between the Lord Lieutenant, who was the head of the Irish Executive, and the Irish Members and others who were interested in the proper administration of affairs in Ireland. He believed that the gentleman who had been appointed Assistant Under Secretary had derived his experience and had had an opportunity of exhibiting his valuable qualities in a sphere far removed from Ireland. Mr. Jenkinson was employed for a considerable time in the Public Service of India; and it had been stated that day in the House that he had distinguished himself while in India in a manner which was highly questionable. He hoped the Government, in filling up the office of Private Secretary—rendered vacant by the promotion of Mr. Jenkinson—would duly appreciate the importance of selecting a suitable person for the post. He thought the person appointed should be one personally acquainted with the affairs of Ireland, and who had not in his past conduct exhibited any bias as between different classes in Ireland. He should be a man whose public life, as far as possible, had not brought him in conflict with any of the proceedings which had recently occurred in Ireland. He himself (Mr. Sexton), and he believed the majority of the Irish people, would be very glad to see a person of that kind appointed. There was another matter connected with this Vote to which he desired to call attention. He did not object to the office of Ulster King-at-Arms; but he found that the expenses connected with that office amounted to nearly £1,200 a-year, whereas the receipts from the office did not reach one-half that amount. He did not under-value at all, he hardly liked to say the utility, of the Ulster King-at-Arms, because he dared say that the proceedings of that gentleman were interesting to those who were concerned in such relics as armorial bearings; but he was not aware that the office had any practical relation to the welfare of the country, or the general interests of the people. He had no wish to destroy all the interesting relics of the past, but he should like to see those interesting relics paying for themselves; and if the office of Ulster King-at-Arms was confined to the exercise of functions which only concerned a limited class of society, that class was well able to pay for the luxuries they enjoyed, and he was of opinion that the salary and expense involved in the Vote should be drawn wholly from that class, so that the fees should pay the annual expenses of the office. There certainly ought not to be any charge upon the public. He should like to hear from the hon. Member for Athlone (Sir John Ennis), or from the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Gill), whether they could inform the Committee of any useful functions performed by this official, with so high-sounding a title? He hoped the Government would be able to give the Committee some satisfactory assurance that the annual out-goings in respect of the office would be so arranged that the returns from those who were interested in armorial bearings would be large enough to pay the annual expenses of the establishment.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, the hon. Member had been rather deceived by the notice which had appeared in the public papers as to the position which Mr. Jenkinson had held in the Lord Lieutenant's Household. It was scarcely correct to say that Mr. Jenkinson had filled the post of Private Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. Mr. Jenkinson was living with the Lord Lieutenant rather in the capacity of a private friend than that of an Irish official. Indeed, he thought he was correct—he was almost certain that he was correct—when he said that Mr. Jenkinson was not in the receipt of any public money at all. The Private Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant was Mr. Courtney Boyle, a gentleman who had been transferred for that purpose from the Local Government Department in England. Mr. Courtney Boyle had for several years been pretty closely connected with the administration of Irish affairs. He did not think it necessary on this occasion to say anything more with regard to Mr. Jenkinson, except this—that since he had said the few words he did in the House earlier in the evening — words which naturally came from his own general knowledge of India, and his intimacy with persons who were well acquainted with Mr. Jenkinson's career—he had had an opportunity of reading a record of Mr. Jenkinson's services, and that record certainly bore out every word he had said; and he was glad to be able to add that Mr. Jenkinson's connection with the Indian Mutiny and the outbreak at Benares was a connection which only redounded to his very great credit. The part Mr. Jenkinson took in that year simply consisted in the most strenuous exertions to save the lives of his fellow-countrymen. With regard to the Ulster King-at-Arms, the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) said that the charges ought to be paid by that portion of the public who followed the elegant and recondite pursuits with which the time of that officer was taken up. But it might almost be said that the wishes of the hon. Gentleman were fulfilled, because he (Mr. Trevelyan) found on examination that the Ulster King-at-Arms received in fees from the public considerably more than an average of £1,000 a-year, which sum was paid into the Treasury, in addition to which there was paid over for Stamp Duty on the instruments in which the Ulster King-at-Arms dealt a sum of between £300 and £400 a-year; so that the salary and expense of the office were more than paid by the general public, who had the advantage of the services of this officer.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he thought the Ulster King-at-Arms ought to be very well pleased at the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. With regard to the gentleman who filled that office, he was a very intelligent and highly popular gentleman, and he did not think that anybody would dream of getting rid of him. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had had relations with him in one capacity some years ago, and he had found him a most courteous and obliging official. But he would suggest to the right hon. Gentleman the desirability of not employing the Ulster King-at-Arms in future in the installation of Knights of St. Patrick, inasmuch as those Knights were alway chosen from a class which exhibited hostility to the people of Ireland. He did not know whether he would be in Order or not in raising the question of the action of the Lord Lieutenant in reference to the Prevention of Crime Bill under this Vote? The reason he asked the question was this. He did not hold the Chief Secretary for Ireland personally responsible for the manner in which that Act was being carried out; and, as he did not hold the right hon. Gentleman personally responsible, he did not wish to raise the question on the Vote connected with the Office of the Irish Chief Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN said, the hon. Member would be irregular in raising a question connected with the Executive duties of the Chief Secretary on a Vote which applied to the salaries of the Household of the Lord Lieutenant.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he thought that he would be in Order if he were to move the omission of the salary of the Private Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, who might be considered partly responsible for the action of his Chief.

The CHAIRMAN said, he thought that he had laid down a rule on the same point either last year or the year before. The question which the hon. Member proposed to raise would come under the Vote for the Chief Secretary's Office, and not under that of the Lord Lieutenant's Household.

Colonel NOLAN rose to a point of Order. Part of the Private Secretary's work was to give effect to the directions of the Lord Lieutenant; and he was of opinion that they might fairly raise this question upon the Vote for payment of the salary of the Private Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN said, he must repeat that the proper course would be to raise the discussion for the Vote on the Chief Secretary's Office, and not upon the Vote for the Lord Lieutenant's Household. The Chief Secretary was a Parliamentary official responsible to the House for his acts.

Colonel NOLAN said, that was, undoubtedly, the case last year. The right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E.

Forster), who then filled the Office of Chief Secretary, was a Cabinet Minister and a responsible official, and the Lord Lieutenant was not a Cabinet Minister. But now they had a Chief Secretary who—although a very capable and valuable officer—did not hold the same rank, because he was not a Member of the Cabinet, whereas the present Lord Lieutenant was.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he had explained to the hon. Member that the question must be raised upon the Vote for the Chief Secretary's Office. Surely the Chief Secretary was a more responsible official than the Private Secretary.

MR. CALLAN proposed to reduce the Vote by the sum of £788, the salary of the chaplain of Dublin Castle. If his memory served him rightly, all State religion had now been abolished in Ireland for a period of 12 years; and he did not see why it was necessary to retain the services of the chaplain of Dublin Castle. He could not see what such an officer would really have to do, and he might be a person who paraded about the country vilifying the character of the Irish people on all possible occasions, and with all the impress of a Castle authority. He did not know what was meant by a chaplain to Dublin Castle. He had often heard of a chaplain to Her Majesty the Queen; but he had never heard of a chaplain to Windsor Castle, which was merely a building. It would be better, if there was to be a chaplain at all, that he should be chaplain to the Lord Lieutenant; and if there was to be a chaplain to the Lord Lieutenant, he did not see why every other Member of the Government should not have a chaplain also. Why should there not be a chaplain to the Home Secretary? He thought the Home Secretary just as important a person as the Lord Lieutenant; but, at the same time, he believed the Committee would strongly object to vote a salary of £700 a-year for a chaplain to the right hon. and learned Gentleman. On the same ground, he (Mr. Callan) objected to this Vote for a chaplain to the Lord Lieutenant. He presumed that as the salary was for the chaplain to the Castle of Dublin instead of the Lord Lieutenant, in the event of the Lord Lieutenant being a Presbyterian, the chaplain of the Established Church of Ireland—although that Church had been abolished—would still retain his salary as Dean of the Chapel Royal. He should be glad to learn whether there was any intention on the part of Her Majesty's Government to abolish this sinecure office, or to continue it?

COLONEL NOLAN said, he would move the reduction of the Vote by £6,000. He should like to abolish the Office of Lord Lieutenant altogether. As a general rule, he abstained from passing any censure upon the expenditure connected with the Lord Lieutenant's Household, because that expenditure was for the advantage of the Dublin shopkeepers. At the same time, he very much objected to the present arrangement in connection with the Office of the Lord Lieutenant; not that he objected to Lord Spencer, who was in every way an estimable Nobleman; but he objected to the Office being altogether beyond the control of the Irish people and the Irish Representatives. Most of the Irish people had no means of access to him. It was a central power of ruling Ireland from the House of Commons and the House of Lords, and it was a system of centralization which he very strongly objected to. With regard to the Office of Chief Secretary, he did not think they had ever had a more efficient Chief Secretary, or one who was more ready to listen to the representations of the Irish Members. But, at the same time, he could not conceal the fact that the Lord Lieutenant was a Member of the Cabinet, and the Chief Secretary merely a subordinate officer. That fact totally changed the position of affairs, and practically put all questions connected with the Administration of Ireland in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant. There was a sum of £20,000 a-year charged upon the Consolidated Fund for the salary of the Lord Lieutenant. That salary the House of Commons could not touch; but there were items included in the present Estimate for the Lord Lieutenant's Aide-de-Camp, the Steward of his Household, his Private Secretary, and so on, and he thought that, instead of attacking those appointments, the best plan would be to get rid of them altogether. He, therefore, moved the reduction of the Vote by £6,000, and if he obtained any support he would certainly divide the Committee against the present system.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £2,587, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries of the Officers and Attendants of the Household of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and other Expenses."—(*Colonel Nolan.*)

COLONEL NOLAN pointed out that he had moved the reduction of the Vote by a sum of £6,000, and not £2,000.

THE CHAIRMAN: The total Vote is £4,587, and I cannot reduce £6,000 from £4,000.

COLONEL NOLAN apologized to the Chair for having forgotten that this was only a Vote to complete the sum necessary for the Household. He thought, however, that the practice of passing Votes on Account, before the Committee had an opportunity of discussing such Votes, was highly objectionable. Of course, under the circumstances, he would only move the reduction of the Vote by £2,000.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY said, he was glad to support his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan) in bringing forward this question, because it afforded a convenient way of enabling the Irish Members to state their objections to the Viceregal institution in Ireland. He imagined that if the House of Commons reduced the Household the Lord Lieutenant would not remain very long in Dublin Castle. He thought there was nothing more injurious to Ireland than the continuance of the Office of Lord Lieutenant. A great deal might be said for the splendour and ceremony of a Royal Court; but for the mock splendour and ceremony of a sham Court he did not think anything could be said. The whole history of the Irish Viceroyalty illustrated the fact that when they got an able and capable man to relieve the dull monotony of the list of Viceroys, he was never allowed to confer any real benefit on Ireland, his advice being rejected and rendered of no account by the Government and by the influences which surrounded him. He had the honour not long since of meeting an amiable Nobleman who was then going over to fill the post of Viceroy in Ireland, and the Nobleman in question asked him what he thought was the right sort of thing for a Lord Lieutenant to do in Ireland? He (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) told him, with candour, that the best thing a Viceroy could do was to be civil and friendly with everybody, to offend nobody, and otherwise to do nothing in particular. He thought, on the whole, that that was good advice. He had no doubt that the estimable Nobleman to whom he referred would have followed that advice, and would gladly have done nothing, but he had a Chief Secretary who did a great many things; and, therefore, the result of the advice which he (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) volunteered was not in the end very successful. They had had in Ireland two or three great and good Viceroys; but very few who had endeavoured to govern Ireland in accordance with Irish ideas. Lord Chesterfield did so attempt to govern the country; but not the smallest attention was ever paid in England to any word of counsel that came from him. Again, Lord Fitzwilliam was a most earnest and capable Viceroy, and he pointed out to the Government at home that it was impossible to rule the country without Catholic Emancipation. Then, when everybody thought that Catholic Emancipation was on the point of being gained, Lord Fitzwilliam was recalled for his impertinence in having tendered such advice. These were almost the only men who, in the monotonous history of Irish Lord Lieutenants, ever did anything worthy of note. Anyone looking over the historical personages who had figured in the Viceregal Office found himself in the position of a visitor to the Gallery of Holyrood Palace, in Scotland, inspecting the portraits of the ancient Scottish Kings, all of which seemed to have been painted after one model by one artist, or, rather, one contractor. There was once a Lord Lieutenant in Dublin who was popular amongst certain classes, and who had, moreover, a most charming way of conveying the ceremonial kiss, which was believed to be the common privilege of all Viceroys at Dublin Castle. This Nobleman was a pleasant and gracious personage—perhaps the most popular Viceroy Ireland ever had—and the grace with which he imparted the ceremonial kiss gave it a paternal tenderness which dispelled alarm, while it yet retained warmth enough to cause an agreeable flutter. Then they had another Viceroy who distinguished himself chiefly by bribing the editor of an infamous and obscene publication to write down the patriots of 1848. Since Lord Fitzwilliam's time these were the only two Viceroys who had made any mark, or who had left any historical record. In the meantime, while the Viceroyalty did no decided good, it had done a good deal of negative harm. It had created in Dublin a vulgar striving after social distinction; and the Castle fever had made Dublin, among certain classes, the capital of flunkeyism and snobbishness. He remembered being in Dublin some years ago, when there came to him a well-dressed youth, who talked with an air of languor about a ball at the Castle which he had just attended. He (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) asked him how he had enjoyed himself, and the languid youth replied that the people there were all shopkeepers, and shopkeepers' wives and daughters, and if that sort of thing went on much longer he would have to cut the Castle altogether. Now, who was this aristocratic personage who looked down with such contempt upon Castle entertainments and the Dublin shopkeepers? He was the son of the worthy woman who kept the hotel at which he (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) was staying. He had only related the anecdote to illustrate the kind of snobbish feeling which this sham Court and this mock Sovereign engendered in Dublin society. If there was a Viceroy who desired to do anything for the people of Ireland he was not allowed to do it. If they had a strong man as Viceroy, they had generally an incapable man as Chief Secretary; and if, as in the present instance, they had a capable Chief Secretary, then—of course, he did not refer to Earl Spencer—they had generally a Viceroy who was altogether incapable of doing good in the Office he held. Political virtues, as an institution, the Viceroyalty had none; political vices it had many; and these political vices were fast growing into national grievances. Most sincerely he wished to see the institution abolished altogether; and he thought the Irish Members would best mark their contempt for it, and the strong objection they entertained towards it, by voting in favour of the proposal of the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan).

Mr. HEALY said, he regretted that Her Majesty's Government persisted in maintaining this unnecessary expenditure, which amounted, probably, to some £60,000 or £70,000 a-year, in spite of the protests of the Irish Members. But, seeing that they did take that course, he could only look upon the expenditure for the establishment of the Lord Lieutenant as being kept up for purposes of corruption. It was used in order to draw away the shopkeepers and others of Dublin, by some petty form of custom or dealing, from all sympathy with National movements, and also to corrupt the aristocracy by keeping up the semblance of Royal dignity. He was afraid that, so long as the claims of Ireland to consideration depended upon this £20,000 a-year paid to the Lord Lieutenant, all their desire to obtain a separate and distinct nationality would be passed over. The people always looked forward to the time when they would be able to assert a distinct nationality for their country; but, so far, every feeling of nationality which existed in that country had been blotted out by corrupt means of this nature. So long as the aristocracy of Ireland were in the habit of leaving their own country, and so long as foreigners were appointed to administer their affairs, there would not be much chance of the people of Ireland securing their nationality. He was strongly in favour of the abolition of the Office of Lord Lieutenant. He believed that the retention of the Office had scarcely got a friend in Ireland; and he was somewhat astonished that the present Chancellor of the Exchequer—who, like all his Predecessors in that Office, was at all times anxious to keep a tight hold of the public purse—did not see the matter in the same light. When the Irish Members asked the House for some portion of the money annually wrung from the country in order that they might construct piers and harbours, they were invariably told that they could not have it; and yet they were required to expend some £20,000 or £30,000 in maintaining the Viceroy and his Household, together with other considerable sums of money for Kings-at-Arms and Pursuivants. He asked the Committee why they did not abolish these meaningless pieces of tomfoolery? At present they had a Lord Lieutenant receiving this large salary, and yet all his servants and assistants were paid by the State—expenses which other people had to pay out of their own pockets. If a Viceroy required a surgeon, why should the State be called upon to pay the cost? Why should not the Lord Lieutenant—that high functionary with £20,000 a-year—pay his own doctor's bills, like other people, out of his own pocket? High as his position was, the Viceroy was not above taking £100 to pay his doctor, and even £30 for his office cleaner. The country had been paying these items year after year, and it was not a matter of surprise that the Irish Members should be so constantly complaining of the expense. He remembered reading in *The Times* that England was a sort of milch cow which Ireland was always milking; but he wished England would leave the Irish people to themselves to manage their own taxation and their own expenditure, and then it would be seen how little they would ask from England. He strongly protested against this system of keeping up useless offices. There were included in this Vote the salaries of a Private Secretary, an Under Secretary, a Steward of the Household, a Comptroller of the Household, a Master of the Horse, a Dean and Chaplain of the Chapel Royal, down to the humble individual who swept out the offices. Surely, if the Lord Lieutenant wanted his office cleaned, he should pay for it out of his own pocket, without abstracting the cost out of the public purse. These Royal personages, or, at any rate, Viceregal personages, were very lofty and dignified individuals; but, nevertheless, they all of them wished to have a pull at the money bags of the State. Even the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland himself, John Poyntz, Earl Spencer, was not above getting £30 a-year from the State to pay for having his office cleaned. He verily believed that if the Viceroy had the whole of Ireland for an estate, he would still want to have the Isle of Man for a kitchen-garden. Year after year the Irish Members were endeavouring to din into the ears of Englishmen the fact that they did not require a Lord Lieutenant at all—neither himself individually, nor any of his officers.

Mr. BLAKE said, he did not agree with the Motion of the hon. and gallant Member for Galway for the reduction of this Vote. Although, if the question of the abolition of the Viceroyalty were brought forward in that House, he might be prepared to vote for its abolition, yet, as long as the Office existed, he was in favour of its being properly maintained. His hon. Friend the Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy), with the ability which always characterized his speeches, had given them some details which tended to show that the Viceregal Court sometimes deserved the appellation of "a sham Court;" but he thought that was the very reason why, for the sake of the national credit of Ireland, as long as the Viceroyalty existed, it should be maintained in a becoming manner. Now, with regard to the items to which the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) had alluded—for the Surgeon to the Household £100, and office cleaner £30—he thought, for such an office as that of the Viceroyalty in Ireland, these sums were not extravagant, and that there was no occasion for seeking to pull down anything in these directions. Allusion had been made in the course of the discussion upon this Vote to Earl Spencer. He believed he was correct in saying that, during the time that Nobleman had filled the Office of Viceroy, he had spent considerably more than the Viceregal salary, and certainly there never was a Viceroy who maintained the dignities, hospitalities, and charities of the Office more completely than Earl Spencer; and, therefore, he respectfully asked his hon. and gallant Friend not to make the occasion of his Viceroyalty the opportunity for seeking to reduce the Vote for the maintenance of the Office by the sum of £2,000. He thought when the time, which he believed was not far distant, arrived for raising the whole question as to the desirability of maintaining the Office of Viceroy of Ireland, it would be quite soon enough to give a decisive vote; and he was altogether opposed to anticipating it upon the paltry matters now brought forward.

Mr. CALLAN said, he could not approve the object of the Mover of this reduction of the Vote, and still less did he approve the reason given in support of it. He regarded the reason given by the hon. and gallant Member opposite as a most unhappy one. He said he made this Motion for the reduction of the Vote for the Household of the Lord Lieutenant as a protest against the Office being occupied by a Cabinet Minister. He had every respect for the occupant of the Office of Chief Secretary, and fully estimated his good-will towards Ireland, as well as his capacity for carrying out his instructions for the benefit of the country. But he looked upon Earl Spencer as being a much stronger man for carrying out the policy which, he hoped, would be inaugurated by the present Chief Secretary. The hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan) said that the Members of the House of Commons were under this great disadvantage, that they could not approach the Lord Lieutenant as a Cabinet Minister, although they could approach the Chief Secretary. He had had some experience of Earl Spencer as Lord Lieutenant, and also of a number of Chief Secretaries; and he asked what Member endued with common sense would not prefer to wait upon Earl Spencer, with all his natural courtesy and kindness of disposition, rather than stand five minutes in the company of the late Chief Secretary for Ireland? Earl Spencer would give you kindly reasons; but if one went to the late Chief Secretary he would be met with nothing but gruffness. For his own part, he certainly preferred to deal with Earl Spencer as Cabinet Minister and Viceroy of Ireland, much more than all the Chief Secretaries he had ever met, with the exception of one—the late Conservative Chief Secretary, who, as he had always found him, was straightforward and above-board. Now, with regard to the Office of Lord Lieutenant, if hon. Members wished to abolish it, let them bring forward a Motion with that object, and take the sense of the House upon it. The whole subject could then be dealt with in an exhaustive discussion; but he thought it was most misleading to use a Motion for the reduction of the Vote as a means of expressing the opinions of hon. Members upon the question of abolition. Although he thought the Lord Lieutenancy should be abolished, he should support the Vote, if it were only to show that he anticipated some good from the present occupant of the Office.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 9; Noes 111: Majority 102.—(Div. List, No. 311.)

Original Question again proposed.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he wished to draw attention to the fact that when he opposed the Vote for Queen's Plates for Scotland, and divided the Committee against them, he said he should also divide against the Vote for Queen's Plates for Ireland. He was convinced that horse-racing in any country did an enormous amount of mischief; and he believed he should not be fulfilling his duty if he omitted to do anything in his power to discourage the vicious conduct on the part of the inhabitants of Dublin, which was caused by the sums of money given for Queen's Plates at the Curragh. His objection was not confined to the Plates at the Curragh; he held the same opinion with regard to Queen's Plates in whatever part of the country they were given—namely, that they were mischievous and ought to be discontinued. For these reasons, he begged to move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £1,562.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £3,025, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries of the Officers and Attendants of the Household of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and other Expenses."—(*Mr. Biggar.*)

Colonel NOLAN said, he hoped the Motion would not be pressed. A good deal more money was given in England for Queen's Plates than went either to Ireland or Scotland.

Mr. CALLAN said, at present the Queen's Plates were distributed in Ireland by wholly irresponsible parties, who, it was believed, really arranged which horse was to win. There was a complaint that too many of the Plates were run for at the Curragh, and it was said they ought to be more fairly distributed. He thought that some attention should be paid to the manner of their distribution, and that the system should be revised, because men of all classes in Ireland with whom he had spoken on the subject felt that the Plates were distributed upon conditions which had at this day become obsolete.

Mr. HEALY said, he was ready to believe that his hon. Friend the Member for Cavan knew a great deal about many matters charged for in the Estimates, although he doubted whether he knew anything about horse-racing. He was not prepared to vote for the abolition of the Queen's Plates in Ireland; but, as there seemed to be some objection to the number of Plates at the Curragh, he suggested that the Estimates of next year should contain a statement showing where the Plates were run for.

SIR PATRICK O'BRIEN said, about seven years ago a suggestion was made to the Chief Secretary for Ireland that, instead of giving £100 at a number of small races in various parts of the country, the whole of the money expended should be divided into two sums of, say, £750, and run for at two places only. It was believed that this would bring out a better class of horses. The reason why the suggestion, which appeared to him a reasonable one, fell through was, as he understood, because the authorities at the Curragh were disposed to keep all the money there. He trusted the Chief Secretary would see that in future these gentlemen did not have their way entirely in this matter, and that he would take into consideration the suggestion made seven years ago, when the question was fully discussed in the House. He was astonished that the hon. Member for Cavan should oppose these Plates so strongly, because he had been told that the county in Ireland which was most inclined to racing, and produced the greatest number of jockeys, was that which the hon. Member himself represented.

MR. BIGGAR said, he was not quite able to follow the hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Patrick O'Brien), who said it was desirable to cut the amount given for Queen's Plates into two parts, and then to give one of the two halves to each of the four Provinces of Ireland. It appeared to him that the proposal of the hon. Baronet would be very difficult to carry out. The hon. Member for Louth (Mr. Callan) said the money was distributed by irresponsible parties, and that matters relating to the races run were so arranged that it was known beforehand which horse was going to win. If that were the practice, he could not regard it as at all conducive to good morals; and, therefore, the statement of the hon. Member amounted to an argument in favour of his Motion. The hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) had expressed the opinion that he knew nothing about horse-racing. However that might be, he had read and heard a great deal about it and its mischievous effects; and, notwithstanding the arguments against his Motion, he felt it his duty to go to a division upon it.

SIR PATRICK O'BRIEN said, he wished to correct an error into which the hon. Member for Cavan had fallen. He had said that the money should be divided between two races to be held every year in Ireland, and that these races should alternate so far as regarded the Provinces in which they were held.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 23; Noes 102: Majority 79.—(Div. List, No. 312.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £26,106, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Offices of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in Dublin and London, and Subordinate Departments."

MR. SEXTON said, the Vote just put from the Chair, including, as it did, an amount of public money required for the emoluments and establishment of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, afforded Irish Members a recognized and Constitutional opportunity for criticizing the general administration of the country. It would be obvious that if they were to avail themselves of the occasion now Constitutionally offered to a legitimate extent, the questions brought forward would extend over a very wide range indeed; and, therefore, for his own part, he had intended to limit himself to a consideration of the way in which some portions of an Act which passed through Parliament some three weeks ago had been administered. He referred to the Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act. He would have been under the necessity of referring at length to the administration of what was called the Coercion Act of last year, were it not that at an earlier stage of the evening he had called attention to certain matters in connection with it; and he was bound to say that the reply given to him by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant had inspired him with such hope that he did not think it necessary to allude any further to the administration of that Act, He confessed that had the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) still occupied the position of Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, he should have felt himself, on the present occasion, compelled to trouble the Committee with much fuller remarks than he now intended to make. The very absence of that right hon. Gentleman limited the necessity of the occasion. He need not say that in the observations he was about to address to the Committee, he intended no personal reference to the present Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. Moreover, he intended to confine himself to the question of the powers of the Lord Lieutenant himself, and the manner in which he had exercised those powers; but before doing so he would refer to some things which had occurred within the last two or three days. In the first place, he must express a hope that the right hon. Gentleman would reconsider the case of the poor woman who was sent to prison at Waterford last Friday on a charge of interfering with the business of a butter merchant. Upon this subject the right hon. Gentleman had given him an answer altogether opposed to the facts. This was a case respecting a hard-working and respectable woman, against whose character nothing had been alleged, who, as he had said before, was thrown into prison charged with interfering with the business of a person who dealt in butter; the magistrate was appealed to for an adjournment of the case in order that she might produce witnesses; but he refused, and put forward, as the reason for refusing her most natural request, that he had travelled 60 miles in order to hear the case, and could not consent to the adjournment in consequence. Her father occupied a piece of land which he had reclaimed from desert, and the woman herself had been able to hold it by selling milk in the market; but she found herself, in the bad times, unable to pay her rent, although, if she had had a little time, she could have done so. The landlord, however, because she was one day behindhand, turned her out of the farm and let it to another person. He (Mr. Sexton) said it was not to be wondered at if, under these circumstances, she lost her temper and used language which brought her within the law. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would not confine himself to the strictly legal view of a case like this; but that he would take into consideration the grievous circumstances of this poor woman who had been refused an opportunity of engaging counsel and bringing witnesses into Court. With regard to the general question of the administration of this particular Act, he had noticed that some of the members of the Police Force had, during the last three weeks, behaved in the most indiscreet and wanton manner in putting the Act into operation. In one case there were three men who were going to pay their rent, and these men, to get a light for their pipes, went under the shade of a hedge to avoid the wind. Having done so, and lit their pipes, they were arrested and brought before the magistrates. Then there was the case of an Irish-American who was arrested simply because he came to revisit his native land; and, finally, he would refer to the case of the three young girls who were now lying in gaol, suffering 14 days' imprisonment, under circumstances which had already been described. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would see the necessity of moderating the unjust and hard conduct of the police on such occasions as these. But the real purpose he had in view was to speak of the manner in which the Act had been used since it became law. It received the Royal Assent on the 12th of last month, and two hours after midnight on the succeeding day there appeared a special issue of *The Dublin Gazette*, containing two proclamations from the Lord Lieutenant, bearing his name at the top, and at the bottom the names of the Master of the Rolls and another lawyer who appeared to constitute, at the time, the advising body of the Lord Lieutenant. These proclamations at once swept 15 counties of Ireland within the net of the Coercion Act. Coupling together these two facts—the extent of country brought suddenly within the operation of this most stringent law, and the limited time taken by the Lord Lieutenant to consider the matter, and to ascertain what was the condition of each particular county, and what special provisions of the Prevention of Crime Act referred to them severally, he thought he was entitled to say that the method pursued had not been dictated by the necessities of the case; but by that slavery to the dominant will of the Tory

Party which first appeared in that House, and had since exhibited itself in the conduct of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. But from this general proclamation of the country the Province of Ulster was excluded, although he had heard from time to time in that House descriptions of districts in that Province which, had he been disposed, as he was entitled, to make a comparison between those districts and the districts proclaimed, would not have resulted to the advantage of the Province in question. The exclusion of the Province of Ulster appeared to him to be a step dictated by political feeling, and not by the necessities of the case. Besides Ulster there were three or four counties on the Eastern seaboard of Ireland that were entirely excluded from the Act; but, with the exception of Ulster and this limited strip on the Coast, the whole of Ireland was exposed, by a single issue of *The Dublin Gazette,* to the operation of the Coercion Act. It seemed to him that the proclamation, with such undue haste on the part of the Lord Lieutenant, was conclusive proof of a desire to get a reputation for energy, and not of a desire to do strict justice. The Committee should understand that the Act was, with regard to its provisions, largely automatic. Except in the case of four of its clauses it applied to every county in Ireland. But with regard to them, in order that they should be put in operation, it was required that the Lord Lieutenant should issue a special proclamation. He referred to the clauses relating to riot and unlawful assembly, the arrest of persons found out at night, the arrest of strangers, and the power of search by day and night for arms by any Inspector of Police having the authority of the Lord Lieutenant. It would hardly be believed that the Lord Lieutenant had not made any distinction or used any discrimination in regard to the particular clauses that he should put in operation in the case of the several counties proclaimed. But the fact was, that he did take the 15 counties mentioned, and applied to every one of them the whole of the provisions of this Act; and, in doing so, he recognized no difference between the comparative quietness of Meath and the disturbed condition of Galway. He repeated that this act on the part of the Lord Lieutenant, in not recognizing any shade of difference between the several counties proclaimed, showed clearly that a weak desire to gain a reputation for energy overcame the desire to maintain law and order in those districts. Four days later the Lord Lieutenant extended the proclamation to King's County, Queen's County, and Meath. And so within five days of the passing of the Act 18 counties were subjected to its full, unmitigated powers. Moreover, the principal towns in Ireland had been subjected to the powers of the Act. He did not mean, of course, that they had been brought under the Curfew Clause, because that would be an absurdity, nor that they were subjected to the clauses for the arrest of strangers and persons found out at night, because in the case where so many people were gathered together that would be practically impossible; but he did mean that all the other provisions of the Act were applicable to Dublin, Limerick, Cork, Kilkenny, Waterford, Galway, and every considerable city and town in Ireland, with the exception of Belfast, which was well known to be the most disorderly of them all. But the same reason which excluded the Province of Ulster from the operation of the Act allowed the Lord Lieutenant also to exclude the town of Belfast; and it was clear, from the very fact he had just mentioned, as to the disorderly condition of that town, that political considerations, and not the desire to maintain law and order there, were the cause of its exemption. He asked, why had the Lord Lieutenant proclaimed these counties and large towns? The Act required that he should be satisfied that this step was rendered necessary in order to prevent crime; that was the condition, and that condition was set forth in the proclamations of the Lord Lieutenant. Passing from that subject for a moment, he turned to the question of searches by night, and to this he asked the close attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. A short time ago he asked the right hon. Gentleman whether the search warrants issued by the Lord Lieutenant had been issued to every Inspector of Police, and, if not, how many officers of police had been entrusted with them? The right hon. Gentleman, in his reply, stated that they had not been issued to all the Inspectors. He (Mr. Sexton) wished to point out that the specific provisions of the Prevention of Crime Act with regard to searches by day and night had not been complied with, but that they had been departed from in applying the 14th clause to the 18 proclaimed counties. He found from an examination of the *Dublin Gazette* that every warrant was addressed to the Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors. Now, the word "Inspector" was defined by the Act to mean a County Inspector — the Sub-Inspector being the Inspector of a district; and it was therefore plain from the wording of *The Gazette* that these warrants had been issued, not to the Sub-Inspectors, but to the Head Inspectors of each county, and he complained that this was a gross misuse of the powers of the Act. The Act, as hon. Members would be aware, gave power to search houses by day and, under certain circumstances, by night also. This last provision was a very trying one to the people of Ireland, because, as hon. Members knew well, it was a very serious thing to allow an Inspector to enter any house without warning, especially when its inmates were nervous women and nervous men, or when there was anyone lying ill there. The warrants having been addressed to the County Inspectors in the case of each of the counties, it followed that the power of the police to search extended over all the area of the county. This was a most extreme application of the Act, and had it been known that this practice would be resorted to, he believed that many English Members would not have voted for the clause. But what was the condition of the country when the 18 counties were proclaimed? Last year there were 1,000 "suspects" in gaol—now there were only 260. Many of them had been released, it was said, because the condition of the district from which they came had returned to a state of peace, order, and obedience to the law. But if, under the old Coercion Act, 700 men had been released from gaol in one year, he was entitled to infer that the districts had returned in the course of that year to such a condition of order and peace that the Government were able to release them. But how did the right hon. Gentleman reconcile that with the administration of this Act? If the districts had returned to such a condition; if peace was restored to an extent that enabled the Government to set 700 men at liberty, why did they address to every County Inspector in Ireland a warrant to enter any house by day or night? It was perfectly well understood that the power of search would not be exercised except there was good reason to suppose that arms were concealed on the premises; but it was never for one moment supposed that this power would be handed over upon the morrow of the passing of the Act to the heads of police in 18 Irish counties. If the warrants had been addressed to the Sub-Inspectors, he might have seen more reason for the act of the Lord Lieutenant, because he would have thought that the Lord Lieutenant had reason to believe that in the districts of these Sub-Inspectors secret meetings were held, and secret organizations were likely to be found. But that argument could not apply to the 18 proclaimed counties; and, therefore, he said that the proceeding he had described constituted the most unjustifiable and the most wanton abuse of power on the part of a Lord Lieutenant in Ireland which had presented itself in the whole course of his reading, or had occurred within his recollection. On what information did the Lord Lieutenant act? If he were to quote the official records of crimes on account of which persons had been made amenable in Ireland, the right hon. Gentleman would, no doubt, reply that the crime which came before the Judges of Assize was a very small part of the crime committed in the country. He might say there was a good deal of undetected crime—a good deal that did not come within reach of the arm of the law; and that this Prevention Act was passed for the purpose of putting down the class of crime which did not come before the Judges of Assize. But he would ask the right hon. Gentleman to listen to what had been said by several of the Judges of Assize. Besides the Calendar of prisoners, the Judge had before him the Constabulary Report, which he considered a much more important and valuable document, and upon which he founded the Charge he made to the Grand Jury. The Committee would have seen that Louth was one of the counties proclaimed; it had had all its liberties placed in the hands of the police. In that county people who struck a constable, or committed an aggravated assault, were deprived of the right of trial by jury, and were liable to be brought before two magistrates, who would try them without a jury. But what had happened at the Louth Assizes? Why, there was only one Crown case, and that, curiously enough, was a charge of perjury against a Crown witness—a wretch named Drew, who swore to a conspiracy amongst a number of respectable farmers to murder certain persons. The presiding Judge was Chief Justice May, and everyone would know him to be incapable of any exaggerated popular sympathies. Chief Justice May said, in charging the Grand Jury at the Louth Assizes nine days before the Lord Lieutenant proclaimed the county, that he found the statement of detected and undetected crime contained in the Report of the County Inspector to be very satisfactory; that there were only 13 cases of crime returned since the last Assizes, which was certainly a most satisfactory state of affairs; that the condition of the county, as compared with others, was satisfactory; and, added the learned Judge to the Inspector—"I hope this state of things will long continue to exist." Yet, notwithstanding this, nine days afterwards the condition of the county was such that the Lord Lieutenant considered himself justified in placing the county under the powers of the Prevention of Crime Act. Then, at the Meath Assizes, Chief Justice Morris, who presided, said there were six cases, none of which presented any particular feature, and he did not feel called upon to make any remark whatever as to the state of the county, or as to the amount of detected or undetected crime. After this statement on the part of that diligent Judge, he was quite sure there was nothing to call attention to. Nevertheless, the county of Meath was proclaimed nine days afterwards. Again, Judge Ormsby, who presided at the Tipperary Assizes, told the Grand Jury that their duties would be both short and light; there was no crime of any serious character, and he said—

> "I observe with pleasure that during the period over which my duties in connection with it have extended, the county has not been disgraced by any crime of grave character."

But, although no crime had been committed in the county, by a stroke of the pen it had been brought under the Prevention of Crime Act. Further, Judge Deasy, who differed from all the other Irish Judges, inasmuch as he had won promotion to the Bench by the force of his judicial ability alone, said to the Grand Jury at the Queen's County Assizes that their duties would be very light; that there was only one serious case, and that the Constabulary Report was in some respects more favourable than it was last year. But although the Judge reported an improvement as compared with last year, the Lord Lieutenant felt bound to put the county under the ban of the Prevention of Crime Act. If there had been anything in the state of Queen's County which called for the restriction of the liberties of the people, he was quite certain it would not have escaped the observation of this learned and impartial Judge; but he had not uttered a single word to that effect, and, therefore, he (Mr. Sexton) said that in the case of Queen's County, as in the cases of Meath, Louth, and Tipperary, there was nothing whatever to justify the action of the Lord Lieutenant in respect of these counties nine or ten days later. He would now turn to the case of cities, and, as he had already pointed out, a number of the principal cities in Ireland had been subjected by proclamation to all the clauses of the Act. Here, again, at the Assizes held at Drogheda, Chief Justice May said, that there was only one case to go before the Grand Jury, and that he felt sincere pleasure in congratulating them upon the state of the district; that there had been a diminution of every description of offence since the last Assizes, which was very satisfactory, and that he congratulated the community on its immunity from crimes of violence. The Committee would see that the learned Judge went so far as to congratulate the people of Drogheda on the state of affairs, and even contrasted that town favourably with the rest of Ireland. Then, at the Assizes in the city of Limerick, where Judge Lawson presided, there were only five Crown cases; and, as the learned Judge said nothing to the contrary, he was entitled to conclude that there was nothing in the state of affairs which called for special remark. At Kilkenny Judge Deasy had only three cases to try, and there was no case of any public interest. In Waterford there was only one case to try, and the learned Judge said—"He was happy to see that the state of the city was most peaceful." Having now gone through the list of cities, and quoted in every case the opinions of those who were most entitled to respect—the opinions of the Judges of the Crown—he once more emphasized the fact that the Judges did not speak from the Calendar, or with reference to the prisoners in the dock, but of the whole amount of crime committed in the district. Under these circumstances, he maintained that the manner in which the Act passed three weeks ago was being exercised called for the most serious attention on the part of Her Majesty's Government. It was apparent to him—and he thought it would be to anyone who for a moment considered the circumstances under which the Lord Lieutenant had proclaimed the 18 counties and six of the principal towns of Ireland—that in issuing these proclamations the Lord Lieutenant had neither regarded the conditions of the particular localities, nor the statements of the Irish Judges with respect to them; and he considered that this fact alone entitled him to condemn in the strongest manner what he could not but describe as a most unjust and wanton use of the powers of the Act.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, he was under the impression that when the House passed this Act of Parliament and armed the Executive in Ireland, it well understood that the Act would be enforced, and when it was about to be enforced the attention of the Executive was directed to this matter; and what the hon. Member termed a rapid decision of two hours after midnight on the day on which the Royal Assent had been received was not a correct description of the action of the Government. The decision of the Government was the result of deliberate consideration while the Act was passing. What grievance was there in the fact that the Act had been applied to the whole of Ireland? The hon. Member was not correct in saying that the whole of Ulster was excepted, and Monaghan and Armagh were included. The allegation was that Ulster was excluded.

Mr. SEXTON: Four baronies altogether, and two Catholic.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) asked how that affected the question? The Act was applied whenever it was required. There were four baronies in which it was required, and, therefore, it was applied. What was the grievance, he wished to know, in persons being subjected to punishment if they took part in any of these offences? Suppose they took part in any riots or unlawful assemblies, would any hon. Member say that they should not be punished? Again, what grievance was there in the fact that the Act was made applicable? It did not require persons to bring themselves under the Act and make themselves liable to punishment. If they took part in riots or unlawful assemblies, he failed to see why they should not be punished; and he certainly thought it would be a strange act on the part of the Executive if, when it had been armed with these powers, it should lay them aside. Nearly all the crime in Ireland recently had arisen from violence, or from driving people out by intimidation, by "Moonlight" riots, and by shooting people in the legs for having taken possession of lands from which others had been evicted. What harm was there in the Act being applied to such cases? It was not because the Act was brought into existence that people were necessarily to subject themselves to its operation; and if these "Moonlighters" went about and committed these offences they could hardly complain at there being an Act of Parliament strong enough to grapple with them, and that the Executive put it into force. Then, with regard to aggravated violence towards persons, one of the complaints was that such acts were allowed to go unpunished. The Act intended that such cases should be punished; but it did not follow that because the Act was passed people should put themselves under its operation. In Louth, for instance, a man might commit an outrage or take part in a riot or "Moonlight riot." He could not see why that man should not be punished, and he thought it would be a dereliction of duty if the Executive did not put its power into operation. The rest of the grievances were of the same character. The hon. Member practically said unless some of these acts could be pointed out in each district the Act of Parliament ought not to be applied. That was an entirely mistaken view, because the Act was not to be applied after crime had been committed, but was to be applied, so far as possible, to making crime impossible; and if it was made applicable to a particular locality, although no crimes were committed in that locality, no harm would be done, because the Act was practically not applied. Neither could it be applied to one side of a boundary and not to the other, because those boundaries were usually very like imaginary boundaries, and nothing would be easier than to commit a crime on one side of the boundary and, by crossing over to the other side, evade the Act. Suppose an Act was passed which applied to the whole of the United Kingdom, the hon. Member would say that it ought not to apply to the whole of the Kingdom, but only to those places in which there had been an exhibition of crime of a character which the Act contemplated. With such a view as that there might as well be no legislation. If an Act made punishment sure and speedy, it rendered crime less likely. Of course, if a stringent Act of Parliament was in force some people must be put to inconvenience—some persons, for instance, might be stopped by policemen and obliged to give an account of themselves. But in this case every kind of horrible crime had been committed. He did not wish to make the case worse than it was; but he had been brought very much in contact with these matters, and, in his opinion, crime was vastly diminished. But it must be recollected that the object of an Act of Parliament of this kind, and of every Act of Parliament, was not merely to punish crime, but to supply powers which might render crime impossible. If people knew that execution would speedily follow an offence, they would be likely to abstain from committing the offence, just as without such punishment they would commit offences with impunity. Therefore, it was not because crime did not now exist to the same extent as it did some time ago that the Act was less necessary; on the contrary, it was more necessary, and the fact that crime was diminishing was largely due to the circumstance that the people who had been committing these crimes knew very well what was now in store for them. The Calendar only represented certain cases which the Attorney General thought should be tried. It did not represent the cases sent for trial, nor all the crime which was indicated, but for which nobody was made accountable. The hon. Member had referred to the case of a person named Keane; but the hon. Member's information differed entirely from the statement made by the Chief Secretary in reply to his Question to-day, and the facts were not as the hon. Member was instructed to represent them. The hon. Member had stated that the lady had applied for an adjournment in order to prepare her case. The fact was, she denied having been summoned at all, although she had really been summoned the day before she gave the denial.

Mr. SEXTON: She stated her sister had received the summons.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, the lady's statement was that she had not been summoned, and she remained outside the Court in defiance until the warrant was issued, and she was brought into Court. She did not then ask for an adjournment because she was not then ready to go on with the case. The hon. Member stated that the lady had been the holder of a farm from which she had at that time been evicted, her rent being in arrear; and that, the farm having been taken by the landlord at the end of six months for redemption, it was not unnatural that she should, on two or three occasions, have used language which brought her within the law. It was not unnatural that if a man received an insult he should knock his insulter down. But this lady appeared to have used language which was of an exceedingly guilty character, and which it was quite necessary to stop. But, whatever the charge was, she did not ask for an adjournment because she was not ready. Her first defence was that she was not amenable at all, because she had not been summoned, and when she was brought into Court upon the warrant she went on with the case. The case was reported in *The Waterford Mail.*

Mr. SEXTON said, the lady pleaded that she was not guilty, and wanted the case adjourned for a week in order that she might get professional assistance, because she had been taken by surprise.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, he was not disposed to take the newspaper reports as correct, because many of the cases were reported in such a way as to give to the cases a totally different complexion to the one they ought to bear.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, the speech they had just listened to was that of a practised counsellor, because the right hon. and learned Gentleman had made a speech of considerable length without uttering one syllable about the real point at issue. The main argument of his hon. Friend (Mr. Sexton) was that when the Prevention of Crime Bill was passing through the House its employment was limited to those districts which would be named; that, in fact, it would only operate in proclaimed districts. The right hon. and learned Gentleman in charge of the Bill (Sir William Harcourt) laid it down that this would be a limitation upon the operation of the Act, so that it came to this—that the Act would only be applied where the Government had strong reason for employing it. The hon. Member (Mr. Sexton) had said that the Government declared they would only apply the four clauses in districts the state of which peremptorily required their exercise; but in spite of this declaration they had used them in districts where there was not the smallest need for them. Last year, some time after the now expiring Coercion Act came into operation, the Irish Members had reason to complain of the impossibility of reconciling the use to which that Act was put with the promises and undertakings made during its passage through the House. But he did not think so short a time as three weeks had elapsed when they were able to make that complaint. Some months were allowed to elapse before the right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary (Mr. W. E. Forster), who, he hoped, would never again rise to an official position, especially in regard to Ireland, was guilty of a flagrant violation of the pledges upon which the Act was obtained. But now, three weeks after the Prevention of Crime Bill became law, they found the Government absolutely putting it to uses to which they declared they did not intend to put it. He had taken the trouble to refer to the report in *Hansard* of the statement of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary in regard to the application of these clauses, and he found that nothing could be clearer than the words of the right hon. and learned Gentleman. In vol. 270, page 1,042, the Home Secretary was thus reported—

> "He only rose to offer a few words which, he thought, might remove some of the difficulties which had been raised by hon. Members to this clause. It was the desire of the Irish Government and of Lord Spencer not to use these extraordinary powers except in cases where the Lord Lieutenant considered their exercise was absolutely required. It would be observed that several clauses of the Bill referred to proclaimed districts, and the Irish Government were of opinion that that limitation of proclaimed districts might be extended to other clauses of the Bill. The Government were perfectly willing to agree that this clause should only operate within a proclaimed district—that was, a district which was in such a state of disturbance as would justify and require the use of these summary powers. A sort of premium would thus be placed upon a district to keep undisturbed and quiet, and he hoped that the announcement he had now made would tend to facilitate the passing of the clause. Effect could either be given to the concession at the end of the clause, or perhaps, better still, on Report. In the meantime, he would ask hon. Members to consider that the clause should only apply to proclaimed districts." — [3 *Hansard*, cclxx. 1042.]

The CHAIRMAN said, the hon. Member was not in Order in reading from debates which had taken place during the present Session.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he would ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland whether it was possible to reconcile the statement of the Home Secretary, that these clauses would only be applied in districts which were in a state of disturbance, with the application of the clauses in districts which had been complimented by the going Judges of Assize because of the absence of crime? A few days ago he asked the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary whether it was a fact that the going Judge of Assize had complimented the town of Galway on the absence of crime, and that only six cases at most were brought before the Judge? The right hon. Gentleman, with perfect candour, admitted that only two cases were brought before the Judge; but the county of Galway had been proclaimed, and in face of the facts the right hon. Gentleman said the Lord Lieutenant had no intention of withdrawing the proclamation. He did not wish to bring charges of bad faith against Ministers, though he might have occasion to do so if he wished to be discourteous or ungracious in his remarks. It was, however, perfectly impossible for him to reconcile the proclamation of certain undisturbed districts with the statement of the Home Secretary.

MR. CALLAN said, he had not the pleasure of being present during the discussion; but when he entered the House he found reference was being made to the proclamation of counties in Ireland. As the subject had been introduced, he wished to declare his opinion that there had been a deliberate breach of the pledges made by the Home Secretary during the passage of the Prevention of Crime Bill. He (Mr. Callan) brought forward three Amendments to that Bill. The object of one was to limit the power of the Lord Lieutenant to proclaiming meetings except in proclaimed districts; and one of the arguments used against him was that if his Amendment were carried there would be an inducement to unnecessarily proclaim counties, so as to have the power of proclaiming meetings. Another of his Amendments was to the Curfew Clause, and was to the effect that the clause should only operate in districts which had been proclaimed in consequence of the crime prevailing in it. The Home Secretary said—

> "The Irish Government were of opinion that that limitation of proclaimed districts might be extended to other clauses of the Bill. The Government were perfectly willing to agree that this clause should only operate within a proclaimed district—that was, a district which was in such a state of disturbance as would justify and require the use of these summary powers. A sort of premium would thus be placed upon a district to keep undisturbed and quiet, and he hoped that the announcement he had now made would tend to facilitate the passing of the clause."—[*Ibid.*]

He (Mr. Callan) was never more surprised in his life than to find, within three days of the Act coming into operation, that the county town of Drogheda and the county of Louth were proclaimed. What had happened? He would quote from the Drogheda Conservative paper, a respectable print which gave very accurate reports, and it stated that the Commission of Drogheda was opened by the Right Hon. Chief Justice May. The district of Drogheda was proclaimed the same week that the statement he was about to quote was made; in fact, the statement was made on the Monday, and the county town of Drogheda was proclaimed on the following Friday. Chief Justice May, in addressing the Grand Jury, said—

> "Mr. Foreman and gentlemen of the Grand Jury of the county of the town of Drogheda,—The business you have to transact on this occasion is very light. There is only one case to go before you, and it is one that presents no difficulty and requires no observations on my part. From inquiries I have made it affords me sincere pleasure to be able to congratulate you and the inhabitants of this district on its very satisfactory state. There appears a diminution in every description of offence since last Assizes, and a very satisfactory diminution in the offence of drunkenness. It is a very great pleasure in these unhappy times that we are thus able to congratulate you, and that this appearance contrasts favourably, and very favourably, with that which is presented in other parts of Ireland. There is an utter absence in this part of that unhappy class of offence that has fallen upon and disgraced other parts of the country. I am glad to think this part of Ireland is free from such foul outrages as we hear of occurring elsewhere, and which act as a stigma upon our National character. It is with great pleasure I am able to tell you that your county of the town of Drogheda is free from outrage."

Within a week of that congratulation the promise made by the Home Secretary was deliberately broken. So far as the Home Secretary was concerned, the Prevention of Crime Act was obtained on false pretences; and the right hon. and learned Gentleman did not seem as ashamed as he ought to be of the manner in which the Irish Executive had falsified the pledges which he had made to that House. What had happened in Dundalk, in the county he (Mr. Callan) represented? The next day another eminent Irish Judge—Mr. Justice Harrison, a Conservative—addressed the Grand Jury in this language—

> "It gives me sincere pleasure on this, the first occasion on which I have the honour of presiding in this Court, to be in a position to tell you that the criminal business to go before you is very light. There are only three bills sent up; one is a larceny, another is an assault case, and the third is a case of a peculiar kind, which I am sure you will examine carefully, and return a true bill if, in your opinion, a *primâ facie* case of perjury is made out. . . . . The only other thing to which I may refer is the Report of the County Inspector, which I find to be very satisfactory. There are only 12 cases of crime reported since last Assizes, and this, certainly, is very satisfactory. It is a very satisfactory distinction when compared with other counties, where I get a return of 500 or 600 cases to investigate. I hope and trust this state of things may long continue in your county; but I am sorry to say that some of your cases of undetected crime are of a class pointing to a disorganization of society—writing of threatening letters and other forms

of intimidation; but they are not numerous; and I hope the symptoms will not spread into anything more serious in this comparatively happy and contented portion of the land."

It was a fortnight now since he (Mr. Callan) presented the Chief Secretary for Ireland with a copy of the report of the observations of Mr. Chief Justice May and Mr. Justice Harrison with respect to the county town of Drogheda and the county of Louth. The Grand Juries of both those counties were congratulated upon the peaceable state of the counties, and yet, within a week of that congratulation, the districts had been proclaimed. The county of Londonderry, represented by the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Porter), was not proclaimed, and yet crime was ten times as great there as in the county of Louth. The people of Louth would resent this insult to their county by, at the next election, making it compulsory upon any candidate who proposed to offer himself that he must oppose in every way this pledge-breaking Government. Just imagine that in the county of Louth, where there was no crime, if a man went out of his house at 7 o'clock at night he could be arrested. When the Curfew Clause was before the House, the Home Secretary misled the House into the belief that no county would be proclaimed except where the crime was of such a character as to absolutely require that these extra powers should be put in force. He (Mr. Callan) did not complain of any other county not being proclaimed; but he did complain that the worst clause of the Bill should be put in force in respect of his own county. He hoped to have another opportunity elsewhere of showing up the Government in their true colours. For instance, in the county of Monaghan, which was represented by one of the ardent supporters of the Government, he should make it a point of informing the people of the acts of this unprincipled and pledge-breaking Administration.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, he thought he was right in supposing that, under the present Vote, they were asked to contribute a salary for the New Crime Under Secretary; and, if that was the case, he wished to move a reduction of the Vote by the salary of Mr. Jenkinson. He considered that Mr. Jenkinson was not an official who, from his antecedents, ought to be designed to fulfil the important functions of the Head of the Criminal Investigation Department in Ireland. He noticed that the salary of the Assistant Under Secretary——

The CHAIRMAN said, he thought that this subject would more properly come under the Supplementary Estimates.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked whether it was under this Vote that a portion of the salary, at any rate, of the New Crime Under Secretary, was to be paid. He had a right to information on that point from the Government. He hoped he should receive it, because he did not wish to be bound to move to report Progress.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, this Vote was prepared at the commencement of the financial year, before Earl Spencer came into Office; and it was only after Earl Spencer came into Office that the duties connected with law and order in Ireland, and with the prevention of crime in Ireland, were removed from the Under Secretary, and in consequence the Vote did not appear in the Chief Secretary's Office for this financial year. He presumed the money would be provided in a Supplementary Vote at the commencement of the next Session.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked if he was to understand that the New Crime Under Secretary was to draw no pay until next year?

Mr. TREVELYAN said, that when a new official was appointed it was not customary to present an Estimate for his pay.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked from what fund was Mr. Jenkinson to be paid in the meantime? It was quite evident that somehow or other the expenses of this new official were to be paid, and he presumed they were to be paid out of some portion of the money that the House was now asked to vote; but whether or not a regular sum would be brought in, separately allocated to that office, he did not know. In the meantime the official was appointed, and that official was to be paid. Did Colonel Brackenbury receive no remuneration for the time he was in office?

Mr. TREVELYAN said, the hon. Gentleman must be conversant with the manner in which the financial business of this country was conducted. From time to time, in the course of the financial year, it was discovered that a new official was required, and it was impossible that that discovery should always be made immediately on the very eve of the presentation of the Estimates. The salary of the new official was paid out of the general fund of the House; and, in order that the sense of Parliament might be taken before the close of the financial year, a Supplementary Estimate was presented, under the head, in this case, of the Office of Chief Secretary for Ireland. Parliament then had an opportunity of discussing the propriety of the Vote. He should imagine that the hon. Member would be in Order in making what remarks he chose, because in the interval, before the Supplementary Estimate could be presented, Colonel Brackenbury did receive, and Mr. Jenkinson would receive, a salary out of the lump sum voted for the Chief Secretary's Department.

MR. O'DONNELL said, that was clear and satisfactory, and he was glad that his intervention had led to this explanation of the manner in which the financial business of the country was carried on. Upon this Vote, therefore, he was entitled to refer to the appointment of Mr. Jenkinson, and to object to that appointment. He objected to the appointment of Mr. Jenkinson in the strongest manner; he would object to the appointment of Mr. Jenkinson even if there were no special circumstances in his career, because he considered that an official who had been trained in the despotic school of Indian officialism was no proper person to be employed in a post of responsibility in a country like Ireland, which still entertained some hope of recovering its Constitutional liberty one day or other. The first objection he had to make against Mr. Jenkinson was that as Crime Assistant Secretary he would really be the master of the liberty of the Irish people; and in the discharge of his functions he should be, if those functions were to be discharged properly, armed beforehand with a proper knowledge of Ireland and of the Irish people. It was not a post which should be given to a stranger. In the first place, Mr. Jenkinson was a stranger in the most thorough sense of the word. He had served some 22 or 23 years in India, and he had not served at all in Ireland. He entered the Indian Civil Service somewhere as far back as 1856, and he only left the Indian Civil Service a couple of years ago. He had no experience whatever of Ireland, of the ways of the people of Ireland, of the crime of Ireland, of the inducements to crime in Ireland, of the provocations to crime in Ireland; he was an absolute stranger to the country; and it was, therefore, unreasonable to import Mr. E. G. Jenkinson from India, and to entrust him with the work of the detection of crime in Ireland. But, in the second place, he objected to Mr. E. G. Jenkinson from the nature of his Indian antecedents. He was a Commissioner in Oude, but had left no record behind him of having introduced any improvement into the condition of the Province. With regard to Oude, it would be enough to say that it was an Ireland on a large scale. Mr. Irwin, a distinguished Indian Civil servant, had written an able book on the *Garden of India,* which was the name Oude was known by—a name derived from ancient tradition, but by no means appropriate under the English Government. Writing about Oude, this gentleman had said that it might be supposed that the Irish cultivator had reached the very lowest limits of human existence; but a considerable proportion of the population of Oude lived a life still lower and more miserable than that. Such was the country from which Mr. Jenkinson had only recently come—such was the country over whose miseries he presided—such was the country whose miseries he did nothing to remove. A gentleman of that description, who never felt for agrarian misery in India, was not the man to be entrusted with the supervision of agrarian crime in Ireland, because he who did not understand the misery of Irish agrarian life could not be an intelligent observer, or an intelligent supervisor of that agrarian crime which in nine cases out of ten was the almost natural outcome of agrarian misery and oppression. But he did not only object to Mr. Jenkinson as one of those Oude officials who had done nothing for that miserable Province. He objected to Mr. Jenkinson being appointed to the permanent Secretaryship in Ireland, because he objected to Ireland, in its present condition, being governed by one of the Mutiny Magistrates of India. He had no wish to detract from the undoubted high qualities, in many respects, that Mr. Jenkinson possessed; but than his there had been no more iron hand, or iron heart, amongst all the strong-handed and hard-hearted men who drowned in blood the struggle of a portion of the Indian people in 1857. He (Mr. O'Donnell) was not going into unnecessary details; but they knew that even such an English writer as Colonel Malleson had declared that the Indian outbreak of 1857 was "due to the bad faith of the English Government"—and he was using the Colonel's own words. In 1857 Mr. Jenkinson held the grade of Assistant Magistrate in Benares and, as an officer of that distinction in the English Government of Benares, he must take his responsibility for the manner in which the rebellion, mutiny, or popular discontent were suppressed in that place. On that subject, he (Mr. O'Donnell) was not going to ask the Committee, and he was certainly not going to ask his countrymen in Ireland, to believe any charge against Mr. Jenkinson solely on his unsupported testimony; but he surely had a right to tell the Committee and his countrymen that Mr. Jenkinson, the Assistant Magistrate, and a member of the body of English magistrates who ruled at Benares during the time of the Mutiny, was not, by his antecedents, a man who ought to have the power which, in the position to which he had been appointed, would be intrusted to him under the last Irish Coercion Act. Sir John Kay, the distinguished British historian, in his history of the Reign of Terror in Benares during the rule of the Commissioners—in the history called *The Sepoy Mutiny*—said, in the second volume, page 236, that our military officers were hunting down criminals of all kinds, and hanging them with as little compunction as though they had been vermin. The Military Courts, he said, sentenced old and young to be hanged with indiscriminate ferocity. On one occasion, some young boys, who, perhaps in mere sport, had flaunted the rebel colours, and had gone about beating tom-toms, were tried and sentenced to death, and what was done with some show of formality was nothing to compare with what was done with no formality at all. Volunteer hanging parties were established, and went to work in the district, and one man boasted of the number of Natives he had "finished off" "quite in an artistic manner," with mango-trees for gibbets, and elephants for drops—the victims being strung up for pastime in the form of the figure 8. It might be said, on behalf of Mr. Jenkinson, that he protested against these nameless and horrible atrocities; and before Mr. Jenkinson, the Mutiny Magistrate of Benares, was furnished with all the powers of "Spymaster General" in Ireland, the Irish people had a right to know that he had protested against these atrocities, and that he had raised his voice against this "artistic finishing off" of untried prisoners, and against the sentencing to death of children whose only crime was that of flaunting about the rebel colours and beating tom-toms. In the name of the Irish people, and in the name of the Indian people, whose grievances were so sadly neglected in that House, he protested against the present promotion of the Mutiny Assistant Magistrate of Benares, and he told Her Majesty's Government that they could not obtain from the Irish people sympathy, respect, or support for the man who had on his hands the blood that was foully shed by Englishmen during the panic of 1857.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he had been several times complimented, since he took the rather difficult post he now had the honour to occupy, on the courtesy and moderation with which he answered the questions and statements of hon. Members; but he must say that, if ever his courtesy and sense of moderation was tried, it had been by the speech of the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down. If that speech had come from the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) at a time when he was moved by that deep sense he had of what he believed to be the wrongs of his country, he (Mr. Trevelyan) could have understood it; but the hon. Member who had just spoken was not the hon. Member for Wexford. The hon. Member who had just spoken was an hon. Member who, if there was anyone in the House who knew the exact strength of words, both in writing and speaking, had that faculty at his command. Every single word the hon. Member spoke was spoken deliberately; and he (Mr. Trevelyan) ventured to say that there never was an attack made upon anyone in that House which was more repugnant to the judgment and the feeling of all those Members who desired not to excite the prejudices of the Irish people against those who had to administer the affairs of that country than the attack which was now made upon Mr. Jenkinson. What had the hon. Member done? Knowing that an ex-Indian official was going to be promoted to a most important position in Ireland, he had endeavoured to prejudice the Irish people by a method of reasoning which appeared to him (Mr. Trevelyan) extremely well calculated—when used with the skill which he would not characterize—to effect the object in view. The hon. Member, after 20 years, referred to what was worst in the repression of the great Indian Mutiny—he rooted out a certain description of cruel doings on the part of the English, and described them in order that his description might be reported in the Irish papers to-morrow, and that Mr. Jenkinson's name might be associated with them. The hon. Member said at the outset that the outbreak in India was due to the bad faith of the English Government, and that Mr. Jenkinson must take his responsibility for the way in which that popular outbreak was repressed. Now, what was Mr. Jenkinson's connection with the Indian Mutiny? When it broke out he was a lad of 19. He found himself at Benares—or in the neighbourhood, he (Mr. Trevelyan) was not quite certain which—as assistant magistrate in the month of June, 1857, having been two or three months in India altogether. He (Mr. Trevelyan) did not suppose Mr. Jenkinson had very much to do with the so-called crimes of the English Government which brought on that outbreak. According to the statement of Mr. F. M. Lind, of the Bengal Civil Service—

> "His (Mr. Jenkinson's) first care was to see to the safety of his friends, whom he sent off in a carriage to Rajghat, where they would be out of harm's way. He then borrowed his friend's pony, and set off towards the Civil lines to join the magistrate of the district, and to place his services at the disposal of that officer for any work that might be required of him. On the road he was twice fired at by Sepoys."

The account went on to say—

> "Our position was a very precarious one. We could get no information as to what was going on in cantonments, and the Native messengers we had sent to seek this information did not return to us. Under these circumstances we decided that one of ourselves should go on this mission. Mr. Gubbins, the Judge, expressed a wish to go, if anyone would accompany him. Eventually, Messrs. Jenkinson and De Momet accompanied Mr. Gubbins, the two latter driving in a buggy, while Mr. Jenkinson rode his borrowed pony. In crossing the Burma Bridge the party were going slowly, Mr. Jenkinson closely following the buggy, when suddenly, only a few paces off, he detected several Sepoys lying in ambush, preparing to fire. Fearful lest any remark from him might induce his friends to pull up, and thus give the Sepoys a standing shot, he called out to Mr. Gubbins to drive on as rapidly as possible, and then, drawing himself up alongside of the buggy, interposed his own person between his friends in the buggy and the Sepoys. On reaching the ambuscade the Sepoys fired a volley from behind the parapet of the bridge. Fortunately the bullets flew harmlessly by. Still, the unselfish offer of his own life for the protection of his friends was a gallant deed, bravely done, and might have been the means of saving the life of one whose counsels, and influence, and local knowledge, in those days were of infinite value to us all at Benares."

Mr. Jenkinson almost immediately came under the notice of the authorities. As Mr. Lind said—

> "It was under this phase of matters that Mr. Jenkinson came to the front. It was true that he was young in the Service and inexperienced in the routine of official life, still he was a man of quick perception and ready action, and possessed in his person qualities which were of inestimable value in those days, a happy combination of physical activity, mental vigour, and untiring energy. He was clearly the man for the times."

Mr. Jenkinson, as he (Mr. Trevelyan) would presently show, was not a man likely to take part in what might be called the penal side of the rebellion. He was one of those happy specimens of the Indian Civil servant who combined a love for the Natives with that spirit of enterprize and patriotism which had made England what she was. Mr. Jenkinson obtained leave from the Indian Civil Service to go into the very thick of the fighting. He raised a corps of 150 horsemen, part being English and part Natives, and, followed by these men, he went into many of the most severe actions. This was what was said of what he did on one occasion—

> "Mr. Jenkinson accompanied the Cavalry, and was engaged in all their operations during the day. He was close to Mr. Venables when that gentleman was wounded, and was engaged in a hand-to-hand fight with a Sepoy armed with musket, shield, and sword, whom he eventually vanquished and killed."

Brigadier General Franks refers to this in paragraph 57 of his despatch thus—

> "Messrs. Lind, Jenkinson, and Venables, Civil Service, accompanied the force in the action at Chanda and Amereepùr. In the former action Mr. Venables, charging the flying enemy with the Cavalry, with whom he did good service, received a severe spear wound through the thigh. Mr. Jenkinson, after the above action, assisted me in escorting Mr. Venables into Jounpùr for medical treatment. It should be stated here that Brigadier Franks' force having

advanced to the relief of Lucknow, Mr. Jenkinson was ordered to return to his own district."

Mr. H. G. Astell, late Judge and Special Commissioner of Jounpùr, in a testimonial, said of Mr. Jenkinson—

"Mr. Jenkinson showed both courage and skill in carrying out his plans. He started at dark, and arrived before daylight, securing the men, who were found ploughing by moonlight, to prevent them giving alarm. The informers, who had accompanied the party, pointed out a small palisaded enclosure in the middle of a thick jungle, and only about 300 yards distant from a large village, which was under the protection of a large and influential Talookdar of Oudh, whose name I now forget. Mr. Jenkinson, with some of his men, dismounted and forced their way through the palisade, and succeeded in securing Umuldàr Singh and his son, whom they found asleep, with the guns and pistols of the plundered indigo factory lying loaded at their side. Mr. Jenkinson personally headed the manœuvre, and was the first through the palisade. All the party were back into the Jounpùr district before daylight, and before the alarm was given. It was a most spirited and successful operation. The prisoners were both sentenced to transportation; I forget for what period. I was with Mr. Jenkinson all through the Mutiny in the Benares and Jounpùr districts in 1857 and 1858, and can safely assert that he was foremost in all acts of energy and gallantry, never sparing himself either in the matter of hard work or exposure."

And Mr. W. Muir wrote—

"Notwithstanding his ill-health, he has borne himself bravely, and no public servant devoted himself more unreservedly to his duties than Mr. Jenkinson. His services at Jhansi, as Deputy Commissioner in charge of the Revenue Settlement, and subsequently at Saharunpùr, were much appreciated by the Government. The drainage works, which he carried out with great energy and intelligence, have proved most successful in improving the sanitary condition of that town; and his administration generally was vigorous and able."

Mr. Jenkinson obtained such a reputation that he not only received a special vote of thanks from the Indian Office, but received the thanks of Her Majesty the Queen. He was one of those men whose success was very much due to those qualities which rendered him eminently fitted to bring benefit upon his fellow creatures when put in a position of authority over them in times of peace. Mr. Jenkinson returned to the ordinary duties of his Civil Service in India; and he (Mr. Trevelyan) would quote from one or two testimonials to show how he conducted himself in that Service. Sir George Couper wrote as follows:—

"When Sir John Strachey made over the harge of this Government to me, he said you were the best magistrate and collector in the North-Western Provinces; and, as a Commissioner of a non-regulation division, you have fully justified this eulogium from so good a judge."

Hon. Gentlemen knew what it was to be one of the best magistrates and collectors in the North-Western Provinces in India; and when they considered what it was to be not only an eminent magistrate, but an eminent Commissioner at the head of five or six districts, governing 4,000,000 or 5,000,000 people under the eye of a man who rose to be Governor of those great Provinces, they would agree that Mr. Jenkinson's reputation could not be better established. Another testimonial came from the Hon. Edward Drummond. He said—

"Everyone whom I have ever met regarded Mr. Jenkinson in those days as a young officer full of the highest promise. His zeal, energy, and intelligence were admitted on all sides; and the result of a long official acquaintance with him has fully justified the high opinion I always entertained of his abilities and perseverance. We have, for many years since 1857, been associated together in district administration, the last occasion being when he was for some years collector and magistrate of Saharunpùr, and his official superior as Commissioner of the Meerut Division, and I confidently say that it was a pleasure to work with him. If there was a fault at all, it was that of over-zeal. I have often entreated Mr. Jenkinson to spare himself a little, and to make over work, not absolutely requiring his personal attention, to his subordinates. I was fearful lest over-work might break down his health. It is hardly necessary for me to add that Mr. Jenkinson, as an executive and administrative officer, was second to none of those who ever came under my cognizance, although many officers, admittedly among the most able in the Service, have served under me. In entrusting any duty to him, I felt confident that it would be most thoroughly and perfectly done, whether it was a matter of ordinary importance, or one requiring tact and judgment and careful handling. Mr. Jenkinson has left his mark wherever he had any official connection with a district."

Mr. Jenkinson showed quite recently that the old spirit which he displayed during the Mutiny was not out of the way when it had to be used in the pursuit and apprehension of a criminal. This gentleman, who was—as he (Mr. Trevelyan) would show—regarded as the protector and friend of all the populations he governed, had only one set of enemies, and they were the enemies of law and order. Mr. Jenkinson, on one occasion, heard of an extremely powerful robber chief, who had obtained the protection of the landowners of the district;

and this was how, according to a statement before him (Mr. Trevelyan), the robber was captured—

> "Mr. Jenkinson had to attempt the capture with the aid only of a very few followers; the presence of a larger number would have incurred the risk of an alarm, thus defeating the object of the mission. Slowly and silently the palisade round the enclosure was forced, and then, with silent step, the resting-place of the dacoit was approached. Had there been the slightest noise so as to awaken the sleepers, Mr. Jenkinson's position would have been a most hazardous one, and it is not too much to say that his life would not have been worth a moment's purchase. As it happened, the sleepers were resting in fancied security. There was then an anxious moment of suspense, the prize was all but in the captor's grasp; but there was still the cordon of followers to be gone through. This being successfully done, Mr. Jenkinson sprang upon the sleeping dacoit, whose hands were quickly tied, and the possibility of escape prevented. But it was still necessary to carry off the prize without raising the country. This, too, was done, and the captured men were soon conveyed into British territory. Mr. Jenkinson alone deserves the whole credit of the capture; he it was who conceived the scheme; he it was who so pluckily carried it to a successful ending. The dacoits were tried by Mr. Astell, and were convicted and sentenced by him as Special Commissioner. This was only one instance of good work done by Mr. Jenkinson. I had nearly overlooked it. I may have overlooked many others. It is illustrative of his desire to do his duty under all circumstances."

No one in Dublin, during the terrible events of three months ago, could ever forget the bearing of Mr. Jenkinson during that trying time. No one could ever forget his coolness and good feeling; and at that time, when everyone's heart was sick within him, everyone felt that they had amongst them one of those men who could always be relied upon at a crisis. Mr. Jenkinson was ordinarily of a remarkably quiet and unassuming manner; but the moment there were dangers or disaster, or trying circumstances, or heavy responsibilities to be encountered, he seemed to draw himself up and become quite another man. He (Mr. Trevelyan) would now read another extract—a very interesting one, and one which he hoped would receive the attention of the readers of the Irish newspapers, or those of them who read the speech of the hon. Member opposite (Mr. O'Donnell). The extract he was about to read had reference to the last place but one at which Mr. Jenkinson was Commissioner——

MR. O'DONNELL: What is the extract taken from?

MR. TREVELYAN said, he was about to quote from the Report on the Settlement of Jhansi from the Board of Revenue to the Government of the North-Western Provinces. He (Mr. Trevelyan) would read this extract, and would then wind up by reading a much more important document. The former extract was as follows:—

> "Mr. Jenkinson's Report is so able and exhaustive that the remarks to be made in this review may be much briefer than in the districts of Dehra and Saharunpùr. His Report contains a full account of the history and economic condition of the district prior to British rule, and since it became a part of the British Possessions. The mode of Native assessment, the fiscal results of the assessment now effected, the determination of proprietary rights, and cultivating holdings, are in turn discussed with conciseness, and clearness, and succinct enumeration of the more salient points, is all that is now needed.
>
> "In conclusion, I am desired to bring prominently to the favourable notice of Government the services of the Commissioners, and the exertions of several Settlement officers. The excellent work performed by Mr. Jenkinson in drawing up the Record of Rights, in settling the numerous and difficult claims to proprietary title, and in embodying in an admirable Report a full account of all Settlement operations, is especially deserving of the thanks of the Board."

He (Mr. Trevelyan) quoted this to show what the British officials thought of Mr. Jenkinson's conduct at Jhansi. The next document he wished to quote was an address from the people of Saharunpùr district to Mr. Jenkinson. It said—

> "During the seven years you have been in charge of the district you have, by your unvaried high sense of justice and clemency, inspired all, whether high or low, with feelings of sincere respect and admiration, and have earned their loyalty and lasting gratitude to the Government whom you have so faithfully represented. During your administration of the district, all the inhabitants, as well as the various officers who had the good fortune of serving under you, have to acknowledge that their comfort and welfare have ever been your first consideration; and now, on your departure from amongst us, there is not a heart that does not feel the pang of being parted from a kind benefactor and sincere friend. But, though absent from us, your name and good deeds will live for centuries among us, and our children and grandchildren will be taught to recall your name as a household word."

The address then went on to refer to Mr. Jenkinson's exertions to improve the sanitary condition of the place, and to put a stop to epidemics and sickness; and it expressed the gratitude of the various religious sects—especially the Mahomedans of the district, for the mosque he had been instrumental in procuring for them—for the interest he had taken in their welfare. It ended by saying—

> "There are, moreover, many landlords in the district who will never forget the fatherly kindness by which you have enabled them to extricate themselves from what appeared to them inevitable ruin and poverty, and, by enabling them to pay off their debts, have re-established them in the high position they held."

Such was the testimony of the Natives in favour of Mr. Jenkinson. He (Mr. Trevelyan) had now gone through Mr. Jenkinson's career at greater length than he should have wished; but he had felt it impossible not to try to do this eminent public servant justice when an attack had been made upon him—an attack which he could not but feel the hon. Member who had made it, on thinking the matter over, would be sorry for.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, he had stated in his previous speech that he did not underrate many qualities which Mr. Jenkinson possessed. What he said was that that gentleman did not possess the qualities or the antecedents which fitted him for this post in Ireland. Quickness of perception and great resolution, no doubt, he possessed in a high degree, and those qualities rendered him all the more responsible for the part he took in the suppression of the Mutiny at Benares, where, on the admission of the Chief Secretary, he volunteered his services. He asked the Chief Secretary to produce some proof that Mr. Jenkinson could dissociate himself from the horrors perpetrated against the Native population at Benares. In the whole course of his observations, the Chief Secretary had been unable to bring forward a single word in such exculpation of his friend. The Chief Secretary also stated that Mr. Jenkinson, who was to discharge such delicate and *quasi*-official functions in Ireland, had actually volunteered to lead a body of free-lances in the suppression of the Mutiny at Benares. That might prove that gentleman to be a bold and daring leader of men, who trusted to cold steel in preference to anything else; but it did not show that he was fit to be at the head of the Criminal Investigation Department of a Constitutional country like Ireland. Every statement of the Chief Secretary only confirmed the justice of his (Mr. O'Donnell's) original observations. The right hon. Gentleman had read out a certain number of testimonials to Mr. Jenkinson; but did he not know, with his experience of India, that every Anglo-Indian official of any consequence who desired testimonials could obtain the most abject addresses of gratitude from all the officials and Indian ratepayers in his jurisdiction? Did the imprisonment of 11,000 Natives in Bengal diminish the testimonials showered upon Mr. Ashley Eden when he quitted the Governorship of that Province the other day? The Chief Secretary quoted a testimonial from Sir George Couper, the late Governor of the North-Western Provinces. Would the right hon. Gentleman give him the opportunity of proving to the House the manner in which Sir George Couper left the population to die like flies from preventible famine a few years ago? The good qualities of Sir George Couper——

Mr. R. N. FOWLER rose to Order, and asked whether it was open to the hon. Member to discuss the merits of Sir George Couper?

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is quite out of Order in discussing the appointment of Sir George Couper.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, the Chief Secretary had referred to the superior manner in which Mr. Jenkinson had settled the Jhansi difficulty. He must inform the Chief Secretary that the settlement of the Jhansi matter had been so bad, and so out of keeping with the habits of the people, and so productive of endless dissensions, that one of the questions engaging Indian legislation this year had been the new Bill—the Jhansi Encumbered Estates Bill—which was specially intended to redress some of the more glaring defects of the settlement to which the Chief Secretary alluded. When the right hon. Gentleman alluded to Anglo-Indians, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would remember that he was well acquainted with the biographies of Anglo-Indian officials. He had no desire to mar the brilliant prospects of Mr. Jenkinson, that dashing leader of free-lances, who went through the black multitude with sufficient vigour—that most bepraised master of dependent officials. If he had the power of dealing with the complicated business of Ireland, surely he might be still more useful in some other country more suited to his peculiar capacities. They did not want Anglo-Indian administration in Ireland; they did not want ex-suppressors of Indian Mutinies in Ireland; they did not want Jhansi Settlement officers in Ireland. The Jhansi Settlement was one of the most cruelly confiscated districts in India. He repeated his protest against this appointment, and sincerely hoped the Government would place this Anglo-Indian official in some position where his rough-and-ready methods would be more appreciated than they would in Ireland. He was certain that the appointment of that gentleman, with his ignorance of Ireland, with his training in the bad school of Indian despotism, would be the cause of endless troubles in Ireland.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The hon. Member may relieve his mind of any anxiety lest he should injure the present prospects of Mr. Jenkinson. Nothing falling from the hon. Member, and in such a tone as that in which he has addressed the Committee, will affect the character or the position of Mr. Jenkinson. He has said they do not want Indian officials in Ireland. There is one thing we do not want in this House; we do not want such language as we have heard to-night. The House of Commons has reason to be ashamed of any Member of the House who shall be capable of uttering such language, which I venture to say every man of right feeling and mind in this country would condemn. What is the language we have heard with reference to this gentleman, who, when a gallant youth of 19, was engaged in the desperate conflict of the Indian Mutiny, when a handful of Englishmen were struggling against thousands and hundreds of thousands of barbarous savages at Cawnpore and Lucknow, and whom the hon. Member has attacked as if he were a ruffian, because at the head of a few gallant men he resisted those savages and maintained the honour of the English name? This is the language which a man ventures, in the presence of English Gentlemen, to thrust on this House. This gallant gentleman will not be injured by language which I venture to say no man has heard without disgust. In the presence of the House of Commons, expressing that feeling of indignation and disgust with which, I am certain, the language by which the hon. Member for Dungarvan has endeavoured to injure the character of this gallant man will be regarded, all I can say is, that the character of Mr. Jenkinson, if it wanted raising, would be raised by these two things—by the noble tribute paid him by my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary, who knows India as well as any man in this House, and by the vituperation and abuse of the hon. Member for Dungarvan.

MR. O'DONNELL said, the Home Secretary had omitted to state the one thing which, above all, would complete the fame of Mr. Jenkinson—namely, that Mr. Jenkinson had aroused the enthusiastic admiration of the Home Secretary.

MR. BIGGAR said, he had heard it said that there was no better evidence of the badness of the case of a disputant than the fact that the disputant became excited, and exhibited symptoms of anger. He should be disposed to say that the Chief Secretary and the Home Secretary must have a wretchedly bad case, because both of those right hon. Gentlemen had shown that they were not able to discuss this subject with cool reason, but had given evidence of their being exceedingly great partizans of Mr. Jenkinson. So far as he was concerned, he never had the pleasure of hearing Mr. Jenkinson's name until to-day, and he was not very much prejudiced against him personally; but he had heard a eulogium of Mr. Jenkinson, quoted from the writings of officials in India; he had heard the criticisms by the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell); and he must confess, that taking the matter all in all, he thought his hon. Friend the Member for Dungarvan had made out a much better case than the two right hon. Gentlemen opposite.

MR. CALLAN said, the indignation of the Home Secretary had raised the right hon. and learned Gentleman in his estimation. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had defended his friend, and if he found it hard that his friend should be abused, he hoped the right hon. and learned Gentleman would do him (Mr. Callan) justice if he should feel indignant on hearing his constituents abused and ill-treated. He thought the Home Secretary in former times, when he had no case, must have received instructions to abuse the plaintiff's attorney, and no doubt, in the Inferior Courts, he had carried out these instructions. He had shown his capacity for vituperation by abusing the hon. Member for Dungarvan in a manner worthy of Billingsgate. On the 15th of June, when an objection was raised to a clause in the Bill then under consideration, the Home Secretary made an announcement which, he said, he hoped would facilitate the passing of the clause. Having obtained his purpose and every facility for the passing of the clause, he had paid no further attention to the matter. If he had deliberately violated his pledge, or if he had made that pledge without any knowledge that it would be carried out, he was guilty of very improper conduct; and he hoped some statement would be made with reference to the violation of that promise.

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is imputing improper motives to the Home Secretary. He has no right to do that.

Mr. CALLAN said, he imputed no motives whatever. He simply said this pledge was made by the Home Secretary, and it had been violated. He was imputing no motive, and he was not sufficiently a metaphysician to know how a statement of facts could be considered an imputation.

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member said the Home Secretary was bound to explain something he had not fulfilled. He then imputed an improper motive to the right hon. and learned Gentleman.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I am entirely indifferent to any imputation of motive the hon. Member may make upon myself.

Mr. CALLAN said, he simply mentioned that the pledge had not been fulfilled, but violated. That was the fact, and he only asked the Home Secretary to review the proclamation of County Louth, and to reconsider whether there was any ground for that proclamation.

Mr. BLAKE said, a very important portion of this Vote was now reached, and he thought it might be advisable to report Progress; but before moving that he wished to address a few inquiries to the Home Secretary, in order to ascertain what had been done, or was proposed to be done, in the matter to which he would now draw attention. The next Vote related to the Irish lunatic asylums, the controlling body of which was, perhaps, one of the most important Departments in Ireland, on account of the great number of unfortunate people in Ireland who were confined in asylums in Ireland, and also because Ireland, in common with other parts of the United Kingdom, showed a considerable increase in the number of lunatics. As the House was probably aware, the entire support of the pauper lunatics in Ireland fell upon the occupying tenants, and it was most essential that the chief department should be carried on vigorously. The head of the Department, Dr. Nugent, was now 90 years of age, and the second Inspector was considerably over 70 years of age. He submitted that it was not right that a gentleman nearly 90 years of age, and another nearly 70 years of age, should continue to have the entire control of this important Department. From time to time assurances had been given that there should be a recasting of the Lunacy Board in Ireland; but years had gone by, and nothing whatever had been done in that direction. He had considerable fault to find with the mode in which the administration of the lunatic asylums was carried on, and since he had returned to Parliament many things he formerly complained of he found still remained unremedied. He asserted positively, though with perfect kindness to the two gentlemen he had named, that the time had arrived when they should retire, but upon as liberal terms as possible. The administration of so important a Department as this ought not to continue in the present hands. Younger men, and men who were better acquainted with modern methods of carrying out a curative system, should be substituted; and he respectfully asked the Chief Secretary to give some information as to what the Government proposed to do in regard to recasting and remodelling the administration of this department.

Mr. TREVELYAN: With regard to the remarks of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Blake) about the Inspectors of Lunatic Asylums, I shall certainly consider it my duty in the next five or six months to inquire into the Public Departments of Ireland. I earnestly hope that in his remarks the hon. Member did not foreshadow his intention to move to report Progress before this Vote is passed. With regard to the remarks of the hon. Member for Louth (Mr. Callan), I cannot be answerable for every word from the lips of every person in connection with the Prevention of Crime Bill; but I fully recognize the general gist of the observations the hon. Member quoted from the Home Secretary. I likewise fully acknowledge that the intention of the Lord Lieutenant as to the application of this case was something of the nature to which the hon. Member refers. His intention was, that particular districts should return under the ordinary law when all chance of serious disorder had been extinguished.

Mr. CALLAN: No disorder ever existed in this district.

Mr. TREVELYAN: It is impossible to apply it to a particular district, and it is impossible to give to Parliament the reasons why the Lord Lieutenant applies a particular clause to a particular district. The more so as the Judges' Charges are not sufficient evidence for and against the existence of crime in a particular district. The Lord Lieutenant has very many opportunities of knowing what the dangers are, and sources which cannot come into open Court; but I can assure the hon. Member that, in the spirit of the original intention, the cases of different counties will be carefully inquired into, and certainly, if we consider that there is no sufficient reason for keeping a particular county or town under the proclamation, we shall remove the proclamation. I hope that, after this protracted and certainly very interesting discussion, we may now be allowed to take the Vote.

Mr. CALLAN said, the county to which he had referred had never been—at least, for the last 10 years—in a state justifying the application of any repressive measures beyond the ordinary law. He knew that the Chief Secretary had not been able to attend to these matters himself, and the Lord Lieutenant was dependent upon advisers who knew the district. The county of Down, which joined Louth, was not proclaimed. In the county of Armagh two Catholic baronies were proclaimed; but the remainder of the county was not proclaimed. In the county of Monaghan there was one barony which was eminently Catholic which was proclaimed; but the other portions were not proclaimed. Every Catholic portion of Monaghan and Louth was proclaimed, while the Protestant portions were not. How was it that other counties in Ireland were not proclaimed? When the next General Election came, the opinion of the people as to the way in which this Act was administered would be shown, and every supporter of the Government which unjustly administered the Act would be visited with political annihilation.

Mr. BLAKE said, that on the promise of the Chief Secretary to make personal inquiries into the Departments in Ireland, and the Lunatic Asylums Department amongst them, he would not press for Progress; but he must respectfully warn the right hon. Gentleman that if something was not done before the Session in February next, he should bring the whole question of lunatic asylums under consideration. What the right hon. Gentleman undertook to do he was sure would be done; and, therefore, he was satisfied with the assurance. The next Vote related to the fisheries. In consequence of the Prime Minister having absorbed all the days of private Members, he had been obliged to move for the discharge of the Irish Fisheries Bill. He hoped, therefore, he should receive from the Chief Secretary a similar assurance with regard to the fisheries to that respecting the lunatic asylums. There was one most important matter to which he wished to draw attention. Frequent representations had been made by the Inspectors of Irish Fisheries, during the last 15 years, as to the necessity of having an investigation respecting the fund for carrying out the fisheries. He could positively state that, even if a moderate expenditure had been incurred, the catches of fish would have been increased fifty-fold. It had been proved from the Reports of Inspectors of Fisheries that vast catches of fish had been lost to fishermen in consequence of their not having vessels to send out to bring the fish ashore. He earnestly trusted the right hon. Gentleman, during the Recess, would devote some of his time to investigating the condition of the Irish Fisheries. The right hon. Gentleman's Predecessor in

Office (Mr. W. E. Forster) undertook to do so, and he did so. Unfortunately for the fisheries, he left Office before he was able to give the House the benefit of the investigations he made on the subject. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman would be good enough to give the fisheries a part of his attention during the Recess.

Mr. FINDLATER said, he understood that an official in Ireland must be in office 20 years before he was entitled to one-third of his salary as pension; while in England an official could retire, after 15 years' service, upon two-thirds of his salary. That was a great injustice, which ought to be remedied as soon as possible.

Mr. COURTNEY: It is not so.

Mr. HEALY said, that with regard to the Prevention of Crime Act, and the Curfew Clause especially, he would like to know whether the police had been instructed to send up to Dublin Castle a list of all the arrests made, and the results of the inquiries subsequent to the arrests? Was there any objection to give the House every month, or every quarter, a Return showing the people arrested, the result of the prosecutions before the magistrate, and then before the two stipendiary magistrates? He was sure the right hon. Gentleman had no wish that people should be arrested without proper cause; but if newspaper reports were to be believed men had been arrested unnecessarily. For instance, in Roscrea a man was standing outside his own door, and the police told him to go in; he said he would go in when he liked, whereupon the police took him off to gaol, and kept him there for 24 hours. Now, the Act was passed for the prevention of crime, and he could not believe it was a crime for a man to stand outside his own door, even in Ireland. It was a crime to stand about under suspicious circumstances; but, unfortunately, the police were to be the judges of the suspicious circumstances. He would like to ask the Chief Secretary whether he would issue a Circular to the police telling them where they had evidently taken a wrong view of matters, and telling them also what it was they were expected to do? Certainly it could never be intended that a man should be locked up for 24 hours for simply standing outside his own door. He trusted there would be granted a Return periodically of the number of arrests made, how soon they were brought before the magistrate, and, if they were not discharged by the single magistrate, how soon they were brought before the double-barrelled Court, and what the result had been.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he noticed an item for allowances to Sub-Inspectors of Irish Constabulary, and allowances for 32 sub-constables. Now, these men were detached from the general Police Force; and he wanted to ask the Chief Secretary whether he could say it was a fact that the absence of these men from their duty in their several counties imposed a charge upon those counties in respect of extra police?

Mr. TREVELYAN said, that with regard to the hon. Member for Waterford's (Mr. Blake's) remarks on the fisheries, he sympathized with the hon. Member for being obliged, on account of the pressure of circumstances, to withdraw the Bill, in which he took so much interest. He could only repeat what he had previously said—that the question of the Irish Fisheries should have his best consideration. In reference to the question raised by the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy), he might say that all the arrests made under the 11th section of the Prevention of Crime Act were reported under various headings. If a man were taken up under suspicious circumstances and got 14 days hard labour, it would be reported in the usual course. He presumed that such a man would have had some disguise about him, or some weapon, which would cause the suspicion. All the cases were reported in full to the Chief Secretary's Office, and a very careful watch was kept upon them.

Mr. HEALY: The right hon. Gentleman says hard labour; they have no power to give hard labour; but simply to imprison.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he would look into that case. With regard to the last remark of the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) about the police who were transferred from one county to another, he had to say that if the county from which they were transferred required to have its quota of police made up, it would be made up before any extra police could be charged for. The county into which they were sent would, he presumed, be charged with extra police if it was so ordered.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he was glad to hear from the right hon. Gentleman that a county would require to have its quota made up before extra police could be charged upon it. When last year he (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) maintained there was no power to charge for extra police until the quota of the county was made up, the Chief Secretary (Mr. W. E. Forster) said the Government had such right, and insisted upon using it.

Mr. HEALY said, that in reference to the point raised by the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor), a distinct pledge was given by the Chief Secretary that extra police would not be charged on the county until the full quota was made up. With regard to the question raised by himself, he was sorry to say he must trouble the right hon. Gentleman again, because he had not answered it. He did not ask him whether returns were made up to the Chief Secretary; but what he wanted to know was whether the arrests and the results of them would be reported to Parliament? Was the right hon. Gentleman prepared to present to Parliament periodically a Return showing the number of arrests made under suspicious circumstances, how soon the person was brought before the magistrate, what the result was before the single magistrate, whether the man was referred to two stipendiary magistrates, and then what was the punishment awarded? He would like to know what suspicious circumstances were; but, of course, he could not ask too much from the Irish police.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he thought the question raised by his hon. Friend (Mr. Healy) deserved a reply at the hands of the Chief Secretary or the Attorney General for Ireland.

Mr. HEALY said, he presumed that the reason why no answer was made was that hard labour had been imposed where there was no power to impose it.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, that imprisonment with hard labour could be awarded under the 11th section in conjunction with the 21st section. In the course of the debates upon the Act in its progress through the House, it was laid down that certain Returns were to be presented to Parliament. He was very unwilling, during this Session, to make any absolute promise as to the Returns to be presented next Session. Certainly, when the time came, he was disposed to consider very favourably the suggestion of the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy).

Mr. FINDLATER said, the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury said, a moment or two ago, that the statement he (Mr. Findlater) made with regard to the officers of lunatic asylums in Ireland was not correct. Now, he found that on the 11th of July the Chief Secretary for Ireland was asked by the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) whether it was not the case that officials in England were entitled to retire, after 15 years' service, on two-thirds of their salary; whereas the same officials in Ireland had to serve 20 years, and then could only retire on one-third of their salary. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary stated that the facts were correctly set forth in the question, and that the matter was regulated by the Superannuation Act of 1859. On referring to the Act he found it was the fact that a man must serve 40 years in Ireland before he could receive two-thirds of his salary on retirement.

Mr. COURTNEY said, he did not question the fact with regard to Ireland, but in regard to England.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 94; Noes 4: Majority 90.—(Div. List, No. 313.)

(3.) £1,203, to complete the sum for the Charitable Donations and Bequests Office, Ireland.

Mr. SEXTON said, he thought they ought now to report Progress. They had been sitting for 10 hours, and, although the number of Votes taken had not been large, they had disposed of several important subjects. The Vote for the Chief Secretary's Office, considering the present state of affairs and the recent enactment, was one of considerable importance, and the Government might congratulate themselves upon having obtained it in so little time. He did not suppose there was any objection to the Vote for the Office of Charitable Donations and Bequests; and hon. Members would be glad to let the Government take it without discussion, if they would postpone the remaining Votes of the Class.

Vote *agreed to.*

Mr. TREVELYAN moved to report Progress; but hoped that for the rest of the Session hon. Gentlemen would allow the Committee to make substantial progress.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Trevelyan,*) —put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

Mr. J. G. TALBOT said, there seemed to be some misunderstanding as to the hour of Sitting to-morrow, some hon. Members being under the impression that it was 4 o'clock, and others that it was 2 o'clock.

Mr. COURTNEY said, he thought it had been decided that there should be no more 2 o'clock Sittings.

GOVERNMENT ANNUITIES AND ASSURANCE BILL.—[Bill 190.]

(*Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Courtney.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Mr. FAWCETT said, that this being a Money Bill, the half-past 12 Rule did not apply. He would simply propose, when they got into Committee, that the Chairman should leave the Chair, as he did not intend to make any progress to-night, many hon. Members having gone away not knowing that it was coming on.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Preamble *postponed.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

PARCEL POST BILL.—[Bill 254.]

(*Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Courtney.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 2nd August.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 8 (Arbitration under Act 22 and 23 Vict. c. 59).

Mr. RAMSAY said, he wished to move an Amendment to this clause, in respect of any services performed under the measure—namely, in page 6, line 19, after "Company," to insert "or any Company or person owning any steam vessel."

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clauses 9 to 12, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 13 (Application of Act to steam vessels).

Mr. PENDER said, he wished to move an Amendment requiring steam vessels carrying on regular trade between certain ports of the United Kingdom to carry parcels at a remuneration to be decided by agreement or by arbitration.

Amendment proposed,

In page 9, line 7, after "arrive," insert "and where any steam vessel carries on regular communication between a port in the United Kingdom and any other port or place within the United Kingdom, and such steam vessel is neither owned nor worked by any Railway Company, the Company or person or persons by whom such steam vessel is owned or worked shall, from and after the passing of this Act, be bound to convey parcels, and the remuneration due for the services rendered by such steam vessel, in respect of the conveyance of parcels, shall be determined by agreement between the Postmaster General and the Company or person or persons owning or working such steam vessel, or, in case of difference, such remuneration shall be determined by arbitration, and the amount so determined shall be paid direct to such Company or person or persons, and the parcels conveyed by such steam vessel shall not, in respect of that conveyance, be deemed to be parcels conveyed by Railway."—(*Mr. Pender.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted, put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Remaining clauses *agreed to.*

First Schedule *agreed to.*

Second Schedule.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT wished to ask the Postmaster General, what arrangement would be made to deal with the very large increase of labour that would fall upon the shoulders of that ill-paid class of public servants, the letter carriers, when this Bill became law? The work of these men would not only be increased in carrying parcels to the persons to whom they were addressed in the country districts, but in collecting them, and taking them to the post towns. He did not know what amount of extra carrying the Postmaster General expected in consequence of the passage of the Bill; but if the Parcels Post was availed of to anything like a large extent, the additional labour to the letter carriers would be very great. Had the Postmaster General taken this matter into his consideration; and did he intend, besides increasing the wages of the carriers, to substitute mail carts in certain of the rural districts for the ordinary walking postmen?

Mr. FAWCETT said, this matter had been before the attention of the Post Office authorities for some considerable time, and they had asked the Provincial postmasters to furnish reports as to the charge which would probably have to be made for carts where at present there were foot posts. He had no doubt that many rural districts, instead of being served by foot posts, would be served by carts; and, therefore, the labour of many letter carriers would be reduced.

Second Schedule *agreed to.*

Third Schedule *agreed to.*

House *resumed.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

CUSTOMS AND INLAND REVENUE BILL.—[Bill 239.]

(*Mr. Playfair, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Frederick Cavendish.*)

THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. Courtney.*)

Mr. WARTON said, he wished to move the re-committal of the Bill with reference to Clause 11, his desire being to substitute $2\frac{1}{4}$ for $2\frac{3}{8}$.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the words "now read the third time, in order to insert the word "re-committed," —(*Mr. Warton,*)— instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. COURTNEY could not agree to the proposed re-committal.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

BOMBAY CIVIL FUND BILL.—[Bill 225.]

(*The Marquess of Hartington, Lord Richard Grosvenor.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*The Marquess of Hartington.*)

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he felt bound to express some little surprise that the noble Lord had not on any occasion—either on the first or second reading, or on the present Motion—taken the trouble to explain to the House anything in connection with this Bill, the consequence of which was that hon. Members found themselves in a state of complete ignorance as to the character of the measure, the necessity for its introduction, and its probable effects. But, although, looking at the matter casually, the majority of Members of the House might imagine that it was of no great consequence, in reality it affected a great many interests, and interests of a very serious and substantial kind. He had hoped to hear from the noble Lord on the present occasion some statement of the nature of the fund which it was proposed to affect by the Bill, as well as an account of the alterations which had from time to time occurred in it and, in the rates of interest allowed by the Government of India upon the money accumulated, and also a statement of the surplus which was now in hand. This information was most desirable, because it was absolutely impossible for any private Member—certainly for the majority of private Members—to arrive at anything like a reasonable judgment on the provisions and conditions of the Bill as it stood without having a clear exposition of the materials with which it was proposed to deal. He had moved some time ago—immediately Notice of the Bill was placed on the Paper—for certain Returns relating to the Bombay Civil Fund, and the noble Lord had been good enough to furnish some Returns. But he had not given him those he asked for; and those which he had given were so very imperfect that, although they enabled one to arrive at a general notion of the character, history, and extent of the meausre, they were altogether insufficient to enable anybody to judge, except in a hazy way, of the probable effect of this Bill when it became law. He did not wish to detain the House at that hour (2.15 A.M.); but he must say that if they were asked to do Business so late in the evening, they ought, notwithstanding, to do it properly, and that, if it were impossible, owing to circumstances, to bring forward Business at a reasonable hour, the House should have an opportunity of doing work relating to India, and, still more, the work of this country, at an earlier period in the Session. As far as he was able to gather from the Papers furnished by the noble Lord, it appeared that this fund was originally started amongst the members of the Civil Service in India, by subscription, in order to enable them to provide for the widows and children of members of the Service, and also for some members of the Service compelled, by ill-health, to retire. There seemed at first to have been a payment of 2½ per cent by the subscribers, and it eventually became a recognized custom for every person in the Service to pay this percentage; but, on an emergency, it was proposed by the members of the Civil Service that a further ¾ per cent should be imposed. The Government then agreed that upon this further fund, raised by voluntary contribution, the rate of interest allowed on the balance should be 8 per cent instead of 4 per cent; whereupon there arose a kind of duplicate fund, a portion of which was allowed interest at the rate of 4 per cent, while the remainder was allowed interest out of the Revenues of India at 8 per cent. The consequence of this, as anybody might have anticipated, was, that after a time the 4 per cent fund ceased to have any balance, and the only balance that existed was that which received from the Revenues of India interest at the rate of 8 per cent. That balance went on accumulating, and at last there was a large sum of money, with interest accruing upon it at 8 per cent, which latter came out of the pockets of a portion of the taxpayers in India. Moreover, it was admitted in the Papers furnished by the noble Lord, that the large additions to the fund in the three Presidencies became very unsatisfactory, and this state of affairs was noticed by the Government as far back as 1872; and from that time until the present, there had been a wrangle between the Government of India and the Civil Service as to how much money was entitled to the higher rate of 8 per cent, and how much was to receive only 4 per cent. The Government made up its mind that it would somehow or other put an end to the fund; and it appeared from the Papers that the Secretary of State for India had intimated to the Civil Service that if they would consent to close the fund they would not only be secured with regard to the balance of the 8 per cent fund, which ought never to have existed at all, and which was made by means of unfair proceedings at the expense of the taxpayers of India; but he went further, and said if they would allow a new fund to take over the subscribers, he would not only secure them the benefits they were now receiving, but would also secure the widows £60 a-year. After further dispute, the Civil Service wrung from the Secretary of State for India an apparently reluctant consent, that if they were willing to surrender the fund altogether into the hands of the Government, they should have not only all the advantages which they were entitled to, but also £100 a-year for the widows. That was, no doubt, a very satisfactory arrangement for the Civil Service in India, but it was very unsatisfactory to the inhabitants of the country; because the Civil Service, who all along had been receiving very considerable benefits at the expense of the unfortunate taxpayers, were now to be benefited by a new fund, which was also to be similarly kept up by the taxpayers in India, apparently without their deriving any advantage whatsoever from the arrangement made by the Government. He had been in hopes that the noble Lord would have explained the object of the Government in getting rid of the fund, and that he would have stated generally what the effect of the passing of this Bill upon the Revenues of India would be; therefore, he could not but express regret that the noble Lord had not thought fit to offer any explanation to the House.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he should have been most happy to give any explanation in his power had he thought the House desired it. He had not supposed for one moment that the House desired any further information than was contained in the Bill itself; on the contrary, it appeared to him that if the two parties concerned were satisfied—namely, the Government of India and the Trustees of the new fund, it was not necessary to define the legal effect of the amicable arrangement arrived at. The hon. Member for Queen's County had given a fair account of the origin of the fund, and had correctly stated that the way in which the question had presented itself was that for a long series of years there had been a controversy between the Government of India and the subscribers to the fund as to the amount of money on which the Government was to pay interest at the rate of 8 per cent. The hon. Member said the Government of India ought never to have paid 8 per cent at all; but, however that might be, they had contracted a legal obligation to do so. The controversy to which he referred, appeared to be utterly incapable of settlement; and, after several valuations of the fund, and examinations of the whole subject by competent persons, the Government of India determined to take over the fund on the most equitable terms that could be arrived at. He ventured to say that the only course to be adopted was to take the advice of eminent counsel as to the legal rights of the subscribers, and the opinion of the most competent actuaries as to the value of the fund at a certain date, and as to the terms which the Secretary of State could grant. Accordingly, an arrangement had been made on the advice of counsel and on the opinion of competent actuaries. It had been accepted by the Secretary of State, and by the subscribers, or, at any rate, a very large majority of them. As to the actual details of the arrangement, they were so intensely complicated that he could not pretend to give any opinion on the merits of the arrangement arrived at; but he ventured to think that no other course could have been adopted than that which had been followed—of referring the matter to the most competent authorities that could be found, in order to arrive at what was, on the whole, an equitable compromise both with regard to the interest of the taxpayers and the interest of the subscribers.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 and 2 *agreed to.*

Clause 3.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR had no wish to detain the Committee, but rose simply to say, with reference to the explanation offered by the noble Lord, that he had not shown that this Bill did not impose a very unfair charge on the Revenues of India. It was perfectly open to the Government, as appeared by the despatch from the India Office, signed by the noble Lord on the 23rd of March, 1882, to have refused to continue to pay an exorbitant rate of interest upon the fund. The Bill threw an enormous charge upon the Revenues of India, notwithstanding that there had been complaints before the India Office officials, over and over again, of the serious injustice done to the taxpayers of India by the arrangements hitherto existing.

Clause *agreed to.*

Remaining clauses *agreed to.*

House *resumed.*

Bill *reported,* without Amendment; to be read the third time *To-morrow.*

ARTIZANS' DWELLINGS BILL.

(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Secretary Sir William Harcourt.*)

[BILL 255.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

MR. RITCHIE said, as there had been no discussion at all with reference to this Bill, he took the opportunity now afforded for making a very few observations upon a particular point which it contained. He must say generally that he approved what appeared to him to be the two main objects which the promoters of the measure had in view—namely, the modification in the number of people displaced for which accommodation had to be provided, on the one hand; and, on the other, the enabling of the local authorities to purchase houses for the purpose of opening alleys, &c. Those were, in his opinion, very proper objects, and they were based upon the recommendation of the Select Committee which sat to consider the subject of artizans' dwellings. But there was a point on which the Committee made no recommendation, but which the Bill proposed to deal with; and the way in which it proposed to deal with it appeared to him to be open to very great objection. He alluded to the question of the cost, in certain localities, of putting the Bill into operation. By Clause 6, when the improvement related to not more than 15 houses, the expense of carrying out the scheme was to be borne by the locality; whereas, when more houses were concerned, the expense had to be spread over the whole Metropolis. And so with reference to Clause 8, which gave power to purchase houses for opening alleys, the cost of this had to be borne by the locality, although the authorities might have to pull down good property in order to carry out a scheme which would improve the value of other property. He thought the cost in this case ought to be borne—at least in part—by the proprietors of the properties that were thus improved, and not confined to the locality, as the Bill proposed. He was aware that it would be contended that under the Act of 1868 it was incumbent on the local authorities to bear the expense of carrying out improvements in small areas. That, no doubt, was true; but since the larger Act of 1875 had been passed the Act of 1868 had not been acted upon, so that the improvements which had taken place since the passage of the Act of 1875 had been practically spread over the whole Metropolis. Now, he could not tell on what principles the provision of the Bill was based that the cost of large schemes should be distributed over the whole Metropolis, and that the cost of smaller schemes should be borne by the localities. He could not understand why it should be that an improvement which affected 15 houses and less should be paid for by the locality, and that one which involved a larger number of houses should be distributed over the whole Metropolis. In matters of this kind, the tendency of legislation for a long time past had been to treat the Metropolis as a whole, and he thought rightly so. The localities which would be affected by the Bill were those least able to afford the expense of the improvements, and, as such, stood in need of help on the part of their richer neighbours. He contended that it was most unjust to the poorer parts of the Metropolis, where Clause 6 would take most effect, that they should have to bear the whole cost of effecting the smaller improvements. He thought the ratepayers in those localities had a right to maintain that the cost should be distributed over the Metropolis in the same way as the cost of the larger improvements; and unless he heard some very good argument indeed in support of the proposal in the Bill, he should be compelled to put the House to the trouble of dividing upon the Amendment of which he had given Notice, and which he now begged to move.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, the cost of carrying out all improvement schemes in the Metropolis under this Act should be defrayed by the Metropolitan Board of Works, and not charged wholly upon the locality,"—(*Mr. Ritchie*,)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the Question just put from the Chair was one of considerable interest; but he thought it would be more properly raised by way of Amendment in Committee when they reached Clause 6, upon which the whole matter turned. With reference to the object of the clause, it had been found by experience, since the passing of the Artizans' Dwellings Act of 1875, that in some cases improvements had not been effected, because neither the local authorities, on the one hand, nor the Metropolitan Board of Works on the other, would carry them out under the existing Acts. The Committee which sat to inquire into the subject recommended that this question should be dealt with; the clause was, therefore, practically recommended by them, and it proposed to put a limit below which it should be the duty of the Vestry to deal with cases under the Artizans' Dwellings Act of 1868, and above which it should be the duty of the Metropolitan Board of Works to deal with them under the larger Act of 1875. There might, of course, be some difference of opinion amongst hon. Members as to the numerical limit of houses fixed by the clause; but that could be adjusted in Committee. He hoped the hon. Member would not put the House to the trouble of dividing upon his Amendment, and that any further remarks upon the question raised might be reserved until the clause to which it particularly related was reached in Committee.

Mr. THOROLD ROGERS suggested that the 6th clause of the Bill should be left out. He thought the Report of the Committee was singularly defective in dealing with the cardinal difficulty involved in the question—that was to say, how this point of cost should be settled. As long as the distinction between districts or localities and the Metropolis as a whole existed, he thought it would be impossible for the House to be satisfied with the result of legislation in this direction. It was in the little courts of the Metropolis that the principal mischief occurred; and if it was intended to tax the localities in which they existed, it was only to be expected that they would shirk the duty of getting rid of them. He thought the proper thing would be, as the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets had pointed out, to look upon the Metropolis as a whole, so far as this matter was concerned, and to say that the interest of the rich should contribute to the cost of the improvements, as well as the interest of the poorer classes. He, however, preferred that the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets should withdraw his Amendment, and take a division on the clause in Committee.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he was aware that the point brought forward was one of great importance, and that it had been the subject of considerable discussion by the Committee. He hoped, however, the hon. Member would not press his Amendment on that occasion; at all events, he trusted they might be allowed to go at once into Committee on the Bill. If, in course of time, it appeared that any hardship was inflicted by the local authorities, he said by all means let the matter be reconsidered hereafter. He had no doubt that everyone would feel that the improvements effected by the local authorities ought to be small improvements only; but the real question to be solved was, how to avoid a limit that would place them in danger of falling between two stools. He was not pledged to the limit of 15 houses proposed by the Bill, and was willing that it should be altered in order to relieve the localities if necessary. It must, however, be borne in mind that the areas were improved by getting rid of the little courts, and it was only fair that those whose property was improved in this way should contribute something to the cost.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 and 2 *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Amendment of 38 & 39 Vict., c. 36, s. 5, as to the provision of accommodation for the working classes).

Mr. LYULPH STANLEY said, he had an Amendment to propose, with the object of giving definite instructions to the local officer in making his report of the proceedings and of the special circumstances of the locality, and enabling him to give effect to what was the intention of Parliament.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 12, after "locality," insert "and to the number of artizans and others belonging to the labouring classes dwelling within the area or being employed within a mile thereof."—(*Mr. Lyulph Stanley.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, these words carried out the spirit of the clause, and were in accordance with the recommendation of the Committee.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, would it not be better to say "the number of the working classes," instead of using the words "artizans and others"? This was the phrase used elsewhere in this class of Bills.

Mr. LYULPH STANLEY said, he took the words he had proposed, because they were in accordance with the very title of the Bill.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he would look into the propriety of using these or equivalent words when the Report stage was reached.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Mr. LYULPH STANLEY said, he proposed to substitute the words "of those" for the words "as may be," for, as it would be seen, the presumption would be against re-housing.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 24, leave out the words "as may be," and insert "of those."—(*Mr. Lyulph Stanley.*)

Question, "That the words 'as may be' stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

On the Motion of Mr. LYULPH STANLEY, Amendment made, in page 1, line 27, after "authority," by inserting "on a report made by the officer conducting the local inquiry."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clauses 4 and 5 *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (Limit of area to be dealt with on official representation).

MR. RITCHIE said he wished to substitute "ten" for "fifteen," in line 25. The course he proposed was to endeavour to minimize the clause by reducing the number; but, having done that, he should ask the Committee to strike out the clause altogether; but, first, he proposed to make it as innocuous as possible.

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 25, to leave out "fifteen," and insert "ten."—(*Mr. Ritchie.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'fifteen' stand part of the Clause."

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he was about to offer this Amendment as a compromise; but he did not think the hon. Member ought, after such a concession, himself to move the rejection of the clause thus amended.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Word "ten" *substituted* accordingly.

MR. BRYCE said, he wished to add a Proviso to the end of the clause, that half the expenses should fall upon the Metropolitan Board of Works. The clause itself could not be dispensed with, and he thought there was a good case for throwing the whole expense upon the population of London. But if a part were thrown on the local authority, then there would be no reason to think the local authority would abuse the discretion given it to proceed in this way. It would have sufficient regard for the interests of its own ratepayers not to proceed where it ought not to do so; while, at the same time, it would be relieved of a part of the expense that might deter it.

Amendment proposed,

At end of Clause, add—"The expenses incurred by the local authority in so dealing with such cases shall be defrayed as to one moiety by the local authority, and as to the other moiety by the Metropolitan Board of Works."—(*Mr. Bryce.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said he could not assent to this proposal. He had endeavoured to meet the views expressed by reducing "fifteen" to "ten;" but the proposal now made introduced an entirely new principle, the division of cost between the Board of Works and the local authority, and that was so wide a question that it could not be dealt with in the discussion of a sudden Amendment to a clause in Committee. It would be introducing a very serious danger in the proceedings of the local authority, for if they found they could enter into speculations by throwing half the cost on the Board, he confessed he felt some alarm as to what, in some cases, the result might be.

MR. RITCHIE said, there was one aspect of the case he would like to point out, and that was that by the words of the clause it was not possible for the Board of Works, even if they were desirous, to contribute at all to the expenses. Would the right hon. Gentleman consent to insert words that would enable the Board of Works to pay a portion of the expenses?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he would consider that on Report.

MR. BRYCE said, he would not press his Amendment; but he hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would consider on Report not only the suggestion just made, but suggestions generally as to payments under the clause.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS said, he did not see how the system proposed would be likely to lead to speculative jobs.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 7 *agreed to.*

Clause 8 (Power to local authority to purchase houses for opening alleys, &c.).

Mr. LYULPH STANLEY said, he had an Amendment which raised the point of throwing part of the cost of repairs on the persons whose property would be benefited. The effect of his Amendment would be that, whereas generally the authorities would demolish buildings for sanitary purposes, their doing that might render other buildings in themselves equally objectionable, and, therefore, liable to demolition, perfectly sanitary, enabling the owners to keep them. The improvement in the value of standing property should not be made at the expense of the ratepayers; part of the expense should be borne by the owners of the property which would be improved by the alterations.

Amendment proposed,

At end of Clause, to add another sub-section (9) as follows:—"Where in the opinion of the arbitrator the demolition of an obstructive building adds to the value of other buildings, the arbitrator shall provide that so much of the compensation to be paid for the demolition of the obstructive building as is equal to the increase in value of such other building as the result of such demolition, such sum shall be paid by the owner or owners of such remaining building accordingly."—(*Mr. Lyulph Stanley.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he approved of the principle of the Amendment; at the same time, such an Amendment required very careful consideration of the wording. If his hon. Friend would put it down for Report, he would consider it. As to the principle, he approved of it.

Mr. LYULPH STANLEY said, perhaps the words might be inserted, and the draftsman might be consulted, and any alteration made on Report.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, no; they had better be allowed to stand over.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clauses 9 and 10 *agreed to.*

Clause 11 (Amendment of 42 & 43 Vict. c. 64 s. 12, as to enforcement of Act by Metropolitan Board of Works).

Mr. BRYCE said, before this clause was passed, there was another subject to mention. It was with regard to the exemption which the City enjoyed from contributing to the cost of improvements under the Artizans' Dwellings Act. If the House were not so near the end of the Session, and in Committee upon so short a notice, he would have proposed Amendments altering portions of the Artizans' Dwellings Act of 1875 in this respect, and making the City contribute to the cost of Metropolitan improvements of this kind throughout the whole Metropolis. That seemed a matter of plain and simple justice. It was discussed in the Select Committee, and there was a division on the proposal, and the proposition was lost only by the casting vote of the Chairman. But it did not matter very much; there were evidences that before long the House would have to deal with the question of Municipal Government for London altogether, and then would be a better time to take up this subject. But he could not let the Bill pass without giving expression to the strong feeling there was on the point.

Mr. RITCHIE said, with reference to the remarks just made, when the Bill of 1875 was passing through the House, he moved an Amendment in the direction indicated by the hon. Member; but he could not induce the Committee to accept it. He quite agreed with the principle that it was unfair that the wealthy neighbourhood of the City should not contribute. Before the clause was put he would like to point out that the clause was grammatically incomplete; and, looking at the original clause in the Act of which this clause was a recital, he found the same mistake there. The words read thus—

"Whereas it is provided that in the event of a local authority declining or neglecting for a space of three months after notice from the Metropolitan Board of Works to put in force such notice or report upon any premises described in such notice,"

and so on. But it did not say what they declined to do. Should not there be the addition of the words "decline to give effect to?"

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, there was no omission, it was a mere recital.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, as being in part responsible for the Act of 1875, he thought the City would be willing to take up the Act and work it. He trusted to the City to do this, and the Committee had evidence before them that the Corporation would, if left to themselves, work the Act thoroughly within the City. But he was bound to say they had done nothing of the kind. It was too large a question to deal with now; but as part of a larger subject it would have to be considered.

Clause *agreed to*, and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Schedule *agreed to*.

House *resumed*.

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow*.

MERCHANT SHIPPING (MERCANTILE MARINE FUND) BILL.—[Bill 256.]

(*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. John Holms.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Evelyn Ashley.*)

Mr. WHITLEY said, he thought it was hardly fair to ask the House to pass the second reading without explanation, and at such an hour.

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY said, in the absence of the President of the Board of Trade he could give any explanation. The first part of the Bill entirely concerned financial arrangements between the Treasury and the Board of Trade in reference to the Mercantile Marine Fund, and the second part simply recognized what was already the practice.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow*.

REVENUE, FRIENDLY SOCIETIES, AND NATIONAL DEBT BILL.—[Bill 260.]

(*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Herbert Gladstone.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Courtney.*)

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he did not rise to oppose the Bill; but he wished very much that his right hon. Friend the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was absent because he was unwell, had had an opportunity of seeing the Bill, and he hoped such an opportunity would be given before the Bill went into Committee. There was one question he would like to ask in reference to the 25th clause—whether it affected the rights of the Crown in the Duchy of Lancaster? It seemed a strong measure to put the clause in the Bill, and it might affect the principle of the rights of the Crown in other matters. He did not know which Member of the Ministry could answer the question. Offices were so duplicated he did not remember who represented the Duchy of Lancaster; perhaps the Attorney General could answer?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, when the present Government came into Office they found a long-continued litigation proceeding in reference to rights to escheats and fines in the Duchy of Lancaster. The costs in the suit had greatly exceeded the amount involved, and efforts were made by the Chancellor of the Duchy to bring this litigation to an end; and this at last was effected by a compromise, in which a sum was to be paid by the Treasury to the Duchy, and the Treasury would receive in return a sum equal to 10 per cent yearly from the Duchy. Everything had been done to bring the litigation to an end; and if this had not been done the costs which would have fallen on the taxpayers would have been a much larger sum.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he would be satisfied provided there was nothing in the Bill to imperil the right of the Crown in the Duchy.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, no; the Duchy was paid for all that was taken.

Mr. COURTNEY said, it was not proposed to take the Committee until Monday.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

ALLOTMENTS (*re-committed*) BILL.

(*Mr. Jesse Collings, Mr. Burt, Mr. Brand, Mr. Bryce.*)

[Bill 227.] COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 to 3 *agreed to*.

Clause 4 (Trustees of lands vested for benefit of the poor to give notice as to letting).

On the Motion of Mr. HIBBERT, Amendment made, in page 2, line 4, by leaving out from "necessity," to "shall," in line 5.

On the Motion of Mr. HIBBERT (for Admiral EGERTON), Amendments made, in page 2, line 6, by leaving out "appropriated," and inserting "used;" in page 2, line 7, after "ground," by inserting "or otherwise for the enjoyment or general benefit of the inhabitants."

On the Motion of Mr. HIBBERT, Amendment made, in page 2, line 7, after "ground," by leaving out to end of Clause, and inserting (after Amendment proposed by Admiral Egerton)—

"Take proceedings, subject as hereinafter mentioned, for letting such lands in allotments, to cottagers, labourers, and others, and—

(1.) They shall set apart for the purpose of this Act such field or other portion of the said lands as is most suitable, as regards distance and otherwise, for allotments, and give public notice, in manner directed by the Schedule to this Act, of the field or portion so set apart, specifying the situation and extent therof, and the rent per acre or rod which they are ready to accept for the same when let in allotments, and the times and places at which applications for allotments are to be made;"

(2.) If any applications for an allotment are received, the trustees shall forthwith proceed to obtain possession of the field or portion set apart, or of so much thereof as is required for the applications, and to fence the same (if necessary), and to let the same in manner provided by this Act;

(3.) If the whole of the field or portion so set apart is let in allotments, the trustees shall proceed forthwith to assign another field or portion of their lands for the purpose of this Act, and give public notice thereof as directed by this section, and so on until the whole of their lands are let in allotments, or no applications are received for further allotments;

"Provided, That—

(a.) If application is made for part only of the field or portion so set apart, the remainder thereof may be let as provided by this Act in the case of unlet allotments; and

(b.) If no application is made for any part of the field or portion so set apart, the like public notice as is required in the first instance shall be given by the trustees once in every succeeding year;

(c.) Where the said lands are at the passing of this Act held on lease, the trustees shall proceed to act in pursuance of this Act immediately upon the expiration of such lease, and this Act shall apply as if such expiration were before the passing of this Act."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

MR. HIBBERT said, as the hour was late and there were three pages of Amendments left to deal with, he would move to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Hibbert,*) —put, and *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY (PAY, &C.) BILL.

Resolution [August 2] *reported,* and *agreed to:* —Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. TREVELYAN and Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 264.]

MERCANTILE MARINE FUND (CHARGES) [PAYMENTS TO FUND, &C.].

Committee to consider of authorising the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of an annual sum to the Mercantile Marine Fund, and the transfer of certain sums to the said Fund; and of authorising the repayment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of charges paid out of rates in respect of costs incurred in prosecutions for offences committed at sea, and of expenses connected therewith, which may become payable under the provisions of any Act of the present Session to amend the Law with respect to the charges on and payments to the Mercantile Marine Fund, and to expenses of prosecutions for offences committed at sea (Queen's *Recommendation* signified), *To-morrow.*

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS [ADVANCES, &C.].

Committee to consider of authorising further advances, out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, to the Public Works Loan Commissioners, and to the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, for the promotion of public works, and to the Irish Land Commissioners for the purpose of advances, or purchases of estates; and also of authorising the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt to advance, with the consent of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, to the Irish Land Commissioners, such moneys as the said Land Commissioners may require to raise, for the purpose of any Act of the present Session to make provision respecting certain arrears of rent in Ireland; and to consider of authorising the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to guarantee the repayment, to the said Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt, of any moneys so advanced; and to consider of authorising the postponement of the Interest on a Loan, and of amending certain Acts (Queen's *Recommendation* signified), *To-morrow.*

House adjourned at a quarter after Three o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 4th August, 1882.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Customs and Inland Revenue *.

Second Reading—Wellesley Bridge (Limerick) (207).

Committee—Turnpike Acts Continuance * (198).

Committee—Report—Civil Imprisonment (Scotland) * (208).

Third Reading—Bills of Sale Act (1878) Amendment * (203); Local Government (Gas) Provisional Order * (144), and *passed.*

EGYPT—THE RIOTS AT ALEXANDRIA—MASSACRE OF EUROPEANS.

EXPLANATION.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I rise to correct a misapprehension which has appeared in the papers. Yesterday, in answer to the noble Earl opposite (Earl De La Warr), who asked the number of Europeans who were killed at Alexandria during the first massacre on the 11th of June, I presume that I said—as all the reports agree—that the number was 20. I certainly thought that I said, and I meant to say, 60. That number was on the note that I wrote down before I came here.

EGYPT (POLITICAL AFFAIRS).

MOTION FOR PAPERS.

LORD LAMINGTON, in rising to ask, Whether the Government will endeavour, through the Khedive, to obtain a peaceful solution of the Egyptian Question before commencing active military operations? and to move for further Papers, said, that since he gave Notice of the Question the aspect of affairs had changed; but he did not think it necessary on that account to alter the wording of the Question. He wished to ask it, in order that the Government might have an opportunity of serving one of the objects of his inquiry, by the noble Earl opposite the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in his reply, giving some explanation to the House of the present state of things in the East, and of the manner in which it was proposed by Her Majesty's Government to carry out the policy announced by Mr. Gladstone. He brought forward this question in no Party spirit. He felt the great responsibility of the noble Earl, and he would not enter upon any controversial matters. It was useless to look back on a past, which could not be recalled, but from which a lesson might yet be learnt. He wished to point out one matter of importance. He referred to the Dual Note, the Dual demonstration, and the Dual demand, which resulted in the sittings of the Conference, according to which we were the declared allies and almost the partners of France. He would not for a moment detract from the general importance of the Anglo-French Alliance; but, in regard to our relations with the Porte and the Moslem world at large, its consequences, it must be admitted, had been singularly unfortunate. France had been, and was, the aggressive European Power *par excellence* in North Africa. France had a few months before our common action seized Tunis and defied Turkey. In the present position of affairs, and linked as we were with France, it was impossible for the Sultan to act as he desired; and, therefore, he found himself unable to comply with our requests, because his acting, as the noble Earl wished, as our mandatory, would have destroyed his prestige as Sultan, and still more so as Caliph, in the eyes of the North African Arabs—the Native race inhabiting the whole of the great southern shore of the Mediterranean. Now matters had changed. France had left us, and there was no reason why Turkey should not deal with us in accordance with the friendly traditions of the past. It, therefore, appeared to him that our only course now consisted in a loyal observance of Treaties—and especially those Conventions guaranteeing the vital interest of the Ottoman Empire—and in a loyal regard for International Law and the comity of nations. The Government had brought forward the question of the Suez Canal, and a few weeks ago he (Lord Lamington) had pointed out that our interests in Egypt began and ended in it, and he should have had no objection to our sending our ships of war to protect our means of communication with India; but he did not think that we had any right to land troops for the purpose of regulating the internal affairs of Egypt. This country should not take any step to prevent the Sultan from exercising his fair rights as Suzerain, or, as had been stated in the other House, as Sovereign of Egypt. Why he feared that full justice would not be done to the Sultan was, because he found a paragraph in the last despatch of the noble Earl, in which he called attention to Arabi Pasha having received a mark of favour from the Sultan, and then called upon His Majesty, before the despatch of any troops to Egypt, to issue a Proclamation upholding Tewfik Pasha, and denouncing Arabi Pasha as a rebel. The Porte said that when they landed troops they would issue a Proclamation that Arabi was a rebel. It should be remembered that Arabi was now the great leader of a great Party. The noble Earl first asked that he should be removed from his position in the Army; but he now demanded that he should be denounced as a rebel. Now, as to Arabi himself, he found that he had received the support of Mr. Blunt. That gentleman, he understood the noble Earl to say, he knew nothing of; but he had been employed by the Government in Egypt, and he had been of great assistance to our officials there; and, at any rate, Mr. Blunt, a friend of Arabi Pasha and in communication with him, was also in communication with the Foreign Office. He should like to know what were the intentions of Her Majesty's Government with regard to Mr. Blunt, who was, after all, nothing but Arabi Pasha in a frock coat. Although we had not directly employed Mr. Blunt, he had been of considerable service to us, as was testified by Sir Edward Malet, who stated in his despatch, dated Cairo, December 28, 1881, that, although he disagreed with that gentleman as to the advisability of the publication of the national programme in *The Times*, he was bound to record that he considered himself under serious obligations to him for the manner in which he had dispelled misunderstandings which might have led to difficulties, and that he was anxious to acknowledge that he had in this matter already been of great assistance, and that he felt sure that the confidence which the Egyptians, with whom he was in contact, reposed in him would enable him to render further and essential service to the cause of moderation in the conduct of the movement which was in progress. And yet this man was the personal friend of Arabi Pasha, whom it was now intended to compel the Sultan to declare a rebel. Lastly, he wished to say that we had no reason as yet to believe in any double-dealing on the part of Turkey; and, such being the case, he asked Her Majesty's Government to place the fullest confidence in her action now. He also trusted that we should allow her to fulfil the mission she had undertaken in Egypt at the mandate of Europe, leaving on her the fullest responsibility for its faithful execution. To do otherwise would be most inevitably to launch us on an enterprize, the perils, the dangers, the difficulties, and the extent of which no man could foresee. The noble Lord concluded by asking the Question of which he had given Notice, and moving for further Papers.

Moved, "That there be laid before this House further papers respecting the Affairs of Egypt."—(*The Lord Lamington.*)

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY said, that what the noble Lord (Lord Lamington) had just asked for from the Government was no more than was required by the law of nations, by the law of the land, and by the higher moral law. The tribute of admiration due to Mr. Bright for his consistency had been withheld in some quarters, on the ground that he ought to have left the Cabinet earlier; but some of his Friends said that this was not possible, as he and a portion of the Cabinet did not know of the orders for the bombardment until it was too late. He (Lord Stanley of Alderley) had only lately read that Mr. Goschen was one of a firm which had largely contributed to raising the Egyptian loans; if that were so, it was not fitting that Her Majesty's Government should have sent him as Ambassador to Constantinople. The noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Granville) denied that that war was for the bondholders; but the sending of the Dual Note and of the Fleet was on their behalf, and it might be asked how was it that the greater part of the noble Earl's despatch to Lord Dufferin of July 11 referred to the

Egyptian Debt and the Control, and but a very small portion of it to the Suez Canal and other British interests? How was it, too, that the Foreign Office had disregarded the remonstrance of the Egyptian Government with regard to the smuggling carried on by the large European population, who contributed nothing to the Revenue of the country; and yet, in March last, the Foreign Office had instructed the Consul General to secure the retention of Mr. Caillard at his post of Director General of the Customs, with a salary of £3,000 a-year. What excuse, again, was to be offered for the law of liquidation passed by a European Commission in April, 1880, by which £17,000,000, paid by the Egyptian cultivators to redeem in perpetuity half the rent of their land from 1885, was confiscated? That was done by repealing the law of Monkabala. Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople could, indeed, argue that this was just and honest, on the ground that he himself had in a similar manner been deprived of some £20,000 with which he had bought up his Ulster tenant right. The noble Earl's despatch to Lord Dufferin of July 28, which had lately been delivered to their Lordships, was not written in very suitable language, and it was diplomatically wrong, since it spoke of the Sovereign power as though it had only the same rights in Egypt as any other of the European Powers. The withdrawal of France from supporting Her Majesty's Government by the recent Vote in the French Chamber was a reason of expediency which should influence Her Majesty's Government to listen to the entreaty which the noble Lord had just addressed to it.

Earl GRANVILLE: My Lords, I do not think the House will expect me to follow the remarks of the noble Lord who has just sat down (Lord Stanley of Alderley), except to express my great astonishment that he has thought it right to repeat insinuations against a man of such high character and honour as Mr. Goschen—insinuations which have been utterly disposed of amid cheers from both sides of the House in "another place." With regard to the Question which was asked by the noble Lord (Lord Lamington), your Lordships will remember that, a short time ago, a very interesting debate took place on Egyptian affairs, when I asked the House to sanction the course taken by the Government, to which it appears the noble Lord is himself opposed. The speech which the noble Lord has just made would have been a valuable contribution to that debate, although whether it would have succeeded in preventing your Lordships giving your sanction to that policy—which you did unanimously, though with some strictures on the past policy of the Government—I do not know. But I do think this is an inconvenient way of renewing that debate, by leaving a Question upon the Paper which the noble Lord does not ask, and which he admits is no longer applicable. However desirable, therefore, the noble Lord may think the discussion, I must declare that for the present I do not think it would be convenient again to go over the same ground that we so lately travelled.

Lord HOUGHTON said, he desired to call the attention of the noble Earl opposite (Earl Granville), as well as that of their Lordships, to the recent Proclamation of Arabi Pasha which had recently been extensively circulated in Egypt, and in which he declared that he was the Representative of the Sultan, and that troops were to be sent from Turkey to assist him. It was important to notice that among the signatures attached to the Proclamation of the Government established at Cairo there were those not only of persons connected with Arabi Pasha, but of persons who were at the head of the Christian and Mahomedan religions, and also of two Members of the Family of the reigning Khedive. These signatories declared that they adhered to the rebel cause. The document was of great importance, as it bore upon the question of succession to the Khedive, and that was one of the principal factors in the consideration of the case; and it was significant that the Representative of the reigning Family had also signed the document which would place the Khedive in a position of hostility to his immediate relatives, and also in a position of strong hostility to that Party at Constantinople which had supported his rival to the Throne of Egypt. It was unfortunate that the difficulty of a disputed succession—always a matter of vital importance in an Oriental country—had arisen in the country; but there could be no doubt that it was so. Indeed, it was quite possible that the troubles which had grown up in Egypt might be traceable to no other cause than the intrigues connected with this question of succession. He trusted, therefore, that, in dealing with the question, the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs would keep that fact carefully in view, and that it would be fully considered by the Government, who had pledged its honour to support the Khedive.

The Earl of FEVERSHAM said, he wished to make a few observations. He had to complain of the difficulty which existed in obtaining information from Her Majesty's Government——

The Earl of REDESDALE (Chairman of Committees): My Lords, I rise to Order. There is no Question before the House, and I do not think the noble Earl is in Order in discussing this matter upon a mere Question which has not been put.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: It is always understood that in this House a Question may be discussed; but I understand there is a Motion for Papers.

The Earl of FEVERSHAM said, he would not detain their Lordships long. He must say he was sorry when he thought that the answer which the noble Earl opposite (Earl Granville) had given would not be considered satisfactory. It would have been more so, both to that House and the country, if the noble Earl had told them that the Government were determined to act in a friendly manner with the Government of the Sultan; but he had made no declaration of that sort, and any measures which should bring this country into open acts of hostility to the forces of the Sultan would be a grievous calamity.

Earl GRANVILLE: My Lords, at the risk of being considered disorderly, I wish to say one word in answer to the request of my hon. Friend (Lord Houghton), who speaks with considerable authority on this subject, and it is that I do not in the least share with him his apprehensions as to the importance of the document or the signatures attached to it, and issued by Arabi Pasha under his Proclamation. Whether the document has been signed by those persons, and whether it has been done under compulsion or not—as to which I am entirely ignorant—is a matter of little importance.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH said, he had been desired by his noble Friend (Lord Stanley of Alderley), who could not speak again, to say that he did not intend to cast any aspersion on the character or reputation of Mr. Goschen. He was a great admirer of the ability of that right hon. Gentleman. As to the question before the House, the irresponsible speeches made by another right hon. Gentleman long since were really at the root of these difficulties.

Lord LAMINGTON, in reply, said, he had no wish to embarrass the Government; but those who desired to maintain our alliance with the Ottoman Empire were bound to express their feelings, but he would, by permission, withdraw his Motion. In bringing the subject forward, he had merely vindicated his right, as a responsible Member of the Legislature, to express how much he desired to see Treaty obligations fulfilled and maintained.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

AFRICA (SOUTH) — CETEWAYO, EX-KING OF ZULULAND — VISIT TO THIS COUNTRY—OFFICIAL RECEPTION.—QUESTION.

Lord NORTON asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, What caution he has taken that taking Cetewayo out of the hands of the Cape Government, and bringing him round through England to his own country again, may not appear to implicate us afresh in South African war, which may consequently revive, and relieve the Colonists from the understanding of their primary responsibility for self-defence which was recently impressed upon them; and what official reception Cetewayo was to have from the Government?

The Earl of KIMBERLEY said, he thought there must be some misapprehension in the mind of his noble Friend (Lord Norton) in putting the Question, for his noble Friend asked, in effect, what precaution had been taken in bringing Cetewayo from the hands of the Cape Government; and, whether that would be construed as a part of the policy of the Government, and relieve the Colony from their responsibility for self-defence? His noble Friend must have forgotten that the Cape Government, for convenience, only undertook the charge of

Cetewayo, and it had nothing whatever to do with the Zulu War, and was in no way responsible for the peace of the frontier of Natal. The fact of the Cape Government having taken charge of Cetewayo had, therefore, nothing to do with the question of the Cape Colony defending itself; and Cetewayo, being no longer in the custody of the Cape Government, had no bearing upon the question of policy. Cetewayo had all along been looked upon as a prisoner of war taken by the Imperial Government; and the Zulu War, and the whole of those proceedings, were very largely conducted by Imperial Forces, and in pursuance of Imperial policy, and any step taken with regard to Cetewayo by the Imperial Government, that Government would hold itself responsible for. He entirely agreed with his noble Friend that it was highly desirable that they should do nothing to diminish the responsibility of the Colonists in South Africa for their self-defence. The Home Government thought it of the highest importance that the Colonists should be encouraged to undertake their own defence; and they had shown their feeling on that subject by the course they had taken in regard to the Basuto War, and also by the proposal they had made in respect to responsible government for Natal. He must confess, with regard to the latter part of the Question, that he was somewhat embarrassed with respect to the official reception of Cetewayo in this country. He did not know what was meant by official reception by the Government, neither was he aware that the ex-King would have any official reception, except such a reception as might be given him when he would be asked to call at the Colonial Office to say what he had to say. Anything like an official reception he certainly would not receive, for to speak of one being about to be given him was giving him a sort of importance, which, though he was no doubt a person as to whom a good deal of interest was excited, did not properly belong to him; and it seemed to be elevating him to a kind of pedestal which would give him a wrong idea of his position. Cetewayo would have every opportunity of communicating with the Government; but there would be nothing of the nature of an official reception.

The Earl of CARNARVON said, the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Kimberley) had not noticed all the points put by his noble Friend (Lord Norton), the first of which was that, if the result of Cetewayo's visit to this country was to provoke a war, in that case the Colonists would have a right to complain. By bringing him to England they did incur some danger of creating disturbance in Zululand; and the responsibility for the consequences of that would ultimately lie at the door of the Home Government. Another point was that the fact of their having brought the ex-King to England was likely to convey a wrong impression to his mind; and on that point he (the Earl of Carnarvon) had been rather gratified to hear the noble Earl minimize the reception Cetewayo was likely to receive on visiting the officials of the Colonial Office, and that it was to be confined within the narrowest limits. To his (the Earl of Carnarvon's) idea, the wisdom of bringing him to this country was mistaken and doubtful, because, whether intentionally or unintentionally, it was calculated to create a false impression in the minds of his countrymen that it was but the prelude to his restoration.

The Earl of KIMBERLEY said, that the noble Earl (the Earl of Carnarvon) seemed to misunderstand the question. The noble Earl seemed to think that the visit of Cetewayo was a prelude to sending him to Zululand. Whatever might be the result of that visit, if it was followed by his return to Zululand, it would bring a certain amount of responsibility on Her Majesty's Government. Of course, if they took any decided steps in that matter, they would be taken in full appreciation of their responsibility; and the question would be whether these steps were steps of sound policy or not. If any step was taken by Her Majesty's Government in regard to Cetewayo that had an important bearing on South African policy, there was no doubt they would be responsible for it.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH held it to be most unfortunate that Cetewayo should have been brought to England; and if he were permitted to return to Zululand, and a war ensued in consequence, Her Majesty's Government and this country would be bound to pay every shilling of its cost.

Lord NORTON said, that he understood most distinctly, when the question was brought before their Lordships a few days ago, that it was the noble Earl's intention that Cetewayo should return to Zululand.

The Earl of KIMBERLEY said, he could assure his noble Friend that he had never made any such announcement whatever. Whatever Her Majesty's Government might intend to do in regard to Cetewayo, their intentions had never been announced. Although Questions had been frequently put to him on the subject, he had always replied that the Government were not in possession of sufficient information to enable him to give a satisfactory reply.

Lord NORTON said, that the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies was understood to imply as much in the answer he gave the other day to the noble Duke (the Duke of Somerset), when the noble Duke questioned him with regard to the object of making Cetewayo take such a roundabout course as to visit this country on his way from the Cape to Zululand. The noble Earl then replied in effect that it was very desirable, in the event of Cetewayo returning to Zululand, that he should in the interval see something of the greatness of the resources of this country, so that he would go back a very different man from what he was before, and know something of the position in which he would put himself if he placed himself in conflict with such a country as this. The assertion of the noble Earl, that the Zulu War was undertaken simply for Imperial purposes, was one which he (Lord Norton) altogether disputed. That war was waged primarily for local interests, and Imperial interests were but secondary in it. He could only say that if Cetewayo's going from this country to Zululand should lead to any revival of the war there, this country would be held to be responsible. As to the reception that might be given to him, he maintained that, while it was hoped that he was not going to be made a "lion" of, even such a reception as the noble Earl had hinted at was calculated to raise Cetewayo's opinion of himself and of his position, and, what was much more important, give the Colonists probably an erroneous view of the relations subsisting between Cetewayo and the Home Government. It seemed to him, however, that the reception he would get was not such as would make him less pretentious on his return to Zululand.

The Earl of KIMBERLEY said, it was important that his words should not be wrongly interpreted, for his noble Friend (Lord Norton) had put words into his (the Earl of Kimberley's) mouth which he had never said. He had never said that the war in Zululand was undertaken for Imperial purposes. If he had said so, it would have been contrary to his own opinion. What he had said was that it was conducted by the Imperial Government, and at the expense of £5,000,000, to which the Colonists contributed a very small part.

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACTS—EMIGRANT SHIPS (CANADA).

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

Lord EMLY, in rising to ask Her Majesty's Government, What steps the Board of Trade have taken on account of representations made to them as to the defective arrangements for the separation of the sexes in the ships of the Dominion Line? said, their Lordships were aware that among the emigrants going out to Canada were a number of unmarried women. Means were provided on the other side of the Atlantic for their reception on their arrival; but it did not appear that sufficient protection was provided for them during the passage. He thought that a proper female officer should be appointed to each steamer to see that the regulations for the separation of the sexes were properly carried out. He would be glad to hear from his noble Friend who represented the Board of Trade (Lord Sudeley) what arrangements would be made to remedy the present unsatisfactory state of things.

Lord SUDELEY, in reply, said, that, in the first place, he should explain that the Board of Trade had never taken the extreme view that was sometimes entertained that, in all cases, the sexes, married and single, should be kept separate on board emigrant ships proceeding across the Atlantic. The Board rather held to the view that it was better, in the interests of order and morality, that husbands and wives proceeding in the same ship should proceed together, rather than suffer a temporary divorce. It had been made clear to them that a husband and wife could look after and assist each other and their young children by being together, much better than they could be looked after and helped if strict separation were the rule. What the Board of Trade had done was this—They had endeavoured to get the Companies to adopt a strict rule whereby the single men's quarters should be in the fore part of the ship, and the single women's quarters in the after part of the ship, with permanent bulkheads, and the married people's quarters between, so that there should be no connection between these several parts of the ship; and that separate and distinct ladder-ways should be provided for each of the three descriptions of passengers. Among the suggestions by the Board of Trade that had been made and were being carried out was that in every emigrant ship, there should be a matron, as the noble Lord wished. The duties of the matron were that she should be present at meal times; should receive complaints, if any were made, that any single female passenger or young person did not get due allowance of food or proper attention; that she should play the part of an ever-present domestic inspector, her special office being to encourage decency and order, and suppress any indecorum among the single females. He was very glad to be able to say that in the Companies doing the best trade in emigrant passengers, these suggestions, or nearly all of them, had been or were being carried out most effectively and loyally, with great benefits to all concerned; and it was only fair that he should, as was their due, congratulate those Companies on the way in which they had received the Board's suggestions and had acted on them. With regard to the particular Line referred to, he had not had sufficient time to ascertain particulars; but he was able to say that the last of the Dominion Line ships which left England had carried out all the suggestions of the Board of Trade, and it was hoped from this that the Company intended to carry them out in all their ships.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON said, he wished to call the attention of the noble Lord (Lord Sudeley) to the fact that no condition was required by the Board of Trade as to the existence of watertight compartments in emigrants ships, these being, he believed, necessary for the safety of the passengers in the event of an accident.

LORD SUDELEY said, he was unable to give the noble Earl any information; but the subject was one which, no doubt, deserved attention, and he would take care it should be brought before the Board.

IRELAND—THE LABOURERS' LEAGUE.—QUESTION.

EARL FORTESCUE asked the Lord Privy Seal, To what counties is there reasonable ground for believing that the Labourers' League, as distinguished from the Land League, has extended in Ireland, and what outrages during the last three months can be reasonably referred to it in the opinion of the Government?

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL), in reply, said, he had been able to obtain some information on this subject by telegraph from the Irish Government which had been supplied by the special Resident Magistrates of the different districts, each district embracing several counties. In the first district it appeared that in Carlow, Kildare, King's and Queen's Counties, attempts had been made to establish a Labourers' League, but so far it had shown practically no vitality. In the second district it had spread slowly in Longford, and had just shown itself in Cavan, Leitrim, and Westmeath. In the third district it was found not to exist in the county of Sligo, but it did in a slight degree in Mayo and Roscommon. In the fourth district it had shown itself in some parts of Clare and Limerick, but there was nothing there worthy of special report. As to the fifth district, there had been a few meetings in the counties of Cork and Kerry, but nothing had been done to disturb the public peace. The Labourers' League existed in a weak state in Kilkenny and Tipperary, and was strongest in Waterford. He was not able to find that any outrage had been directly traced to this League; but some violent speeches had certainly been delivered, chiefly against farmers.

WELLESLEY BRIDGE (LIMERICK) BILL.

(*The Lord Thurlow.*)

(NO. 207) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Lord THURLOW, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that it was a useful measure, which their Lordships would do well to pass.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Thurlow.*)

The Earl of LIMERICK said, he agreed with the noble Lord (Lord Thurlow) that it would be very useful for facilitating communication between Limerick and the county of Clare. The matter had been always regarded as one of the greatest interest in the district, especially in the city of Limerick, although the inhabitants of the county would probably use the bridge very little. The work was one which ought to be proceeded with, and he was glad the Government had introduced the measure. There was one matter connected with the Bill to which he should like to draw the attention of the noble Lord. By Clause 2, which dealt with the proportions in which the money would be raised, it was provided that of the cost Clare County should pay three-eighths and Limerick City five-eighths. Why the cost should be thus unequally divided he could not understand.

Lord THURLOW said, he had no doubt the matter would be taken into consideration, and put right by the noble Earl (the Earl of Redesdale) in Committee.

The Earl of REDESDALE (Chairman of Committees) said, he was not aware that the Bill would come before him. It was a hybrid Bill, to which there was some slight objection; but it could be amended in Committee. From the Preamble of the Bill he saw that the original cost was £10,000, and that the sum had now been reduced to £7,076. He thought the Bill, as a whole, was rather carelessly drawn, and he hoped the noble Lord in charge of it (Lord Thurlow) would see that an improvement was effected.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

The Earl of MILLTOWN asked the Lord Privy Seal, Whether he can give the House any details with regard to the alleged strike for increased wages which is said to have taken place among the members of the Royal Irish Constabulary? In putting this Question, he wished to observe that almost the only bright spot which was to be seen for the last two miserable years in the gloomy picture which Ireland presented was the unswerving loyalty to the Crown, very often under circumstances of great difficulty, exhibited by the members of the Royal Irish Constabulary; while the manner in which they had performed their difficult, arduous, and very often most irksome duties had won the respect and admiration of all honest men. It was, therefore, with feelings little short of dismay that he read the reports which had appeared in the newspapers of the discontent, if not disaffection, which had appeared in their ranks. He saw in a newspaper that morning a statement to the effect that the men in a certain district were so disgusted with the manner in which the Government had treated their mild demands, that they had come to the determination, if the Government did not at once take their grievances into consideration, to lay down their arms, and refuse to obey orders. If the report were true, nothing more startling had been heard of since the Indian Mutiny. He had no doubt, however, that it was a statement which was much exaggerated, and he trusted not only that the Government would be able to re-assure their Lordships on that point, but also that they would state that they were prepared to deal both fairly, fully, and generously with the question, and thus satisfy a body of men of whom it might well be said they were *sans peur et sans reproche.*

Lord CARLINGFORD (Lord Privy Seal), in reply, said, he was happy to be able to inform the noble Earl (the Earl of Milltown) that the report that had appeared in the newspapers on this subject was greatly exaggerated. There was no reason to believe that the Royal Irish Constabulary had exceeded their legitimate rights in the manner in which they had urged their views upon the Government as to their position. It was perfectly true that they did think that their condition, in certain respects, ought to be improved, and some of the matters to which they attached importance would be provided for out of the grant of £180,000 which was now on the point of being voted in the House of Commons. The remaining questions which they had raised were being carefully inquired into; and he might mention one gratifying circumstance which would show that the Royal Irish Constabulary was not an unpopular Force—that it was not looked upon in Ireland as a Force which it would be disadvantageous for any educated Irishman to belong to—the fact, namely, that the recruiting of the Constabulary for some months past had been going on in the most satisfactory way.

House adjourned at Six o'clock,
to Monday next, a quarter
past Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 4th August, 1882.

MINUTES.]—Supply—*considered in Committee*—Civil Service Estimates—Class II.—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments, Votes 37 to 41; Class III.—Law and Justice, Votes 1 to 23.

Resolutions [August 3] *reported.*

Public Bills—*Resolutions in Committee*—Merchant Shipping (Mercantile Marine Fund) [Payments to Fund, &c.]; Public Works Loans [Advances, &c.] *; Revenue, Friendly Societies, and National Debt [Stamp Duty, Payments, and Advances] *.

Ordered—First Reading—Expiring Laws Continuance * [266]; Corrupt Practices (Suspension of Elections) * [265].

First Reading—Citation Amendment (Scotland)* [267].

Second Reading—Passenger Vessels Licensing (Scotland) * [76]; Cruelty to Animals [206], *negatived.*

Committee—Government Annuities and Assurance [190]—R.P.; Merchant Shipping (Mercantile Marine Fund) * [256]—R.P.

Committee — *Report* — Allotments (*re-comm.*) [227]; Intermediate Education (Ireland) [258].

Considered as amended—Third Reading—Parcel Post * [254]; Reserve Forces Acts Consolidation * [124]; Militia Acts Consolidation * [123], and *passed.*

Third Reading—Bombay Civil Fund * [225], and *passed.*

Withdrawn—Augmentation of Benefices Act Amendment * [106]; Lunacy Districts (Scotland) * [224]; Contumacious Clerks * [41].

QUESTIONS.

BRAZIL—THE PROVINCE OF MINAS GERAES—SLAVE-HOLDING BY ENGLISH SUBJECTS.

Mr. O'KELLY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether his attention has been called to the following statement in the "Rio News" of June 24th:—

> "There are yet a large number of slaves in the province of Minas Geraes, belonging to the extinct 'National Brazilian Land and Mining Association,' commonly known as the 'Cocaes Company,' which are illegally held because the English law forbids slave-holding to British subjects. These slaves, however, are hired out, and their wages are regularly received and administered by the British Court of Chancery. It is altogether likely that a brief note to the British Government on this matter will secure the liberation of these unfortunate captives;"

and, whether the Government will take such action as will put an end to the administration of funds derived from slave labour by the Court of Chancery, and secure the liberation of the slaves illegally held as property by British subjects?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE, in reply, said, his right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General for Ireland had answered a previous Question on this subject, and the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department yesterday referred to that Question in connection with another Company. If the hon. Member opposite (Mr. O'Kelly) would look back to the answer given by the Attorney General for Ireland a few weeks ago, he would obtain the information he required.

STATE OF IRELAND—ORANGE DEMONSTRATION AT LURGAN.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been drawn to a statement in the "Belfast Morning News" of the 17th ultimo, to the effect that on the 12th ultimo, an Orange aniversary, the carriage of Mr. James Macolm, J.P., High Sheriff of the County Armagh, was driven through the town of Lurgan with horses decked with orange lilies; whether Mr. Malcolm's carriage had been used on the day in question to convey the going judge of assize to court; whether Mr. Malcolm is the same magistrate who, a week previously, let off without any punishment or fine, Joseph Mathers, an Orangeman, of Lurgan, who had been summoned by the police for having been drunk, and having "cursed the Pope," and who admitted his guilt; and, what action the Government propose to take on the conduct of Mr. Malcolm?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, with reference to the first part of this Question, I find that Mr. Malcolm has written a letter to *The Belfast Morning News*, which fully explains the circumstances under which his horses were decked with Orange lilies on the occasion. The Judges had left Armagh; Mr. Malcolm had gone home by train; the carriages were going home empty, under the care of the servants, and the act was entirely due to the thoughtless proceeding of his under-coachman and against the remonstrance of the head-coachman. With regard to the case of Joseph Mathers, Mr. Malcolm, as High Sheriff, could not and did not attend the Lurgan Sessions. The case mentioned was disposed of on the 4th July before six other local magistrates.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—MR. GEOFFREY POWER.

MR. REDMOND (for Mr. LEAMY) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the case of Mr. Geoffrey Power, of Quillia, county Waterford, has been considered; and if he can now recommend his release?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, Mr. Geoffrey Power's case was reconsidered on the 15th ultimo. His Excellency is, at present, unable to order his release.

MR. REDMOND: Have all the other "suspects" from the county been released?

MR. TREVELYAN: I will look that out.

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—THE AFFRAY AT BALLINA—SUB-INSPECTOR BALL OF THE CONSTABULARY.

MR. O'CONNOR POWER asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can now give an assurance to the House that the services of Sub-Inspector Ball will be dispensed with; and, whether he is in a position to state that the sufferers from the affray at Ballina will be adeqately compensated?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, shortly after the Ballina riot and inquests, Sub-Inspector Ball was transferred to Dunfanaghy, County Donegal, where he is now serving. The Inspector General does not consider that sufficient grounds exist for dispensing with his services, and the Lord Lieutenant concurs with him in that view. The informations, which my right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General for Ireland directed the Sessional Crown Solicitor to apply for against the Sub-Inspector for manslaughter, have been refused by the magistrate, who carefully considered the whole of the evidence, and it is not the intention of my right hon. and learned Friend to direct any further criminal proceedings. The question of compensation is now under consideration, and I will state the result to the House before the end of the Session.

THE SEED RATE (IRELAND)—SWINFORD UNION.

MR. O'CONNOR POWER asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can inform the House what steps the Government intend to take with a view to relieving the Union of Swinford from the obligation to pay the full amount of the Seed Rate now due, but which, owing to the distressed condition of the small tenant farmers in that part of Mayo, the Union is at present unable to pay?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the purchasers of seed in the Swinford Union have already been afforded every indulgence in regard to repayment which the law allows. The payment of the first instalment of the Seed debt was postponed for one year, and the debt was divided into four instalments. The first of these, amounting to about £6,800, was assessed on the purchasers early this year, and of this assessment nearly £3,800 has been collected, leaving about £3,000 outstanding. To obviate the necessity of the Guardians advancing the whole of this sum of £3,000 from the ordinary funds of the Unions to pay the debt to the Board of Works, the Local Government Board is willing, if the Guardians desire it, and make an application to that effect, to ask the Board of Works to give the Guardians an extension of time for the payment of the part of the instalment now due, and to allow that part of it to remain unpaid until after harvest; and I have caused the Guardians to be informed of this in case they may wish to take advantage of it.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT—GUISBOROUGH SPECIAL PETTY SESSIONS.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he has observed that Captain R. A. Massey, R.M. and Mr. R. Mitchell, R.M. sitting on Friday last, at Guisborough, county Kerry, as a court of special petty sessions, heard a case in which a number of persons were charged, under the Crime Prevention Act, with unlawful assembly and assault on the police, and sentenced, eight men to a month's imprisonment, with hard labour, and three girls of tender years, the daughters of Mr. Lawrence Buckley, described as "a well-to-do farmer and landed proprietor," to a fortnight's imprisonment; whether the scene of the alleged unlawful assembly was a place where the young people of the neighbourhood had long been in the habit of meeting for purposes of recreation; whether the residence of Mr. Buckley, the father of the Misses Buckley, is situated on the side of the road at the very spot in question; and, whether the Government will reverse the sentences in the case; and especially whether they will order the immediate release of the Misses Buckley?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, I telegraphed for a report, and I wrote for it two or three days ago. I to-day got a letter from Dublin promising immediate attention. It is a subject which requires very considerable inquiry, and that attention is being paid to it in Dublin.

Mr. SEXTON: I wish to point out to the right hon. Gentleman that those girls have been in gaol almost a week.

CRIME (IRELAND)—ALLEGED OUTRAGE IN SLIGO.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, on the 7th instant, one James White, of Ballinful, County Sligo, reported to the police that, while walking on his farm, he had been fired at and wounded in the leg; whether White fixed the time of the attack upon him at four o'clock in the morning, but did not inform the police until eleven, though they were quartered in a hut a few paces from his dwelling-house; whether, on the report being made, the police arrested and lodged in Sligo Gaol two men, James Hartt and Michael Merrick, the latter of whom had been evicted from the holding in the possession of White; whether three doctors, who examined White's injured leg, concurred in the decision that the injury had been caused by the application of a red-hot iron, and not by a gunshot, as stated by White himself; whether the local resident magistrate directed the release of Hartt and Merrick, after they had been ten days in gaol; and, what action, if any, the Government have taken, or propose to take, in reference to White?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, with the exception of a few inaccuracies, the facts of this case appear to be correctly stated in this Question by the hon. Gentleman. Instead of 4, the time stated in the Question, White fixed the time of the attack upon him at 2 o'clock in the morning, and did not report the occurrence to the police until noon. The wound was examined by one doctor only, who seemed to think it was not a gunshot wound, but a burn. White swore positively in his depositions that Hartt and Merrick were the persons who fired at him. They were taken before the magistrate, and committed to Sligo Gaol for eight days on remand, but were then discharged by order of the Resident Magistrate. The case is one of considerable suspicion, and will be very fully inquired into.

Mr. SEXTON asked whether the inquiry would be made with a view to the Government prosecuting White for perjury?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Yes.

FIJI—THE LAND COMMISSION.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether any reply has been returned to the Petition of Colonists and landowners in Fiji complaining of the Land Commission, and praying that a competent tribunal, unconnected with the Government, may be appointed; and, whether he will lay Copies of the

Petition, and of the reply thereto, upon the Table?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Sir, no reply has yet been returned to the Petition, and there may be some delay, as the Governor of Fiji has not yet sent his remarks, and the Colonial Office may also possibly wait for the arrival in England of Sir Arthur Gordon. I may, however, remind my hon. Friend that the ordinance under which Mr. Williamson, an independent barrister, went out from this country to Fiji to hear these land claims distinctly provided that the decisions given by the Commission under that ordinance should be final.

TURKEY—THE WAR INDEMNITY.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is the fact, as stated in the press, that the Russian Government has surrendered to Turkey the instalment of the Russo-Turkish war indemnity now due, and that such instalment has been offered by the Porte as a supplementary guarantee for the repayment of the advance which is to be made to Turkey by the Ottoman Bank to provide for the expenses of the Turkish expedition to Egypt; and, if so, whether Her Majesty's Government has received information as to any other steps that may have been taken by Russia to promote a Turkish intervention in Egypt without fulfilling the conditions laid down by Her Majesty's Government for such intervention?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, we have heard from Constantinople that the Turkish Government has obtained a loan on the security of the Russian indemnity instalments; but we have no information that the Russian Government has surrendered an instalment, or has taken any other steps of the nature referred to by the hon. Gentleman.

NAVY—RE-ENGAGEMENTS.

SIR JOHN HAY asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, If he will grant a Return stating the estimated number of men whose engagements expired in 1881 and 1882, and the numbers re-engaged for further service, for ten years, and to complete pension; and also re-engagements of men who had left the service; the total and the estimated balance of men who took their discharge (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 136, of Session 1881)?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, in reply, said, there was no objection to the production of the Return asked for, if the right hon. and gallant Member would move for it.

CUSTOMS CONSOLIDATION ACT, 1876—"IRISH NATIONAL LAND LEAGUE FLOUR"—SEIZURE AT LIVERPOOL.

MR. SEXTON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether on the 29th ult. at Liverpool, 300 bags of flour, the property of P. Barrett and Co. of Carrickshannon, were seized and detained by the officers of Customs; whether the cause alleged for such action was that the bags were branded "Irish National Land League Flour;" whether bags similarly branded have always hitherto been allowed to pass; and, whether the bags in question will be now delivered to the owners?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, on July 28, 300 sacks of wheaten flour arriving from Boston were detained by the officers of Customs at Liverpool. This action was taken under the 42nd section of the Customs Consolidation Act, 1876, because the brand purports to be that "of a real or fictitious manufacturer in the United Kingdom." There was nothing unusual in the action taken. As the Question has been put without Notice, I have been unable to learn whether goods similarly marked have been delivered on any former occasion. No application had, up to last night, been made for their release. Upon such application being made by the consignee, the goods would probably be released upon marks being added to show that they were of foreign manufacture; but I must not be understood to fetter the action of the Customs in any way until the circumstances are before me in a complete form.

CYPRUS (FINANCE).

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked, Whether, on the Civil Service Supplementary Estimates, the Government mean to take £90,000 as the Estimate for Cyprus; and, if so, why it has been so long delayed?

MR. COURTNEY, in reply, said, the Estimate for the Island of Cyprus had been delayed, in order to arrive at a very exact estimate of the sum that would be required; but the difficulty experienced in ascertaining that precise amount was so great that he had now resolved that it should be delayed no longer. The Government had therefore put down £90,000 as the approximate sum required.

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS OF IRELAND—A ROYAL COMMISSION.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he will take any steps this Session for the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the condition of the Agricultural Labourers of Ireland?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, Her Majesty's Government, as at present advised, are not under the impression that there are any facts in respect to the agricultural labourers of Ireland which are not sufficiently in their possession already, and consequently we shall not issue a Royal Commission to inquire into the condition of the agricultural labourers.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—A SATURDAY SITTING.

MR. J. LOWTHER asked the Prime Minister, Whether the House would sit to-morrow (Saturday), and, if so, what business would be taken?

MR. MARJORIBANKS said, he desired to plead with the Prime Minister as to whether, seeing that the Entail (Scotland) Bill had passed through the House of Lords, that it had already passed through two stages in this House, and that it was the only crumb of comfort that Scotch occupiers of land, whether landlords or tenants, were likely to get this Session, if it was impossible to bring it on to-night, it would be possible to give that Bill the first place tomorrow?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, if I were to do so, I am afraid some English Members would rise and complain that Scotland has had such a very large proportion of the legislation of the present year—that is to say, that out of three Bills, we intend to pass two belonging to Scotland—and perhaps the claim might not seem to be so strong. However, we shall do the best we can with respect to this Bill; but it is impossible at the present moment to come to any decision until we see what is to be done with other Bills on the Paper to-day. These are the Turnpike Roads (South Wales) Bill, Isle of Man Officers Bill, Government Annuities and Assurance Bill, Royal Irish Constabulary Bill, Entail (Scotland) Bill, Artizans Dwellings Bill, Pensions Commutation Bill, Supreme Court of Judicature Amendment Bill, and the Lunacy Regulation Amendment Bill. These are the Bills that will stand for consideration to-morrow, unless anything should arise in the proceedings to-night to make another course desirable.

MR. J. LOWTHER: Any other Business besides these Bills?

MR. GLADSTONE: No other Business.

In answer to Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT,

MR. CHILDERS said, that the Army Estimates would be taken on Monday next.

PASSENGER ACTS—ROYAL NETHERLANDS STEAMSHIP COMPANY—ILL TREATMENT OF EMIGRANTS.

MR. MOORE asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether he has received the official Report of the investigations held at New York, confirming the shocking statements made regarding the treatment of emigrants on the "Nemesis," chartered by the Royal Netherlands Steamship Company; whether this Company is the same as the "Crown Line" for which passengers were being booked from London every week; and, whether he will lay this Report upon the Table?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Sir, I have received a copy of a report of one of the Emigration Commissioners at New York which contains statements made by immigrants, passengers in the ships *Nemesis* and *Surrey*, chartered by the Company referred to in the Question, alleging that, as regards the *Nemesis*, there were 12 or 13 deaths from measles and diarrhœa among the children, that the water was bad, the vessel overcrowded, and that some of the officers misconducted themselves. These statements were, however, *ex parte*, and the master and officers were not present, and had no opportunity of being heard. Neither of these ships carried English passengers, and as they sailed under the Netherlands flag and between Rotterdam and New York and do not call at any British port, the Board of Trade have no control over them. The responsibility rests entirely with the Government of the United States and the Netherlands, and under these circumstances I do not feel justified in laying Papers on the Table. The "Crown Line" and the Royal Netherlands Steamship Company are identical.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—CALLING OUT THE FIRST CLASS ARMY RESERVE.

SIR HENRY FLETCHER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he is satisfied with the results of Her Majesty's Proclamation calling out the First Class of the Army Reserves?

MR. CHILDERS: Sir, I am happy to be able to tell the hon. and gallant Baronet that the Returns up to the present time are quite satisfactory. Some have not yet come in; but those which have been received, I confess, surprise me, considering the very short notice the men had.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT—THE ALIEN CLAUSES.

MR. SALT (for Mr. TOTTENHAM) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he will state, for the information of the House, whether any steps have been taken against individuals under the Alien Clauses of the Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act; and in what number of instances information has been laid that it is expedient to remove from the Realm any alien or aliens under the provisions of the said Act?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, no action has yet been taken upon those clauses.

EGYPT—COMMUNICATION WITH ARABI PASHA.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT asked the Prime Minister, Whether means have been taken to prevent private communication between any one in this country and Arabi Pasha? He had put the Question on Tuesday, and the Prime Minister had then said that he would be prepared to answer it in a day or two. If the right hon. Gentleman was not prepared to do so now, he would put it on the Paper.

MR. GLADSTONE: That will be the better way.

FISHERIES (IRELAND)—EMPLOYMENT OF A GUNBOAT.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether His Excellency proposes to act upon the recommendations of the Inspectors of Irish Fisheries, and apply to the Treasury or Admiralty for a vessel to protect and assist the Fishing Industries off the Irish Coasts?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I will look into this matter and see whether the application is one which ought to be recommended to the favourable consideration of the Treasury. Under present arrangements, vessels such as gunboats are not infrequently lent to the Irish Government by the Admiralty for short periods during the fishery season, when they are required for the protection of the fisheries. And I imagine that if the Inspectors of Fisheries will show sufficient cause, a surveying vessel would be told off, as I think is done in Scotland, to take soundings at a time when it could be spared from general duties.

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—ALLEGED DISCONTENT.

MR. CALLAN: I have to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland a Question of which I have not had the opportunity of giving him Notice, and it is, Whether he will inform the House as to the exactness of the statement which have appeared in the public Press, or the correctness of a telegram received by many hon. Members of this House last night—namely, that a strike of police has commenced in Limerick, and is extending to an alarming extent over many other parts of Ireland; and, whether the official information the right hon. Gentleman has on the subject shows that this alarming movement is owing to the arbitrary and despotic conduct of Mr. Clifford Lloyd?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, this is a sort of Question of which I should desire to have had Notice, even though it was only a few minutes; but for certain reasons, I am desirous now of saying a word about the matter without Notice. The reports in the newspapers have been extraordinarily exaggerated, and that from causes which, I think we may guess, lie outside the Police Force altogether. In saying that, I do not wish to be understood as casting any imputation upon the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Callan); but telegrams have been received by a distinguished Member on the other side, by the Prime Minister, and I myself received a telegram last evening, which, I believe, is word for word the same as that received by the right hon. Gentleman on the Opposition side of the House. This telegram placed the case in the most alarming colours, and when I received it I must own it filled me with considerable apprehension; but on looking to see from what quarter it came, appearances were altered, for I found that there was no name, but simply the initials, "R. I. C.," which I take evidently to mean the Royal Irish Constabulary. I may say that I have had very minute and accurate accounts of what is passing and what has passed sent to me, and especially during the last three or four days; and from these I am able to say that hitherto nothing has occurred but what is consistent with the good order and discipline of a most loyal Force, as I believe this to be. The Force is in the very best order; and there is no more loyal Force of Constabulary in the Kingdom. I am in possession of letters from all persons concerned—from the Lord Lieutenant, the Under Secretary, and the Inspector General of the Police, which make me quite satisfied that the affair is being dealt with in a manner which authorizes me to say that the authorities are worthy to command a Force of this kind.

Mr. CALLAN: I received last night from the "R. I. C.," that is, the R.I.C. of Cork City—["Order, order!"] To put myself in Order, I will conclude with a Motion. ["Order, order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member cannot debate this matter. Any Question he desires to put on the same subject, the hon. Member is entitled to ask.

Mr. CALLAN: I will read the telegram, and ask a Question, and, if necessary, I will conclude with a Motion. Late last night I received a telegram, and, no doubt, the reason that the sender's name is not given——

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member cannot debate this matter.

Mr. CALLAN: I will conclude with a Motion for the Adjournment of the House, and give the reasons why I do so. Last night I received a telegram from Cork City, stating that the men of that city and county would meet to-day, and were resolved to a man to demand an increase of pay and equalization of pensions, and that a Memorial to that effect was being sent in to the Government. I have also received a letter from the county of Louth, and others from Meath, fully bearing out the information which has been conveyed; and, without any disrespect to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, I may tell him that the members of the R. I. C. would much rather trust me with their names and complaints than they would him. If they had sent their names to the telegraph office, these names would have been immediately placed before the Inspector General, who would reduce and punish them for complaining to a Member of this House. Therefore, they would sooner trust me. I will show the right hon. Gentleman the letters, without the names, and in private, if he desires it, with the view of verifying what I state. It is a fact that this movement is extending, and has extended; and whether it is true or false, I know not, but the main cause alleged is the arbitrary conduct of these extraordinary Resident Magistrates, who order them about throughout the country, for which they receive no compensation or extra pay of any kind. I see the Secretary of State for the Home Department is suggesting some matter to the Chief Secretary for Ireland. ["Order, order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member, I am bound to say, is quite out of Order in the observation he has now made. In the Orders of the Day there is a Bill relating to the pay of the Royal Irish Constabulary, and it is out of Order to anticipate the discussion of it.

Mr. CALLAN: I do not. ["Order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member cannot proceed.

Mr. CALLAN: You order—["Order, order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: I have already warned the hon. Member that he cannot proceed with the matter.

Mr. CALLAN: I do not intend to proceed; I only wish to refer to the arbitrary conduct of the magistrates —["Order, order!"]

Mr. Speaker called upon Mr. O'Shea.

POOR LAW (ENGLAND)—PROSELYTISM IN A WORKHOUSE SCHOOL.

Mr. O'SHEA asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he has caused inquiry to be made into the statement of a Member of the House to the effect that four children have recently been flogged in a school within jurisdiction of the Board for refusing to conform to a religion different from that professed by their parents?

Mr. DODSON: Sir, as no clue has been afforded as to the name of the school in question, and as there are several hundred such schools in the Kingdom, I could scarcely be expected to answer the inquiry. When the hon. Member mentions the name of the school, I will ascertain the truth of the matter.

Mr. MOORE said, that he would furnish the Local Government Board with the fullest information necessary for making inquiries.

CRIME (IRELAND)—ALLEGED AGRARIAN MURDER IN WEST CLARE.

Mr. O'SHEA: I wish to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If there is any truth in the report appearing in a morning paper of a murder stated to have been committed in Clare?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I have a telegram from Mr. Clifford Lloyd, in which he states that, as regards the alleged murder between Kilrush and Kilkee, in West Clare, that a man was found dead on the road at the locality mentioned; but there was no suspicion of foul play in the case.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—OCCUPATION OF SUEZ.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether he can confirm the statement that Suez has been occupied by British troops?

Mr. CHILDERS (for Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), in reply, said, that Suez had been occupied by a few marines of the flagship.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—⁂—

SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

PASSENGER ACTS—EMIGRANT SHIPS.

RESOLUTION.

Mr. MOORE, in rising to draw attention to the state of the law regarding emigrants; and to move—"That in the opinion of this House, the Passenger Acts require revision and reform," said, he felt bound to congratulate the Board of Trade on the fact that, owing to the labours of the Select Committee of last year, considerable improvements had been made since last year, when many complaints had been made as to defective passenger accommodation. Very desirable changes had been made in this respect by most of the great Steamship Companies whose boats ran between Liverpool and New York; and one line in particular—the White Star—had made great strides in the right direction, and was being followed in the way of improvement by the National and Allan Lines; but these improvements did not, of course, alter the very unsatisfactory state of the law. Much had also been done for Irish emigrants by Miss O'Brien, who had opened a home for them at Queenstown, and had inspected many of the vessels. But neither the efforts of the benevolent, nor the improved condition of emigration introduced by the Steamship Companies, would be wholly effectual as long as the law remained unaltered. In spite of all that had been done, as many as 200 complaints of overcrowding had been received within the last two years in the case of vessels arriving at New York; and he had the authority of Miss O'Brien, who had taken great interest in this matter, for saying that, in these cases, no woman could keep her character above reproach in one of these crowded voyages. Beyond that, the state of things that occasionally prevailed on board emigrant ships might be gathered from the report issued officially from Castle Garden, New York, of what had occurred on one of the best steamers between that port and Liverpool. The New York officials said, with reference to this vessel, that they had carefully inquired into the facts of the case, and found that the bread supplied to the emigrants was sour, that the potatoes were not good, that the sleeping accommodation was promiscuous, and that the conduct of the chief steward was reprehensible. In fact, the circumstances made public in this case fully justified the complaints made last year. The laws of the United States respecting emigrants had recently been altered; but those of this country were still very inadequate, and he would urge upon the Government to take steps to effect concerted action on the part, not only of England and America, but of other European countries. By some strange anomaly the Passenger Acts did not apply to "short" ships—that was, to vessels carrying fewer than 50 passengers. Besides short ships, homeward-bound vessels, and vessels plying to European ports, were also exempt from the provisions of the Passenger Act. He did not see why the same protection was not necessary in the case of a ship coming home; and then, if complaints were made, we were ourselves in a position to inquire into and remedy the grievance. In reference to the point, he had received a letter, detailing the shameful treatment by the chief steward of a poor girl on board one of these homeward-bound vessels, and which showed the necessity for extending to passengers coming home the same protection which was given to passengers going out. With regard to the third portion of his case, or vessels plying between European ports, he last year called attention to the very bad state of the Scandinavian traffic. He did not wish to lean very heavily upon the owners, because he believed they would be willing to set things right; but he received his information from such high authority that he felt bound to bring the subject forward. The President of the Board of Trade sent out an officer to inquire into the matter, and he reported that the accommodation was very bad, in fact, of the worst kind possible, and that there was no attempt at a division of the sexes, nor even of individual berths. That was last autumn, the slack time of the year, and the officer recommended that he should be sent out again. That was done, and it was found that a considerable improvement had been made. The vessels of one or two Companies were in a very satisfactory state. He had heard complaints of the boats plying between Hamburg and London, in which passengers spent two days and two nights on deck crowded together like swine. Over the emigration carried on by foreign Lines, the President of the Board of Trade would, no doubt, say he had no jurisdiction. The fact, however, was that the agents disguised from the emigrants that they were to be transhipped; but when the President of the Board of Trade asked any questions, they said they only booked to European ports, and that the Passenger Acts did not apply. But he held in his hand a ticket which professed that the passengers should be carried direct from London to New York. In these steamers there was no adequate provision for the decency, comfort, or health of the emigrants; and there was no reason why British emigants should be carried by a circuitous route to America. He complained especially in this connection of the *Compagnie Transatlantique de Havre*, and of the two Antwerp Companies—the Red Star and the White Cross. They had in the House already some details in connection with the Royal Netherlands Steamship Company in the case of the *Nemesis*, a vessel which had carried several hundred emigrants to New York from Amsterdam. From the report of the emigration agent at New York, it was shown that the passengers were most unhappy during the whole journey, which lasted 16 days. Ten children died on the voyage, 11 had died since, and a number of the adult passengers had to be taken to the emigration hospital on landing. It was further said that a ship's load had never before been received in such a wretched condition; that the water furnished to the passengers was bad, and that the officers and *employés* of the ship were careless of the comfort and welfare of the emigrants. Besides all this, it was also stated by the agent that directly it became known to the officers of the vessel that an inquiry was to be instituted, the cable was slipped in the night, and the vessel disappeared. He maintained that this country, in the interests of its own traffic, should exercise the strictest supervision over the emigration agents here, who, escaping all the regulations in force applying to agents shipping direct from British ports, represented to the Board of Trade that they were booking passengers to European ports only, when they were really arranging for their passage to America. The present powers of the Board ought, he contended, to be extended, so that passengers thus treated might have the protection of the law. Then, better accommodation ought to be provided for foreign emigrants passing through this country, for the total disregard of all the necessary arrangements as to their comfort on landing was most shameful and deserving of the utmost condemnation. These remarks especially applied to the case of those foreign emigrants who shipped from England and Scotland, through the three great channels of emigration, the ports of Leith, Hull, and London. In the 10 months ending last February, the number of foreign emigrants entering Hull *en route* to America was 58,000. As regarded the accommodation of these people on shore it was reported to be so unsatisfactory that Mr. Gray was sent down by the Board of Trade to inquire into it, and he discovered that many of the emigrants were entirely without sleeping accommodation, and were found lying about on their boxes in the open air, without any roof covering over them, and the accommodation in other respects was most deplorable and required alteration. In London, the position of foreign emigrants was still more pitiable, for they became the prey of the worst description of lodging-house keepers, who, finding it to their interest to detain their lodgers as long as they possibly could, frequently allowed the vessels to sail without them, and he knew of young girls being detained in this way until their ruin was completed. But a more iniquitous practice was this—the lodging-house keepers, who received from the shipping Company 1*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.* 9*d.* per day for each emigrant, were in the habit of subcontracting for the maintenance of the emigrants in small starvation lodging-houses, at a rate at which it was impossible that they could be fed. He knew of one case in which an emigrant was detained absolutely five weeks in town for a ship. The police had no power to interfere; and, therefore, it was imperative that the Government should take some action in the matter. Either these establishments should be brought under the immediate control of the police, or, better still, Government should provide a general depôt at some spot down the River, for the reception of emigrants while waiting to be transhipped to the Atlantic Line vessels. The Board of Trade, too, should take care that these ships carried steady and experienced surgeons, and not mere boys fresh from the medical school. Their position should be improved, and they should be made more independent. At present, their pay was small; but, no doubt, that was because of their youth, and the fact that they came to the ship generally straight from school without experience. He thought the time was come when, for reasons of humanity, the large streams of emigrants coming from abroad should be saved from lodging-houses and from infectious diseases. There should also be established an efficient system of inspection. The character of the ships should be improved, and depôts established for the reception of the emigrants during their stay in London and other ports. The hon. Member concluded by moving the Resolution of which he had given Notice.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, the Passenger Acts require revision and reform,"—(*Mr. Moore,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, he thought his hon. Friend the Member for Clonmel (Mr. Moore), far from needing an apology, had done good service in calling attention to this subject, in which, as was well known, he had taken great interest. He rejoiced to hear his hon. Friend say at the outset that he recognized the very great importance of the new arrangements that had been made for the convenience, comfort, and health of emigrant passengers on the great Atlantic Lines. The hon. Member paid a special compliment to one Line; but his (Mr. Chamberlain's) own inspection led him to believe that the same favourable opinion might be expressed in regard to the great majority of Lines going from England to the United States. As far as he (Mr. Chamberlain) knew, there was now only one Line which had hitherto failed to comply with the recommendations that were made some time ago by the Board of Trade, and that Line, he hoped, would not be long in following the example of the others. His hon. Friend had recognized, and he (Mr. Chamberlain), also, was quite prepared to recognize, the services of Miss O'Brien in this matter; although, at the same time, it was only fair to say that she commenced her agitation in connection with the subject by bringing very serious charges indeed against one of the great American Lines—charges which further examination showed were, at all events, immensely exaggerated, and which she subsequently withdrew in a most honourable way. There seemed to be a little confusion in the mind of his hon. Friend as to what a revision of the Passenger Acts might be expected to do. For instance, he had called attention to one or two painful cases happening on board British or foreign ships, in which women had been subjected to outrage, and passengers insulted by officers of the ships; but he (Mr. Chamberlain) would point out to the hon. Member that the law was already amply sufficient to deal with these cases. No alteration of the law would enable them to insure that every officer of every ship should be civil and obliging; but if a man, under any circumstances, committed a ruffianly act, ample provision was made for his punishment by a Court of Justice if sufficient evidence was forthcoming. The hon. Member went on to say that the powers of the Board of Trade were limited in certain cases, and that the regulations which applied to emigrant ships should apply also to ships plying between European ports and ships homeward bound. He (Mr. Chamberlain) imagined that the reason why these cases were excluded was, that no considerable number of emigrants were carried under conditions that justified the stringent provisions of the Passengers Act. The Scandinavian trade was alluded to by his hon. Friend as an illustration of the necessity of applying the rules. That trade had already engaged the attention of the Board of Trade, and an officer of the Board of Trade had gone to Hull to inquire into it. At Hull it was found that there was some reason to be dissatified with the then existing provision. The officer thought it might be improved; but he pointed out it would be extremely undesirable, in the interest of the emigrants themselves, that such stringent provision should be made as would largely increase the fares which were now charged. Subject to that circumstance, however, the officer made certain recommendations, which were forwarded to the owners of the Lines; and he (Mr. Chamberlain) had received the most ample assurances of their intentions to do, not only what was recommended, but anything else which, from time to time, he might point out to secure the comfort and health to the whole subject. His experience was, that much could be done by friendly representations to the owners of Lines, without compulsory legislation. There was always the objection to compulsory legislation, that they must lay down hard-and-fast lines to go upon in all cases, a course of proceeding which would sometimes interfere unwarrantably with private enterprize. So long as he could obtain fair and reasonable attention from the parties concerned by their voluntary action, he greatly preferred it to asking the House to attempt to control the whole of a very complicated trade by regulations which took the form of an Act of Parliament. As to the treatment of emigrants when they got to Hull, that was, no doubt, in an unsatisfactory condition; but it was the fact that cases of detention occurred very seldom during a season. The only way to remedy the cases of hardship, which occurred three or four times last year, was to erect a depôt or large lodging-house for the reception of emigrants when it was impossible to send them on; and the matter had been under the consideration both of the steamship owners and of the local authorities of Hull, but no definite conclusion had been come to; one question being whether it was worth while to make such a provision, because the occasions when such buildings would be useful were so infrequent. With regard to the state of things on board foreign Lines which traded between foreign ports and America, which did not call at all in England, but for which English subjects were sometimes booked, these foreign Companies had, no doubt, agents in this country who were amenable to English law, and if his hon. Friend could lay before him any evidence of fraud, he had no doubt he would be able to bring them to a reckoning. But so far as he had been able hitherto to follow the complaints of his hon. Friend, he had no such case of fraud brought to his attention. On the contrary, the tickets he had seen distinctly stated that the voyage was only to Rotterdam, and thence in the steamers of the Transatlantic Line to New York. Under those circumstances it would be quite impossible to accuse the parties of any improper conduct. It was necessary to scrutinize complaints, because they sometimes came from competitors; and although that did not make them less worthy of attention, yet it suggested caution, without which we might embarrass our relations with foreign Governments. The law was already sufficient to meet cases of fraud. The case of the *Nemesis* had been alluded to, and there might be ground against the action of these foreign Lines; but this country had not control over them, nor could any law that they might pass give them much control. They must trust to the fact that circumstances such as those which seemed to have been brought out by the inquiry at New York were published far and wide, and that they would prove prejudicial in regard to the Line about which such statements were made, for passengers would always select that which bore the best reputation. His hon. Friend, as he understood him, proposed that the Government should erect depôts, with the necessary arrangements belonging thereto, at London, Hull, Leith, and probably other places, where emigrants could be received. It seemed to him (Mr. Chamberlain), however, that if the Government were going to take such a step, it would be going very far in the direction of grandmotherly legislation, and it would be very difficult to say when the functions of the State would stop in such matters. He quite admitted that the Passengers Act required revision and reform, for it was passed 30 years ago, and it required revision in many respects to which his hon. Friend had not alluded. There was also not a single branch of the Board of Trade in regard to which he did not see that legislation of a practical and useful character might be proposed if they had only time for the business; but until some change was effected for restoring to the House control over its Business, it would be absurd to give any promise to his hon. Friend that he would bring in a Bill to deal with the subject that had just been brought under the notice of the House.

Mr. MOORE said, that, after the explanation of the right hon. Gentleman, he was ready to withdraw the Resolution. ["No, no!"]

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Main Question again proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

SCOTLAND—CROFTERS IN THE ISLAND OF SKYE—A ROYAL COMMISSION.

OBSERVATIONS.

Mr. MACFARLANE, who had the following Notice of Motion on the Paper:—

> To move, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the condition of the Crofters in the Island of Skye, the Western Islands of Scotland generally, and the Islands constituting the Orkney and Shetland groups, and specially to report upon the relations of landlord and tenant in those localities, and as to the causes which have led to the recent disturbances in Skye,"

said, that being precluded by the Forms of the House from bringing it forward, he would content himself with appealing to the Prime Minister and the Government to grant its substance. He would point out that 10 years ago a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the "truck system" in the Shetland Isles. The Commissioner reported—

> "I have not thought myself at liberty to enter upon the Land Question, but the 'truck system' is due in no small degree to the habits of dependence which the faulty relationship of landlord and tenant fosters. Hitherto it has been said that legislation should not be local or exceptional. It is to be hoped that in any reform of the Land Laws of Scotland the case of Shetland will not be forgotten."

This Commissioner attributed the poverty and wretchedness of the people in Shetland to the land system. He (Mr. Macfarlane) had no doubt that what was true of Shetland was true of all the other parts of Scotland, and especially the Islands of Scotland. It was only a few months since that there was a very serious disturbance—serious for Scotland, which was a very peaceful country—in the Island of Skye. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Lord Advocate knew very well that, though the crofters were technically in the wrong, and though they had broken the law, yet that they were so far in the right that the punishment inflicted was ridiculously nominal. The right hon. and learned Gentleman knew also that there was a feeling in the country that if any severe punishment had been inflicted upon them, gross injustice would have been done. Since that time there had been a comparative lull in Skye; but the question had been taken up in the country, and were it not for wearying the House, he (Mr. Macfarlane) could read letters which he had received from clergymen and others, as to the serious future consequences of neglecting this question. These writers uniformly and universally testified that inquiry was needed, and prayed that the Government would grant it. He had in his hand two resolutions to the same effect from a meeting held in Glasgow. The second was—

> "That this meeting insists not only on the desirability, but on the urgent necessity for full Parliamentary inquiry into the facts of the case as regards the Highland crofters, with a view to legislation as soon as possible."

That motion was carried unanimously. It was moved by a clergyman, and seconded by Mr. M'Donald. Another motion, which he would not trouble the House by reading, also moved by a clergyman, represented the necessity of being fully alive to the importance of meeting the case of these poor people. This was not an ordinary agitation. The clergymen in that part of the country did not take part in an agitation unless they saw a very serious necessity for it. He believed that this was a question between men and grouse. He believed it to be a fair calculation to say, as had been said, that 10 brace of grouse were as good to a landlord as a crofter as a mere money speculation. A great many years ago, Sir Walter Scott wrote upon the depopulation of the Islands and Highlands then going on, and remarked that—

> "If the hour of need come, and it may not be far distant, the people may be summoned for the purposes of defence from these regions, but the summons will remain unanswered."

That prediction had been fulfilled, and he (Mr. Macfarlane) did not suppose there was really, at that moment, one-tenth of the small crofter population in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland which existed in the time Sir Walter Scott wrote about the subject. The Prime Minister, no doubt, had to deal with many difficulties of the kind, and thoroughly well knew that, in dealing with the Irish Land Question, he had been seriously hampered by the landowners of England and Scotland; but, notwithstanding that, he (Mr. Macfarlane) would appeal to the right hon. Gentleman to take this matter in hand. Was the Land Question in Scotland to be settled; or were they to tell the people of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland that so long as they remained quiet, or so long as they did not agitate, so long as they did not commit crime and outrage, they would obtain no redress? That was the inevitable conclusion to which the people would come if nothing was done. They were a peaceful and long-suffering, yet a gallant people. If they were not, where would the Government have got the gallant soldiers who filled the ranks of the Army; and where would they go for more when they were all driven away? It was impossible at the present time to carry out the atrocities which took place in Sutherlandshire and other places 60 or 70 years ago; but a gradual depopulation was now going on, which was none the less certain. The people were being as surely driven out, by milder means, no doubt, but, nevertheless, as surely as they were driven out of Sutherlandshire by violent measures 60 years ago, when their houses were torn down over their heads. He was not making sweeping charges against the landlords in Scotland. He did not believe they were any worse than other men would have been in the same position; but they were irresponsible men in these remote localities, for there was no public opinion to bring to bear upon them. He again appealed to the Prime Minister to grant this Commission, because if it was found that there was really no grievance the agitation would subside; whereas if they reported, as he had no doubt they would, that every crofter in Scotland was at the mercy of his landlord, and might be sent out of his holding without compensation of any description, upon 40 days' notice, then he thought the country would come to the conclusion that while Parliament had been working for the Irish tenants, who could not be sent out under 12 months' notice, that there was a much harder case in the Islands of Scotland undealt with.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE said, that when this Notice first appearedon the Paper, he had put down an Amendment to the effect that the Highlands, as well as the Islands, should be included in the proposed Inquiry. It was quite impossible, at this period of the Session, when hon. Members were suffering not only from the labours of the Session, but also under the burden of work yet to be done, and when so much necessary Public Business remained to be disposed of, to discuss a question of this kind practically and thoroughly when the great majority of Scotch Members had already gone away; and he could not but fear that some injury might be done to the question by its being brought forward at a time when it could not be adequately discussed. He was afraid that many, seeing an important question of this kind disposed of in a short and hurried discussion, might be led to underrate its importance. He agreed with his hon. Friend the Member for County Carlow in his remarks about the great importance which this question had in the eyes of Scotchmen. He knew how unreasonable it was to ask the Prime Minister to undertake more work than that which was at present on his shoulders; but, at the same time, he believed that this was a question which could not be long postponed—which would every year become more pressing, and it would be absolutely necessary to consider it before long. He had seen the case of the crofters, in pamphlets and newspapers and public meetings, mixed up with, and confounded with, that of the ordinary farmers in Scotland; and the writers and speakers urged that it would be dealt with on the same lines of legislation. Now, he thought that a broad distinction should be drawn between the case of the two classes of persons. The ordinary farmer in Scotland was a man who carried on farming as a commercial transaction. He might go from one part of the country to another and lease a farm with his eyes open, and enter into contracts deliberately which he should be compelled to carry out. He, for one, would not be disposed to interfere by legislation in the case of the ordinary farmer, except in so far as the public interests demanded interference in order to develop fully the producing powers of the land. The crofters were, he held, in a very different position from the farmer. He was a man born on the land; he was, so to speak, a son of the soil. His family had been on it for generations, and in some cases even for centuries, and everything in the domestic history of the family was connected with the plot of land on which he dwelt. To that man that plot of land was dear in a sense which was unknown to the farmer. He ventured to say that the Scotch crofter had a love for his holding as great, if not greater, than any Irish farmer had for his. The crofters had been exposed in past times to hardships and injuries as great as any that had happened to the Irish tenant. He believed that most of the proprietors were good and honourable men, and dealt with the crofters in a kind spirit; but there were exceptions, and it must not be forgotten that although the landlords in most cases had not oppressed the crofters, still these crofters held their crofts entirely at the mercy of the landlord, and were wholly in his power. Although living on land which his family might have occupied for generations, the crofter had no security even for a single year, and he might be summarily ejected whenever the landlord so willed, although everything on the land had been done by the crofter. It was in very few cases that the landlords made any improvements for the tenants, and in those parts of the country which he knew best they did nothing for them whatever—all improvements were done by the crofters themselves. While desirous not to stand in the way of the House to get into the Business of Supply, which was so much in arrears, he should have been sorry to allow a question of this kind to pass without one or two Scotch Members taking part in the discussion.

DR. CAMERON said, it appeared to him that all the considerations which had conspired to bring the case of the Irish tenant farmer before that House applied to a much greater extent in favour of the consideration of the case of the Highland crofter. It had been said that, according to the old custom of landholding in Ireland, the cultivator of the soil had a proprietary right in it. If that had been the case in Ireland, it had been also the case in Scotland, and much more recently, for, up to 1745, it was the case in respect to the landed property of all the Highland tribes. It was only after the Highland rising in 1745, when the tribal jurisdiction was swept away, that the Highland Chief was transformed into a position analogous to that of the English landlord, and given the same rights over the soil. The crofters did not suffer from the change that took place for a long time. They were still living with their Chiefs and amongst their friends and were protected. But, as time went on, other customs sprang up. With entails and settlements the Chiefs or lairds found themselves pressed for money, and, accordingly, were driven to raise the rents which had been charged to the crofters in respect of their holdings; and in many cases, he believed, to inaugurate that sub-division of the crofts which had led to so much poverty and to many other evils. They found it was to their interest, if they obtained their rent, to encourage that sub-division which subsequent generations had found so burdensome; and for that purpose they resorted to evictions to clear the land for the new tenants. These evictions, at the commencement of the present century, were carried on to a fearful extent in Scotland, in many of the glens of that country. The ancestors of the people who held these farms, and who were thus turned out, had been for centuries on the land; their occupation, in most instances, dating back to the old tribal tenure. In England such customary holding as that had given place to copyhold tenure; but in Scotland customary tenure went for nothing. In that country there was a system of registering titles, and no continuity of holding unsupported by a title could avail. The landlord, by his title, was put in a position to say—"This is my absolute property. You have no recognizable property in this whatever. I can do what I like with it." Of that right they availed themselves, and it was but natural that they should. Not only did they find that this prescriptive right of land tenure had been sacrificed to innovating legislation of a far more recent date than any affecting the Irish tenantry, but other rights had been sacrificed in the same way. The crofters had enjoyed rights of pasturage, of turf cutting, and other valuable rights, which had been constantly encroached upon and sacrificed. If hon. Members looked into the land disputes which had occurred in the Highlands and Islands, they would find that they could be traced in every case to some proposal to take away rights of pasture, or otherwise an endeavour to take away the right to common, or to cut turf, or that some other proposal of the kind was at the bottom of the quarrel. These quarrels, when they occurred, did not speak very well for the condition of the Highland population. In fact, in that part of Scotland a state of things would be found which would not be tolerated amongst the English tenantry. In some places the crofters were still compelled by the landlord to send their corn to be ground at a particular mill, whether they liked it or not; or, if they did not send it, were compelled to pay a certain amount for every bushel ground elsewhere. Such a provision might have been necessary in the olden time, but could not possibly be said to be so now. He was aware that the custom had been abolished in the greater part of Scotland; but, in many parts, it still remained. It had been brought under his notice as still existing in Skye. It was absolutely absurd that such a custom should exist, and it was no wonder that the crofters should rise against their landlords for having cast such an imposition upon them. Another thing that had not been touched upon, and which greatly affected the crofters, was the landlord absenteeism prevailing. By far the best managed and contented estates in Scotland were those of landlords who lived amongst their tenants, and were able to see what was going on. But, in the Highlands, the complaint was that the landlords did not live amongst the people, but left them entirely to the mercy of factors, who, though, no doubt, excellent men, being mostly lawyers, regarded the estates and the tenantry from the hard, dry, absolute property point of view of Scotch law. They thought they had an absolute right to do what they liked, and they carried their point to a legitimate, but rather far-fetched, conclusion. In many cases they monopolized all the offices of the district. The other day a factor in the witness-box told the jury that he was himself a crofter—that was to say, a rival crofter. In many places the factor was a fish-dealer, and compelled the crofters, who were also fishermen, to sell their fish to him at his own price. In other places, the factor was a cattle-dealer, and compelled the crofters to bring their cattle and sheep to him. In other places still, he was a contractor, and compelled them to labour in part-payment of their rent, and if they failed to present themselves fined them a much higher amount than they would have got if they had worked. So far, in fact, did this interference go, that a Highland laird had told him of one estate where the crofters were not even allowed to marry without the consent of the factor. In many cases, too, the factor monopolized all the public offices of the district. He might be found as chairman of the school board. In a case that recently came before the Scotch public, a factor was found to have sent out a warning to the crofters, that if their children did not attend so regularly as to earn the grant, they must be prepared, next rent day, to pay 10*s.* or 12*s.* for every child that had failed to earn the school grants. Sometimes the factor was Procurator Fiscal, and he (Dr. Cameron) thought it improper that a man who had to act as public prosecutor should also act as factor. Those officers ought in no way to be connected with the management of the land. A Question was asked of the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate by the hon. Member for Inverness (Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh), a short time ago, regarding a couple of old men who had been evicted, because their sons had done something to annoy the Fiscal in his judicial or executive capacity. These factors were intrusted, in their capacity of Fiscals, with directing prosecutions against poachers; and, in their capacity as factors, they did not like the game on the estates in their charge to be disturbed. The consequence was that in some cases they laid down the rule that if any dog was kept by the crofters in certain districts they would be dispossessed. Anyone who knew the state of things in the Highlands now, and could contrast it with the state of things in the not very olden time, must be convinced of the necessity of something being done. He (Dr. Cameron) did not say that anything should be done on mere hearsay; but, at all events, the step recommended by the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Macfarlane) should be taken, a good case being made out for inquiry. Anyone who wanted information on this subject he could refer to a book published the other day by a very distinguished man of science—Mr. Wallace. Though they might not agree with his conclusions, they must recognize that, having been engaged in scientific pursuits, this had formed in him a habit of accurate observation of facts. No one who wished to understand the position of the Highland crofters could do better than refer to the work of Mr. Wallace. From that book, he (Dr. Cameron) would quote one sentence, not by Mr. Wallace himself, but from the pen of Dr. Norman Macleod, who spoke of the state of things formerly existing in the Islands. Dr. Norman Macleod said—

> "As a proof of the sterling qualities of these Highlanders, I may mention that since the beginning of the last war of the French Revolution, the Island of Skye alone has sent forth from her wild shores 21 lieutenant and major generals, 48 lieutenant colonels, 600 commissioned officers, 10,000 soldiers, 4 Governors of Colonies, 1 Governor General of India, 1 Chief Baron of England, and 1 Judge of the Supreme Court of Scotland. Contrast that with a state of things in which the last of the Highlanders are scattered over the world—Canada, New Zealand, and all through the Colonies, while the more dependent of them are in the towns, where, owing to the want of knowledge of English, they are in a degraded position, living in an atmosphere to which they are totally unfitted."

They were a law-abiding people; but he did not think it was to be wondered at that strong symptoms of restlessness were observable amongst them. Their discontent was threatening to break out, and in the interests of true statesmanship—in the interests of a noble people—a people whom it was very much, indeed, to the welfare of the nation to keep at home, the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister would do well to grant the request which had been placed before him in such moderate terms by the hon. Gentleman opposite the Member for Carlow.

MR. RAMSAY said, it might possibly be expected that he, as a landowner in those districts, the fate of which was so much bemoaned by hon. Members, should say a few words. Indeed, as one who knew the districts occupied by the crofters well, he thought himself entitled to do so; and he would say this—that he did not rise for the purpose of making an appeal to the Prime Minister to forego an inquiry as regards the condition of the Highland crofter; but he thought it was a great misfortune that this subject should be brought before the House by those who really knew nothing whatever of the subject on which they spoke. [*Laughter.*] He repeated that it was a misfortune that those who had addressed the House upon the subject should have no practical acquaintance with the condition of the Highlands, or Islands, nor any knowledge of their circumstances, their feelings, or aspirations. It had been said, and it might be so, that it was suitable that an Irish Representative should bring the subject before the House, because it had been put forward

—and he believed it was correct—that there was an endeavour being made at the present time, by some organizations in Scotland, to diffuse Irish feeling and sentiment throughout the population of the Highlands. He (Mr. Ramsay) hoped, however, if any sentiment of discontent ever prevailed there, it might be based on some other circumstances than any which had affected the Irish population. The hon. Gentleman who introduced the subject (Mr. Macfarlane) had spoken as if there were great cause to bewail the condition and the decrease of the population of the insular parts of Scotland. The hon. Gentleman in that respect had shown that he knew nothing whatever about the state of Scotland; and he (Mr. Ramsay) could adduce no better evidence of that than the fact that the insular parishes of Scotland were the only rural parishes in the United Kingdom which had increased in population since the beginning of the present century. The population of the Hebrides was little more than 40,000 in 1745; and at the beginning of this century the population of Lewis, where there were a number of small tenants, was only 10,000, but it was now 25,000; and he ventured to say they would not find an exclusively rural district in Great Britain in which the same increase in population had occurred in the same period. If that were not an answer to much of the wail for the decrease of the population, he did not know what was. He was sorry he had not the details of the question at hand with him, for, like the hon. Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie), he did not anticipate this discussion. He thought the time of the House was too valuable to be wasted by hon. Members who knew nothing of the subject on which they addressed the House. But, seeing that they had thought fit to make their remarks, he thought it right to say that, if the subject were gone into, it would be found that there was no foundation for the charges as to the decrease of population of the Highlands, nor for any other of the statements which had been made about the circumstances of the crofters. If the Prime Minister saw fit to grant an inquiry, these circumstances would be fully investigated by the Gentlemen appointed for the purpose; but the details of the Census did not require a Commission, and any hon. Gentleman who chose to make the examination of the figures would find what he had just stated as to the increase of the population. By doing that, hon. Members who took an interest in the question would find that these insular parishes, and many of the Highland parishes, were the only rural districts in which there were no manufactures which had increased in population in the present century. That might be disputed; but he had in his possession a detailed statement of the population of the whole of the insular parishes in Scotland; he would be glad to furnish hon. Members who took an interest in the subject with a copy. What he also wished to say was, that when he said he did not deprecate an inquiry into the condition of the people, he believed he was only saying what would be responded to in the same spirit by any of the large landed proprietors in the West of Scotland. They were none of them afraid of investigation. Reference had been made by some hon. Gentlemen to tribal holdings; but it was a singular thing that hon. Members must go back into vague periods of history, when they had no records of the tribal condition of the people, in order to verify statements of that kind. Not long ago he had an opportunity of reading the most recent work on the condition of the Highlands that he had seen—that of the Royal Historiographer for Scotland—in which an account was given of the Celtic people of Scotland. He felt quite sure that hon. Members who had addressed the House had a kindly feeling towards the population, and that they would shrink from placing people in the same condition as they had been in as described in that book. He (Mr. Ramsay) had in his possession the ancient Charter for one of the most valuable Islands in the Hebrides. [*Cries of* "Name!"] He had no doubt that his hon. Friends knew the Island he was referring to. That Charter showed that the condition of the people at that time was nothing to what it was at the present day. Very much was said of the crofters having lived on the same holdings for generations. That had been the case in some instances, no doubt; but he thought crofters, like farmers, were accustomed to change their croft whenever they were enabled by their circumstances to take a better or more extensive one. In proof of that, he might state that two of the largest farmers on his own property were the sons of small crofters, and they now occupied farms such as their fathers never could have tilled, and would have been unable to stock, if they had had the ability. In the district in which he lived there had been a very great decrease in the population during the past 40 years. But that was not owing to enforced evictions, but because the proprietor, previous to his occupation of the land, directed his attention to the education of the people; and though he took a pride in having the greatest number of human beings possible on the land, the number had decreased to the extent of 50 per cent during the last 40 years; and that was brought about by the fact that the people, being educated, would not live in the circumstances in which their fathers had lived before them—their instruction in the English language having enabled them to speak, read, and write that language with ease and facility had had the effect of bringing about depopulation more effectually than any enforced measures that ever could be brought to bear. He considered he was placed at a disadvantage in making these remarks; and he thought, also, that the subject was at great disadvantage in being discussed when they had not the opportunity of having the whole circumstances brought fairly before the House. He would regret if any remark of his should tend to make the Prime Minister hesitate if he had previously entertained the idea to grant the Commission which the hon. Member asked for. He should wait the deliberation of any sensible men as to the circumstances of the crofters with the greatest satisfaction.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he hoped that if the Prime Minister saw that the unanimous feeling of Scotch Members was that this inquiry should be made, he would grant the Commission, so that the charges made by those who agreed with the hon. Member who had brought the matter before the House (Mr. Macfarlane) might be verified or shown to be groundless. The hon. Member for the Falkirk Burghs (Mr. Ramsay) was, no doubt, a very good landlord; but he seemed to think that the territorial magnates were the only people who knew anything about this matter, and he reproached the hon. Member who proposed this inquiry with being an Irish Member. It was true that the hon. Member had the misfortune to be an Irish Member; but the speech he had made had a good Scottish sound in it, and it proved that he was a sound Scotchman, and had not deserted his native country, but came forward to speak upon this subject, together with other hon. Members who had a knowledge of the subject, in spite of what the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Falkirk Burghs said to the contrary. That hon. Gentleman, who had defended the landlords, had dealt very much in generalities. There was no doubt that the education of the people in the hon. Member's district was a legitimate cause of decreased population, and it was that education which had enabled Scotchmen to better themselves all over the world; but it was a matter of history that there had been great depopulation in Scotland. It was also probably true that many of the insular and seaboard parishes had increased in population; but one of the great causes of that was, that the people had been expelled from the interior of the country, which had been turned into deer forests and sheep farms, and grouse moors. [Mr. Ramsay: Nonsense.] He ventured to say it was not nonsense. In Sutherlandshire he had seen the little green spots in the moors and deer forests from which the crofters had been removed. Let his hon. Friend go to Sutherlandshire and other parts in the Highlands, where he would see the green spots in the middle of the moors and deer forests, from which the crofters had been evicted, and taken down to the seaboard, where they were told they could make a better living by fishing. Thank God, Scotchmen were able to fish better than Irishmen, and they could thus help to eke out a living which they were no longer allowed to get out of the land, although the kelp had failed them; and although Scotch landlords were not worse than Irish landlords—probably not so bad—they had much greater temptations to evict the crofters, who were likely to interfere with deer and grouse, because they could turn their land into sheep farms, deer forests, and grouse moors; and the people of Scotland—except in some particular instances—had not had the protection of customary tenure, such as the copyhold tenure in England. He hoped the Prime

Minister would consider this case. He had devoted Session after Session, and all his great powers, to doing justice to the Irish tenants. The people in the Highlands and Islands were in every respect in the same condition, except that they were not so numerous, or so capable of making themselves so troublesome. In one respect he believed they had a much stronger case than the Irish tenants, because the Irish tenants were, no doubt, fairly conquered; but the crofters of Scotland never were. They had been defrauded of their rights—not by soldiers, but by lawyers. Under these circumstances, he hoped the inquiry would be conceded, and he was sure they would have the sympathy of the Prime Minister and the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Lord Advocate.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): I hope—indeed, I am sure, Sir, it will not be supposed that there is any want of sympathy on the part of the Government with the landholders of Scotland, whether they be crofters, or holding under a different tenure, or any want of interest in their condition. But it appears to the Government that there has neither been in the statement made in the House to-day, nor from the information of which they are otherwise in possession, any sufficient ground for taking such a serious and unusual step as to appoint a Royal Commission such as that which is now asked for. The hon. Gentleman who brought this matter before the House (Mr. Macfarlane) said that he desired a Royal Commission with a view to legislation. That must be kept distinctly before the view of the House in dealing with the question. I apprehend that where a Royal Commission with a view to legislation is asked for, there must always be two requisites very clearly and distinctly fulfilled. There must, in the first place, be a condition of facts very clearly and authentically laid before the House; and there must, in the second place, be connected with that condition of fact some defects in the law stated which are obviously leading to that state of things. I apprehend that it is not enough to show that there exists a condition of poverty, or that the men are living under hard conditions in various ways, but that, where there is a proposal to issue a Royal Commission with a view to legislation, that must be established.

MR. MACFARLANE said, he had not used the words "with a view to legislation."

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): I am sure I have no desire to misrepresent the hon. Member; but I took the words of the hon. Member down, as they seemed to me to be material. If it is not with a view to legislation, what is it with a view to? I think it is essential that that should be known. I have listened with the greatest attention to the speech of the hon. Gentleman and those who followed him, and it appeared to me that there was a singular want of any precise and authentic facts given, and that there was, perhaps, an even greater defect for the purposes of such an argument, for there was an entire failure to connect the existing condition of affairs with any alleged defects of the law. I think I may go further and say there is a third point to be desiderated before such a serious step is taken as that requested, and that is that some suggestion should be made as to the kind of alteration in the law with regard to which the Commission is to inquire. But upon that point, also, there has been an entire absence of any information. There are also one or two other points which will occur to anyone who has listened to the speeches of hon. Members. The proposition is that a Royal Commission shall be issued; and it strikes me with very great surprise that the whole of this discussion on the other side was begun, continued, and carried out without one single reference to the fact that, in the Royal Commission on Agriculture, which has been sitting for the last three or four years, there is a very instructive and detailed Report on the condition of the crofters of both the Highlands and the Islands, and the Gentleman who framed that very careful and instructive Report was examined and cross-examined by the Commissioners, and very full and detailed information on the subject was given. Not a word was said on that subject; and I venture to think, before the House is asked to entertain this matter, they should in some way consider that Report; and I should have expected hon. Gentlemen to point out wherein they thought that Report was defective or erroneous—what they thought should be added to it, or what had been overlooked in it. But not one word was said on this subject. There have been various statements of a vague character made, contrasting the past with the present condition of the Highlands; but one would have naturally expected some reference to the well-known and acknowledged sources of information on the subject. I venture to say that if hon. Gentlemen will refer to those, they will see that there are many matters in which they are in very great error. The hon. Member for the Falkirk Burghs (Mr. Ramsay) has already pointed out that it is a mistake to suppose that the population of the Highlands has decreased as a whole. There has, to a certain extent, been migration, or change in the localities of the population; but it is a matter with regard to which there are statistics, and I believe it is beyond dispute that, if you take county by county, the Highlands now are more fully or thickly populated than at any time of which we have authentic record. I believe it is beyond doubt that the population of Sutherlandshire is now much larger than it was. The Island of Lewis has been referred to, and it was said that the population had grown from 10,000 to 25,000. In 30 years it has grown by more than 5,000 of that increase. I do not mean for a moment to say that there have not been in times past evictions in the Highlands of a very hard, and sometimes of a very cruel, kind. But I think it is also well known to those who take an interest in these matters that these evictions are matters of history, and that in recent times they have been very few. There has not, in fact, been anything that can be called systematic eviction; very much the reverse. Anything like systematic eviction on the part of the great proprietors in the Highlands does certainly not exist. It is unhappily true that the condition of many persons who live in the Highlands, particularly those called crofters, is very bad, and we all regret it. They live under conditions which are hard in some respects. They have been distinguished from the farmers by some of those who have spoken, and it is right to point out that what is generally known as a crofter is one who has a holding so small that he does not live by its produce alone. He fishes or labours in addition. He has a small farm of five or six acres; but he makes most of his living by working away from it. Well, no doubt, the Land Question is, so far, involved in this; but it must not be left out of view that the business of the crofter is to as large an extent the prosecution of the other kinds of labour, especially fishing. I do not, for one moment, seek to say that there have not been, and that there are not now, defects in some cases in the administration of those properties, although I believe them to be only few. One point was referred to by the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Macfarlane). He began by making allusion to the Commission which was appointed, I think, about 10 or 12 years ago, to inquire into what is commonly called the "truck system" in Shetland. That was an evil, and I am sorry to say that it is not yet quite extinct. It is an evil the extent of which cannot be exaggerated. In certain cases, the proprietor, by his agreement with the tenants, had a right to have all the fish made over to him at a fixed price. On the other hand, these poor people bought their meal and other supplies from a store kept by him; and I am afraid, in some cases, the price of that was not always fixed at the time of buying. Any greater evil could not exist; but I believe it has diminished to a great extent. The Commission in Shetland had a great deal of difficulty to put it to an end. I know it is not yet altogether put to an end; and although it exists to a slight extent in some parts of the North-West Coast, I believe, from information we have received, that the attention which has been called to the matter recently will very likely lead to a cessation of the practice without legislation. Something has been said as to the character of the Highland population. So far as that is laudatory, I can endorse and reiterate every word. The population of these Highlands and Islands are, by nature, honest, law-abiding, and peaceful; and whenever there has been, as there has unhappily, in some instances, symptoms of lawlessness, they were, I believe, casual, and due, I believe, not to native, but exotic causes. Reference was made by the hon. Gentleman to an answer I gave some time ago with regard to the disturbances in the Island of Skye. He stated, correctly, that I adopted a method of trial that would lead to a lenient sentence, in the belief that they were misled into doing the thing they did, and that if they were apprised, by however slight a punishment, that they were breaking the law, it would not be repeated. To that opinion I still adhere. Something has been said as to the factors on some estates. It is not the case, speaking generally, that Highland landlords are absentees. There are some cases, but not many. I dare say that sometimes it has happened, where many estates are under one person, that sufficient attention has not been called to the interests and grievances of tenants in particular localities. But I believe what has passed in the last two or three months will lead to what I trust will be a satisfactory result—that the condition of affairs where there were hardships and grievances has been brought under the attention of the proprietors themselves, and that they are now looking to the matter, and I believe are meeting with the tenants, and are going far to meet cases of grievance. I could mention names—but it would be useless—of well-known and large proprietors in the Highlands who have met their tenants in person, and are settling their differences, such as they are, in the way they have always succeeded in settling them in the past, and, as I hope, will succeed in settling them in the future. There have been a number of particulars referred to by hon. Members; but I do not think it would be necessary to go through them. I think I have shown sufficient cause for the resolution which the Government have arrived at, that no adequate ground has been shown for taking the very serious and, it may be, momentous step of issuing such a Commission as proposed. The necessity for such an inquiry has not been shown by those who have devoted and are devoting a very great deal of attention to the condition of the Highlands; and having watched with the utmost vigilance, and at the same time with the utmost sympathy, what is going on there, I believe that many of the statements made in such general terms cannot be sustained by facts.

Mr. MACFARLANE said, that he had been twitted with not having referred to Blue Books and other documents in support of his statements; but he would remind the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Lord Advocate that he had stated in the course of his remarks that he refrained from doing so with the object of saving the time of the House.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—JUDICIAL RENTS.—OBSERVATIONS.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY, who had the following Notice upon the Paper:—

> "To call the attention of the House to the recent decisions of the Land Commission at Mullingar on the appeal of the landlord of the Lefroy Estate against the judicial rents fixed by the Sub-Commissioner; and to move—'That, in the opinion of this House, the Land Court is not entitled, under the Statute, to disregard the sworn testimony of several witnesses of an unimpeachable character who gave evidence on behalf of the tenants, and to decide merely upon the unsworn statement of a Court Valuer who had no previous acquaintance with the productive power of the land which he was sent to value,'"

said, he wished to point out that on appeals taken by several tenants of Lord Longford from the judicial rents fixed by the Sub-Commission, the three Commissioners, Mr. O'Hagan, Mr. Litton, and Mr. Vernon, sat, and the rents which the Sub-Commissioners had fixed they raised considerably, and, in some cases, almost to the original amounts. A rent of £38 was reduced to £24, and raised to £29 by the Land Commission; a rent of £26 10*s.* was reduced to £18 and raised to £25; a rent of £62 was reduced to £43 and raised to £57; a rent of £27 was reduced to £17 and raised to £25; a rent of £42 was reduced to £30 and raised to £37 6*s.* What he particularly invited the attention of the House to was the curious process by which this restoration to the high rents was effected. Before the Sub-Commissioners the tenants examined several competent witnesses, well known throughout the County Longford, as to the value of their farms—Mr. Gill, C.E., Mr. Harry M'Cann, a landlord and large farmer, and others. Their evidence was to the effect that even the rents fixed by the Sub-Commissioners were somewhat high. The lands were also valued by Mr. Cochrane, Lord Longford's own agent, whose valuation amounted to about the same as the judicial rents. On the hearing of the appeals, the landlord did not call a single witness as to value. But the Court valuer, who knew nothing whatever about the country, and had never seen the lands until he glanced at them by the direction of the Land Commission, gave evidence in the case. The valuation which the Court valuer had decided to put upon the holdings got somehow into the Dublin papers, and was published before the landlord's side of the case had been heard. The landlord very prudently thought, perhaps, that, as the evidence of the Court valuer was so favourable to him, it was useless to call witnesses. And he was perfectly right, for the Court went practically on the testimony of its valuer, who was not sworn. That, he contended, was a subject of sufficient importance to justify his action in bringing it under the notice of the House at that stage of the Session. He had unsuccessfully endeavoured to attain his object by putting the facts into the form of a Question, and, therefore, felt compelled to take this opportunity of calling attention to the matter. If these rulings of the Land Commission were allowed to go unchallenged, a precedent might be set up, under which the simple statement of a Court valuer, not made upon oath, might bear down the evidence of the most important and best-informed witness called on the tenants' behalf. If the appointment of a Court valuer was meant to be of this efficacy, he failed to see any use for the Land Commission. If the Land Commission had nothing to do but send down a valuer to a place, and then to take his statement and convert it into a decision, he did not see why the country should be put to the expense of having Land Courts in addition to Court valuers. The valuer appointed by the Court might be sent round, and a judicial decision founded upon his report. He, therefore, trusted that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant would give the Irish Members some assurance that nothing of this kind was intended.

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, he had communicated with the Land Commission, and had received an answer from the Secretary, to the effect that the Commissioners were empowered by the Statute to employ a valuer to report to them in cases where they thought it desirable, with the proviso that they might adopt his opinion or not as they thought fitting and just. They thought, therefore, that in the course they had taken in the case under notice, they were simply acting in accordance with the powers conferred on them by the Act, and they declined to enter into any explanation or defence of their official acts. He (Mr. Trevelyan) could understand that the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy), dwelling, perhaps, more on one side of a large question than on its entire aspect, should have thought it well to bring that matter before the House. On the other hand, it should be remembered that the Land Commission was an independent tribunal, and as such was as little to be subjected to the criticism and the paternal care of the Executive Government as any other tribunal in the country. That was the theory which he (Mr. Trevelyan) had endeavoured to support in parrying the more numerous and more strongly urged objections taken to the decisions of that tribunal by hon. Gentlemen sitting on the Benches immediately opposite to him; and he should be most inconsistent if he did not fall back on the same principle that evening. If the Commissioners thought it right to enter into a defence of their decisions in these cases, he had no doubt they could show that they had come to a sound decision after a very careful consideration of the evidence before them; but for them to enter into such a defence would be to set a most unconstitutional and dangerous precedent. It was impossible, also, that the House should constitute itself a Court of Appeal from any tribunal whatever. They knew how the Prime Minister had commented on the intention of the Lords' Committee to ransack the decisions of the Land Court, and had declared — with the loudly-expressed assent of his entire Party—that no tribunal could maintain its independence if it were subjected to such an ordeal. The Committee of the House of Lords had abstained from taking that course, and the same rule must guide the action of the Government of the day. If the Land Commission were once to be challenged and questioned from the quarter of the House to which the hon. Member belonged, the ultimate effect must be disastrous to the interests of the tenants of Ireland. Therefore, in the interests both of the general public and of the Irish tenants, he (Mr. Trevelyan) must respectfully decline to enter any further into that question.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, that he had received several representations from Irish landlords, who were as much dissatisfied with the decisions of the

Appellate Tribunal created by Parliament to decide the question of a fair rent, as the tenants whose case had been brought forward by the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy); but he had uniformly refused to bring their complaints before the House, because he thought both sides ought to be bound by the decision of the highest Appellate Court, and he could have wished that the hon. Member for Longford had taken the same course. The course he had recommended to landlords was the one which the tenants also should follow. Otherwise, in what way was finality to be attained under any circumstances, if Members of Parliament were to bring the cases of individual litigants who were not satisfied with the decisions given by the duly-constituted final Court of Appeal before the House of Commons, which had no opportunity of examining the witnesses, of seeing the land, or in any way trying the matter in dispute? As to the Court valuer not being sworn, it might be an improvement to take his evidence on oath; but hon. Members opposite knew very well it was not the usual course; the change, however, if desirable, might be effected by legislation. The intention of hon. Members below the Gangway opposite appeared to be to teach the Irish tenants that they were treated with injustice, and not to be content unless they obtained as great a reduction of rent as they expected. That was not a patriotic course to pursue after the labours Parliament had undergone—after their violation of all the principles upon which land legislation had hitherto proceeded, after all Ireland had suffered, and after all England had endured, to proceed in this way; and he trusted that hon. Gentlemen opposite would do their utmost, in an honest and earnest manner, to teach the unfortunate people of Ireland to respect and be content with the law, and to avail themselves of the advantages which had been offered to them. Unless they did so, they would have no cessation of that which was so ruinous to the interests of that country.

Mr. SEXTON said, the theory broached by the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) was a very peculiar one—namely, that the Irish people should be content with things as they were, and that they should not follow the example of all other civilized countries in endeavouring to improve the laws when they were found to be bad.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY said, that he simply asked hon. Members opposite to do what he had done with regard to the landlords—decline to bring forward the complaints.

Mr. SEXTON said, he held that the most obvious way of improving the law, when it was found inadequate to protect the interests of the people, was to call attention to practical examples of its actual working. He was not surprised to hear that the Irish landlords were dissatisfied with the operations of the Land Act, because they had expected to have nothing taken off their rents, and they keenly resented the reduction of a single penny. His hon. Friend (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) was entitled to the gratitude of the whole of the farmers of Ireland for bringing the question forward, although the manner in which it had been met by the Government did not promise any very useful result. He protested against the bold official answer of the Commissioners to the allegations of his hon. Friend, who had not called in question their decisions so much as to challenge the propriety and judiciousness of the mode in which those decisions had been arrived at, they having sheltered themselves behind their official position as a tribunal. Throughout their decisions—and it was a most remarkable thing—the Sub-Commissioners had, in their decisions, shown a tendency to approach nearer to the line of the landlord's valuation than that of the tenants. He (Mr. Sexton) objected to the Government having studiously withheld a comparative settlement of the decisions of the Sub-Commissioners with the rents which the tenants had been in the habit of paying, although the Government possessed full information upon the subject. He also objected to the mode in which the official valuers made their valuations, for they fixed the value of a farm at its present letting value, without taking the improvements into consideration, and thus defeated the objects of the Land Act, the interest of the tenant in his improvements being destroyed. Then the official valuers had not been selected with proper discretion. He had received general reports relating to those gentlemen, who, to his own knowledge, had in many cases drawn up their reports with very little discretion; and if he had liked to have echoed the Tory Gentlemen in their tirades against the decisions of the Land Commissioners, he could have enlightened the House considerably from the tenant's side of the question. For instance, Mr. Charles Grey was an Englishman, and yet his evidence was preferred to that of respectable local experts, and his appointment was in other respects open to objection, for he was an agent for Lord Derby, who had been called in numerous cases as official valuer. This gentleman had bought the townlands of Ballinrobe, and immediately raised the rent upon 300 acres of land by £200. Having used his feudal rights in that direction, he then indulged in the sharp practice of selling the land at the increased rent, making an enormous profit. Mr. Scully, the gentleman who purchased the land, found it impossible to collect the rack-rents. No valuation this gentleman gave would give satisfaction, however just; and he (Mr. Sexton) went on the principle that those official valuers should be sworn, and that they should be above suspicion.

AFRICA (SOUTH)—THE TRANSVAAL—THE BOERS AND THE NATIVE TRIBES.—OBSERVATIONS.

MR. R. N. FOWLER rose, according to Notice, to call attention to the affairs of the Transvaal, and to the aggression of the Boers on the tribes of the Chiefs Montsioa and Monkoroane. It was well known, he said, that these Chiefs were loyal to us, and that in consequence they had been placed under a ban by the Boers, and subjected to every kind of oppression. The aggressions that had been made upon them had been attended with great atrocities, and were not in themselves justified by the offences which had been made the pretext for such proceedings. He hoped that the Government would do all in their power to impress upon the Boers that they must carry out the stipulation of the recent Treaty, for unless they did so, he was afraid that a large part of the territory of these tribes would be desolated. Representations had been made to Mr. Hudson; but Mr. Hudson evidently felt that the Colonial Office did not want to be troubled about the Transvaal, and tried to disbelieve the statements. He (Mr. R. N. Fowler) thought the good faith of England was involved in protecting these unfortunate Chiefs.

MR. CROPPER, in supporting the remarks of the hon. Member for the City of London (Mr. R. N. Fowler), said, it was known on the authority of a missionary, Mr. Mackenzie, who was labouring in the field once occupied by the venerable Dr. Moffat, that the marauders were carrying away cattle, destroying farmsteads, and shooting people, and thus retarding the civilization of a district in which European dress was worn, good houses were built, land cultivated, and the breeds of cattle improved. Unless the Government did something by strengthening the hands of Mr. Hudson, in order to put a stop to these ravages, which he believed were encouraged by the Boers, the race would be destroyed. They certainly ought to be allowed to purchase arms for their own defence.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY said, that although his experience of the Colonial Office had been but short, it had been long enough for him to realize that the Transvaal was the region in the whole world where it was most difficult to get at the truth, although what had been said was more or less accurate. Such a contingency made it most difficult to form an impartial judgment, motive being so mixed up with everything said or done in this connection. But there was no indisposition on the part of the adjoining Resident, Mr. Hudson, or on the part of the Colonial Office, to receive representations, because they were unpleasant; and communications had passed between him and the Colonial Office in which he had gone very fully into the matter. He was, therefore, not subject to the implication of censure brought against him. His right of interference only extended to the tribes lying beyond the Transvaal; and he had no right whatever—and, therefore, he would have been exceeding his duty—to remonstrate with the Government of the Transvaal, which was an independent State, while we had no territorial rights or jurisdiction in the territory of the tribes, the Protectorate of whom we had declined. But we had a right to insist on the Transvaal Government, from whose territory the majority of the offenders came, observing the terms of their Convention with us, which he believed they were anxious to do, although the Transvaal Government and people had never cheerfully acquiesced in the award which assigned this territory to the tribes. Still, the Transvaal Government was, he believed, as desirous of standing well with European and English public opinion as any other Government, and they recognized the bounden duty that a civilized Government had to observe their promises, their engagements, and their Treaties; and to carry out the laws of right and justice. He believed his hon. Friend opposite (Mr. R. N. Fowler) would have done service in calling attention to these matters, and bringing to bear the force of public opinion on the authorities of the Transvaal. Although it was true that these Chiefs had been disposed to be friendly towards the English, yet we had never accepted their assistance; and, therefore, they had no claim upon us. He hoped the time was not far distant when they should get rid of the division of the Natives into friends of the Boers and friends of the English. What appeared to be necessary was the organization of a mounted police force to arrest the small bodies of freebooters, and take them over the border; and a comparatively small force would be sufficient. The Colonial Office would continue to impress on the Transvaal Government the necessity of observing the laws of right and justice and keeping the terms of the Convention.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS—VOTING PAPERS.—OBSERVATIONS.

Mr. WARTON, who had the following Notice of Motion on the Paper:—

> "To move, 'That it is desirable that votes for candidates for seats in this House be taken by means of voting papers,'"

said, that the plan he proposed was that on the nomination day, or on some other occasion, the elector should be at liberty to take his voting paper to the Returning Officer with his vote inscribed. The result would be that in many cases there would be no necessity for a poll, and so expense would be saved. In other instances only a very small number of polling stations would be required for those who preferred to vote in the present manner. This system would, he maintained, conduce to the purity of elections, lessen the turmoil and unhealthy excitement of such occasions—an essential advantage should women acquire the suffrage—besides marking the distinction between those of the electorate who were not afraid to give an open vote and those who had not the courage of their opinions, but who preferred the system of the Ballot, a system which he (Mr. Warton) regarded as un-English, sneaking, cowardly, and untruthful. The Forms of the House did not allow him to move the Resolution; but as it was the duty of every hon. Member to contribute to the general stock of ideas, he wished briefly to put on record his views as to the desirability of the change he advocated.

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

Supply—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Class II.—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments.

(1.) £85,244, to complete the sum for the Local Government Board, Ireland.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; Committee counted, and 40 Members being found present,

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he was very sorry if, by moving that the Committee be counted, he had interrupted the digestion of any hon. Member; but he had thought it necessary to have at least one Member of the Irish Government in attendance while they were discussing the present Vote. The point he wished to call attention to was the conduct of some of the Chairmen of the Boards of Guardians in Ireland. He understood at present that it was the rule of the Poor Law Board that the Chairman of a Board of Guardians could refuse to put any vote he pleased from the chair. Perhaps the Government would inform him if he was wrong in asserting that the Chairman had that right. That being the state of the law, he wished to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland to the harsh and unjust manner in which the obligations of the Chairmen of Boards of Guardians in Ireland were performed. He would take first a case which occurred in connection with his own constituency. Some time ago a member of the Board (Mr. Leach) thought it right that the Board should pronounce an opinion, as representing the people of the district, upon a question of legislation before Parliament; and he, therefore, proposed a resolution in connection with the Prevention of Crime Bill. But the Chairman of the Board of Guardians refused to put the resolution, and left the chair; and in that way he reduced the Board to such a condition that it was not capable of passing any resolution, either upon that or any other subject. He wished to invite the attention of the Committee to the way in which this kind of arbitrary exercise of power worked. Mr. Pearce Joyce, the Chairman in question—against whom he would say nothing personally—was a landowner, and was a member of the Board of Guardians, not by virtue of election, but from his position as a magistrate. He was an *ex-officio* member of the Board; but as he also happened to be Chairman of the Board, he had the power of preventing that popular representative Body from passing a resolution which he considered derogatory to the interests of other classes; and thus the Board of Guardians, in all such matters as that, was left at the disposal of any gentleman who happened to be Chairman of the Board of Guardians for the time being. The resolution proposed in this case was a resolution condemnatory of the Prevention of Crime Bill; but in the case of the Board of Guardians of Carrick-on-Suir, the motion was a motion not condemnatory of that Bill, or dealing with any measure of that kind, but a measure in favour of the Arrears of Rent Bill, then before the House of Commons. The Chairman of the Board of Guardians, on that occasion, refused to allow a resolution in favour of the presentation of a memorial to be put; and the result of that action he (Mr. O'Connor) would not further allude to now, because it would form the topic of a discussion which would come later on. But it was another case in which the Chief Secretary for Ireland would see how the rule worked. It operated with the greatest hardship, both upon the Board of Guardians and the people they represented; and the conduct of the Chairman was not only unjust towards the ratepayers and the Board, but it was cruel and unpatriotic towards Her Majesty's Government themselves. He contended that resolutions of this kind would give the Irish Executive a satisfactory indication of what the wants and the wishes of a large portion of the people, whose cases they had to deal with, were. It would, however, be impossible to make the Government acquainted with the views of the Irish people if every resolution of the kind was to be thwarted because a representative of the landlord class happened to be in the chair. He did not know whether they were going to have any more of the legislation upon the Irish Land Question which had been so closely connected with the present Parliament. Probably any further legislation upon the subject might not commend itself to the judgment of the Government; and he would suggest to the Chief Secretary for Ireland, in case he found himself unable to bring in a large measure of reform, that he might do good service by the introduction of some small measures connected with municipal work, and the administering of the affairs of the Irish ratepayers. He trusted that the right hon. Gentleman would very soon be able to devote his energies to the remedying of many of the evils of local government in Ireland; and, in the first place, he wished the right hon. Gentleman to know that, at the present moment, there was no appearance of anything like popular representation in most of the Local Government Boards of Ireland. So far as the administration of the Poor Law was concerned, one-half of the Boards of Guardians were *ex-officio* Guardians, appointed simply because they were magistrates. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) believed the right hon. Gentleman to be a sound Liberal, and he was satisfied that that mode of appointment would not be in accordance with any of those maxims of representative government which the right hon. Gentleman, when out of Office, had so strongly put forward; and especially the maxim that the people who were to dispose of the funds raised by themselves should be elected by the ratepayers, and that the control of the rates should not be in the hands of a class of persons who did not represent the ratepayers at all. At present the magistrates, who were only *ex-officio* Guardians, possessed the power of controlling the popular vote in Ireland. He thought the Chief Secretary to the Lord

Lieutenant of Ireland might, with advantage, turn his attention to the amendment of the law in this respect, and the Government could have no safer guide to the wants and wishes of the people than the votes of the Boards of Guardians.

Mr. SEXTON said, that before he proceeded to lay before the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary the facts of the particular question of which he had given the right hon. Gentleman Notice yesterday, he wished to say a few words respecting the ruinous pressure of the instalment of the Seed Rate upon the Guardians of several Unions in the West of Ireland. The Government had already had their attention directed to the matter by a Question which had been put by the hon. Gentleman the Member for the County of Mayo (Mr. O'Connor Power), in regard to the Swinford Union. It appeared that a levy had been made upon the Guardians of that Union for the repayment of a sum of £7,000, and a copy of a resolution of the Board had been forwarded to him (Mr. Sexton), and to his hon. Friend the Member for the county, in which the Guardians declared their inability to pay that instalment of £7,000; and they added that, if the Local Government Board insisted upon it, they would be placed in the position of being unable to carry on the ordinary business of the Union—of feeding and housing the poor; and it would, therefore, be necessary to resign their position, and allow the Local Government Board to appoint Vice Guardians for that district in their place. Now, this opened up a very serious number of considerations, having regard to the necessity and importance of attending to the wants of the poor; and he should be glad to hear the right hon. Gentleman say that he had arranged for the Local Government Board to give an extension of time for repayment—at least until after the harvest was gathered in. The case of the Swinford Union was one of five Unions in regard to which the pressure was more widely spread than in any other district in the West of Ireland. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would take advantage of the occasion, so as to give relief to the Unions in the West of Ireland generally. In the West of Ireland the persons who had to pay rates were occupiers of the poorest class—men with small holdings and with large families, who were hovering upon the verge of pauperism themselves. If the Government stood rigidly by the letter of the Act of Parliament, and compelled these persons to pay the instalments of the Seed Rate upon the day they became due, they would defeat the object they had originally in view, and would increase the number of paupers, for it was an extremely narrow line that divided these small occupiers in the West of Ireland from the condition of pauperism; and until the present harvest was gathered in, it would be utterly impossible to make any provision for the payment of this instalment of the Seed Rate. The money could not be collected; the elected Guardians would abandon the attempt to discharge their duties, Vice Guardians would have to be appointed, and the number of paupers would be much increased in consequence of any stringent attempt that might be made to collect the rate. The whole effect would be very disastrous. He had received a letter yesterday from one of the Guardians of the Tubbercorry Union, in the county of Sligo, in which an extension of time until the 1st of December was asked, so that the farmers might have the advantage of the coming harvest. A resolution to that effect had been passed by the Board of Guardians. He could not imagine a more reasonable request; and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary would, not only in the case of the Swinford Union, but also in regard to several other Unions in the West—where the occupiers were the tenants of small holdings and were poor and needy—consider in a generous and statesmanlike spirit the necessity of keeping these people in their homes, by refraining from putting pressure upon them for the repayment of the Seed Rate the moment it became due. In regard to the Carrick-on-Suir Board of Guardians, he had asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, under what circumstances, upon what evidence, and upon what authority the Irish Local Government Board had dissolved that Board and appointed Vice Guardians to act in their place? He had also asked whether the right hon. Gentleman would lay upon the Table copies of any letters and other official documents which were in existence upon the subject? The right hon. Gentleman replied in a manner strictly official, but not in a manner to increase his (Mr. Sexton's) stock of information very largely, that the Board of Guardians had been dissolved because, through the default of the Board, the duties had not been duly and effectually discharged in accordance with the Act in force for the relief of the destitute poor in Ireland. Now, it was necessary to go back to the last election of the Board in April, in order to make the circumstances which had occurred intelligible, because the difficulty arose in consequence of the conduct of the Chairman then elected, who had made himself the instrument of the landlord and *ex-officio* section of the Board against the wishes of the majority of the elected Guardians. It was in consequence of the conduct of that gentleman that such a discreditable state of affairs had arisen between the Carrick-on-Suir Board of Guardians and the Local Government Board. When the new Board was elected, in April last, it became at once apparent that there was about to be a dispute between the landlord section and the elected Guardians; and when the day of election came on, Mr. William Atkinson, of Portlaw, a well known magistrate, was proposed as Chairman by the landlord interest. Another candidate was proposed by the elected Guardians; and, on a vote being taken, it became at once evident that it would be decided, not upon the merits of the two men, but upon Party and social principles. The *ex-officio* Guardians voted to a man for the landlords' nominee; while the elected Guardians voted to a man for their own nominee. Twenty-four voted for Mr. William Atkinson, and 22 elected Guardians voted on the other side. Mr. William Atkinson was therefore declared elected. It must be borne in mind that the terms "landlord" and "magistrate" were convertible terms in this matter. The landlords also seized the Vice Chairmanship of the Union when the motion for the election of a Vice Chairman came before the Board. Now, the *ex-officio* Guardians had, by law, an equal share in the control of the affairs of the Union with the elected Guardians; but they never turned up, except when there was some amendment to be made, or some job to be done. They left the toilsome affairs of the Union from week to week throughout the year to be discharged by the elected Guardians, and they never showed up at all, except to support the chair in some question in which the interests of the landlords were concerned, or to make some new appointment. In this Carrick-on-Suir Union, in which the Board had recently been dissolved, the business was generally carried on from week to week by gentlemen who had been elected by the ratepayers, and the meetings were seldom attended by more than two or three deputy lieutenants and justices of the peace, who constituted the ornamental part of the Board. But at the meeting in April they attended in full force, and they elected the landlords' nominee as Chairman. To show the animus which governed the proceedings, he might state that among the *ex-officio* Guardians of Carrick-on-Suir there were several Noblemen who had taken a prominent part in the House of Lords and elsewhere against the Land Bill, foremost among them being the Marquess of Waterford, the Earl of Clonmell and the Earl of Bessborough. It became very soon apparent that the Chairman appointed in this way by a purely landlord vote of 24 *ex-officio* against 22 elected Guardians, intended to use his power to gag any free expression of opinion on the part of the elected Guardians. The same disposition was manifested by the Vice Chairman; and, as he (Mr. Sexton) had already said, the animus of the *ex-officio* Guardians of the Union was shown in the way in which the Marquess of Waterford had exerted himself against the Land Bill. While the noble Marquess was straining every nerve to defeat the Land Bill, his friends at the Carrick-on-Suir Board were exerting themselves by their vote — never attending the meetings of the Board at any other time of the year—to prevent the elected Guardians from expressing the wishes of the ratepayers in reference to the Land Act. Thus they had, at one end, the Marquess of Waterford most actively opposing the Land Bill in the House of Lords; and, at the other end, his friends, the Poor Law Guardians, preventing the expression of the wishes of the people. Now, it did not appear to him (Mr. Sexton) that an English Board of Guardians was limited or restricted in this manner. He had glanced at the Report of the Select Committee on Public Petitions, and he found there that English Boards of Guardians petitioned very much as they pleased. For instance, some of them had presented Petitions in favour of preventing the sale of intoxicating liquors on Sunday, a question of interest and importance, no doubt, but one which certainly did not touch so closely the business of a Board of Guardians as the Arrears of Rent Bill of the Government; and it was upon that question that the first attempt was made to stifle and gag the vote of the Carrick-on-Suir Board of Guardians. English Boards of Guardians had also presented Petitions in regard to the highway rates, births, marriages, and deaths, and various other matters; but not upon one which had so important a connection with the feeding and clothing of the destitute poor as the Arrears of Rent Bill for Ireland. But while in England the action of the Boards of Guardians was perfectly free, in Ireland a deliberate gag had been manufactured; and any Chairman of an Irish Board of Guardians, at his discretion, might refuse to accept any motion laid before him by the Guardians, on the ground that it was not relevant to the business of the Board. He would now point out the nature of the question upon which this conflict between the Carrick-on-Suir Board of Guardians and their Chairman first arose; and it would be necessary, in the first place, to refer to a meeting which took place on the 17th of June, when Mr. Rockett, an elected Guardian, gave notice of a motion that Parliament should be petitioned to expedite the passing of the Arrears of Rent Bill, in the hope of stopping evictions, and thereby saving the rates and much suffering. Could there be imagined a subject more relevant to the business of the Board of Guardians than that of stopping evictions? It concerned the labours of the Guardians doubly; for what was the result of evictions on the rates of the Union? In the first place, an eviction turned out a certain number of persons, who, immediately they were turned out, became a burden upon the rates, by being obliged to go to the workhouse; and, in the second place, those who were not turned out were placed in danger of a similar fate, by having to bear the additional burdens placed upon the rates. Would the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland believe that on the 17th of June the Vice Chairman of the Carrick-on-Suir Board, Mr. Peter Walsh, an *ex-officio* Guardian, refused to receive the motion, although, only a very short time before, he had himself seconded a motion which was submitted to the Board in reference to the Phœnix Park assassinations? It was a laudable thing, no doubt, to pass a resolution deprecating that deplorable occurrence; but if it was free for the Board to pass a resolution as to the assassination of a Nobleman and a Gentleman in Phœnix Park, how could it be said that the passing of a resolution concerning the Arrears of Rent Bill was irrelevant to the business of the Board? Nevertheless, Mr. Walsh, J.P., in the plenitude of his wisdom and power, decided it was not a proper thing to petition the House of Commons to do anything calculated to stop evictions. The elected Guardians on that occasion gave way to this most indecent and irrational action of Mr. Peter Walsh, and proceeded to the ordinary business of the Board, abdicating their own functions in favour of Mr. Walsh's dictation. The next phase of the matter occurred on the 1st of July. On that day the circumstances arose which led ultimately to the dissolution of the Board; and he would read a statement from an elected Guardian, Mr. Shea, who took a prominent part in the proceedings. Mr. Shea said—

> "On the 1st July, the usual business was proceeded with fairly enough, until the correspondence came to be read. There were three letters read by the clerk, and, seeing there was no action being taken on them, I moved that the consideration of the three letters be postponed until next Board day; it was seconded by another Guardian. An *ex-officio* Guardian moved, as an amendment, that they be marked "read;" and this was seconded by another *ex-officio* member. The Chairman refused to put either, and thereby ignored the right of the Board, taking to himself the right of jury, judge, and Chairman. It was then moved and seconded by two elected Guardians, that the Board adjourn until next Board day, 8th July. This was put by the Chairman and passed by a large majority. On that day, after the minutes were read, it was moved and seconded that we commence with the ordinary or usual business, and when we would have come to where it broke off last day—namely, the correspondence, the adjourned business might go on. The clerk concurred as to this being the proper course to adopt; however, the Chairman refused it, but decided himself that the adjourned business should go on first. The first business, according to his ruling (the Chairman's), was the last of those three letters which were severally read on 1st July. The clerk read again the third letter (from Millstreet), recommending a resolution passed by their Board asking the

Legislature to remedy the Land Act of last year with regard to leaseholders, which amendment would be very acceptable with the view of furthering its object. I proposed its adoption; it was seconded by another elected Guardian, and the Chairman refused to put it to a vote. Two other elected Guardians moved and seconded that the Board adjourn to a future day. The Chairman put this, and it was carried by a large majority; and on two subsequent meetings, the same letter was put before us, as our first business, by the Clerk and the Chairman. We did not change regarding its importance. The Chairman kept it before us as our first business for three or four meetings, believing we would be dissolved on account of his resistance.—Faithfully yours, J. Shea."

Now, what was the first question which arose? Was the resolution which the Chairman refused to receive relevant to the business of the Board of Guardians or not? At the first meeting, the resolution was refused by the Chairman, who was the instrument of the Marquess of Waterford and other Noblemen in the district, who had been opponents of the Land Bill and the Arrears of Rent Bill in the House of Lords. The resolution refused by Mr. Walsh was one asking the Board of Guardians to petition the House of Commons in favour of including leaseholders in the benefit of the Arrears of Rent Bill. The question was one which was materially connected with the subject of rack rents. It was often the custom to compel the leaseholder to pay a very high rack rent, under a promise of making him a tenant in the end, and the lease was frequently made an instrument of torture. The leaseholder was liable to be turned out and become a burden to the rates; and, therefore, the improvement of the legal position of these leaseholders was as much part of the business of the Guardians as any other duty or means by which they could keep down the rates. The Chairman refused to receive the resolution, which was one that had been passed by the Millstreet Board of Guardians, and by other Boards of Guardians in Ireland. Similar resolutions had been transmitted to the Local Government Board in Dublin and received by them; and, notwithstanding that fact, the Local Government Board upheld the Chairman of the Carrick-on-Suir Board in refusing to put the resolution, although they had accepted it altogether in regard to their other Unions. What consistency was there in such a course—that the Chairman should have discretion to refuse or accept a resolution just as he liked? He (Mr. Sexton) thought that if there was a rule which gave to the Chairman such an arbitrary power, it ought at once to be got rid of; and that in Ireland, as in England, at the meetings of a Board of Guardians, as well as those of any other public body, the opinion of the majority of the Guardians ought to be a decisive rule for the conduct of the proceedings. He was able to show that this very resolution had been passed by several Boards of Guardians; and he was able to show also, by a letter from the Local Government Board themselves, addressed, in the year 1869, to the Boards of Guardians in Ireland generally, that an invitation was given to such Boards to express their approval of the Land Bill. Not very long ago, the Prime Minister and the late Chief Secretary for Ireland, the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), wrote letters to the Carrick-on-Suir Board of Guardians, acknowledging with thanks a resolution passed by the Board in reference to the Land Act; and yet the course pursued in this instance by the Chairman of the Board, and which was similar to the course which had already received the approval of the Prime Minister, was to be deprecated by a minor authority, and visited with the heaviest penalty it was possible to inflict—namely, the dissolution of the Board. By the 7th Article of the Poor Law Regulations it was prescribed that when three or more Guardians were present at a meeting, the majority should have the right to adjourn the Board; and, as the Chairman refused to receive a resolution which the majority of the Board considered to be relevant to their business, they refused to go on with any other business. A motion was made for the adjournment of the Board, and it was carried. When the Guardians met on the next occasion, an elected Guardian suggested that the ordinary business of the Union as to outdoor relief should be at once transacted. He wished the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland to note that fact, because the Local Government Board appeared to have fallen into a great misapprehension in regard to it. They appeared to have thought that the neglect to discharge the ordinary business of the Board was due to the elected Guardians, instead of the Chairman, But the Chairman, with extraordinary obstinacy, refused to do anything at all until the other question was settled, and the majority decided to adjourn the meeting. On the next day, after refusing to accept the resolution of the Millstreet Board, and also refusing the request of the elected Guardians to go on with the ordinary business, the same deadlock was found to exist. The Chairman still refused to transact the ordinary business. "No," he said, "we must take the business where it was left off on the last day." But the Guardians refused to give way in regard to what they conceived to be their duty, and they had a perfect right to say that the leaseholders ought to be protected by the State. They had certainly as good a right to take that course as they had in 1869, when the Local Government Board invited them to do a similar thing. But the Chairman would have no other business done. The elected Guardians again moved the adjournment, and it was agreed to by a large majority. That happened on four occasions, and the Chairman repeated the course he had taken before. On each occasion the elected Guardians invited him to proceed with the ordinary business of the day, and then to turn to the disputed question of the Millstreet resolution. They were willing to sign cheques for outdoor relief, and to keep up supplies for the workhouse, and to do all the ordinary work of the Board. But this gentleman, Mr. William Atkinson, inspired by the zeal of a commoner acting on behalf of people in a higher sphere, felt that he could not retire from the position he had taken up, and refused to go on with the ordinary business of the day. Three several times, at three successive meetings, he thrust forward the Millstreet letter, and said—"Until you mark that as read and throw it under the table, and until you give way to my despotic dictation, I will not allow you to transact the ordinary business of the Union." The inevitable result was the only result that could happen; and after this occurrence had taken place on three or four occasions, the Local Government Board sent down their Inspector, Mr. Hamilton, to make an inquiry. Now, it would be found that Mr. Hamilton, instead of applying himself to the real question, whether the Chairman ought or ought not to have refused the resolution in favour of a leaseholder, talked in a kind of grandfatherly way to the Guardians about the duty of shaking hands and making up their differences, and then delivered himself of a number of platitudes on the blessings of harmony and united action, which might have been appreciated in the pulpit on a Sunday, but which, on a week day, at a meeting of a Board of Guardians, were rather absurd and irrelevant to the business in hand. The upshot of all of it was, that on the 20th of July, the Local Government Board issued a sealed Order, dissolving the Carrick-on-Suir Board of Guardians, for no other reason than that they had insisted on the right of expressing their opinion on a matter immediately relevant to the condition of the farmers and the increase of pauperism. And what were the two points taken up by the Local Government Board? They said that the Chairman had declined to put a resolution which was wholly unconnected with the duties of a Board of Guardians. If so, why did the Local Government Board, in 1869, invite the Board of Guardians all over Ireland to pass resolutions dealing with the Land Bill? If this resolution was not connected with the duty of a Board of Guardians, why did the Prime Minister and the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) write to this and other Boards of Guardians in the South of Ireland thanking them for the resolutions they had passed in reference to the Land Bill? If what the Guardians did formerly merited laudation, how was it that they were now to be visited with the heaviest penalty that could be inflicted upon them? He invited the right hon. Gentleman to answer that question specifically, and not to shelter himself behind an Act of Parliament, or behind the official action of the Local Government Board. He asked the right hon. Gentleman to tell the Committee plainly, whether a resolution asking for the infusion of the leaseholders into the Land Act would not give security against the spread of pauperism, and the increase of rates; and, if so, whether it was not relevant to the duty of a Board of Guardians? He awaited the right hon. Gentleman's answer with some confidence, because he did not think the right hon. Gentleman, in any emergency of official life, would shelter himself under an equivocation. The second position taken up by the Local Government Board was, that the Guardians' meetings had been adjourned with a view of interfering with the transaction of the ordinary business of the Union. Now, he contended that that assertion was perfectly untrue. There never was a more unfounded statement made. The meetings were not adjourned with that view at all. As he had already pointed out, the Guardians at each of the four meetings which formed the subject-matter of the complaint of the Local Government Board offered and pressed the Chairman to proceed with the ordinary business of the day. The Chairman refused on each occasion, and if there had been any dislocation of the business of the Union the fault rested with the Chairman in having refused to proceed with it, and not with the Guardians, who wished to go on with it. On these two statements—namely, that the resolution would interfere with the business of the Board, and that the meetings were adjourned with a view of interfering with the transaction of the ordinary business, both of which were equally groundless and equally unfounded in fact, the Local Government Board, by a sealed Order, proceeded to dissolve the Carrick-on-Suir Board of Guardians, and appointed paid Vice Guardians to transact the business. The whole business of the Union had been dislocated and disorganized by this action of the Local Government Board. The matter had occasioned no little excitement in Ireland. Meetings had been held all over the country for the purpose of protesting against this despotic treatment of the Carrick-on-Suir Board. It would be seen that the *ex-officio* Guardians, composed of noble lords and magistrates, were attempting, by high-handed measures, to set themselves against the opinions and wishes of the elected Guardians. Resolutions had already been passed by many Boards of Guardians condemning the action of the Local Government Board in regard to the Guardians of Carrick-on-Suir. A committee had been appointed in Carrick-on-Suir itself, which had passed a resolution respectfully inviting the co-operation of all other Boards of Guardians in Ireland to sustain them in their efforts to secure freedom of discussion and liberty for the representatives of the ratepayers in all questions affecting the rates. They pointed out that they had been thwarted by the landlords' nominees in simply insisting on their right to perform the business of the Board, and express and record their opinion by vote on important questions affecting their constitution, which many other Poor Law Boards throughout Ireland had been allowed to consider and decide without objection, and which they were anxious to have put to the vote, under the Poor Law Regulations, when they were obstructed and prevented. It would be seen that the Carrick-on-Suir Board of Guardians had been prevented from submitting a resolution which had been put and decided by other Boards without remonstrance from the Local Government Board. They had also been prevented from putting a resolution which English Boards of Guardians were enabled to discuss and decide without the slightest trouble; and they had been placed under heavy penalties, simply because they wanted to do what the Poor Law Board themselves invited them to do in 1869, and what the Prime Minister thanked them for doing a few months ago. The inconsistency of the Local Government Board was incapable of explanation, and the step taken by the Local Government Board was a blow aimed at the rights of 160 Boards of all Guardians in Ireland. A feeling of deep resentment in consequence of the unjustifiable action taken by the Local Government Board had spread throughout the majority of the 160 Boards existing in Ireland; and unless the Government could see their way to reverse the action of the Local Government Board, and allow the elected Guardians to have a vote in matters concerning their own interests and the business of the Union, he foresaw that they would have to dissolve many other Boards of Guardians in Ireland, and would have to appoint a corps of Vice Guardians, the effect of which upon the Public Revenue would be painfully felt next year, besides depriving the ratepayers of their elected representatives, whose services they had a right to retain. He believed that if the Guardians were not speedily restored to office, the collection of poor rates in Ireland would become a matter of very great difficulty and trouble indeed.

MR. TREVELYAN: The hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) has touched upon a question which, certainly, is a very burning question in several quarters of Ireland. I have been extremely interested in the hon. Member's speech, because I have studied this question very carefully from a certain point onwards, and I was not at all sorry to hear the previous history of the question as detailed by the hon. Member. Although I receive his statement, if he will allow me to say so, as an *ex parte* statement—by which I mean a statement put forward by a person having strong convictions, although speaking in all possible good faith—still I must say that it throws considerable light on that future part of the story which is the only part of it that has come before me officially. There was a great deal in the statement of the hon. Member to interest most people, and a great deal in it has certainly interested me very much in regard to the principles of local government, which certainly do not appear to me to be carried out by the Institutions which now exist either in Ireland or on this side of the Channel. My business, however, is with the question as I find it. My own opinions upon the matter of municipal and local representation in Ireland are very well known to hon. Gentlemen who were present in the discussions in Committee as to the mode of electing Poor Law Guardians. I regret that that Bill has not got to a more advanced stage this year. It is quite idle to suppose that local Boards have been established for any other purpose than to manage their own affairs. The hon. Member seems to think that, in the conduct of local affairs, the principle should be adopted in Ireland of enabling the people to control and manage their own affairs through their own representatives, fairly chosen. Now, that is a principle which has never been carried to extreme perfection in regard to the local representation of the rural districts either here in England or in Ireland, and, therefore, I approach the question with a considerable feeling on behalf of those who consider that the Boards of Guardians in Ireland are unduly influenced by the *ex-officio* element. But, unfortunately, I am bound to accept these bodies as I find them. The law on the matter is absolutely clear, and the law is that which we are bound to enforce. Upon that point, it is almost unnecessary to say, after expressing this opinion, that the Local Government Board did not act without very careful consideration, taking legal opinions at every stage, and those legal opinions appeared in their eyes to leave them no choice whatever. The real point, however, upon which this question turns is the power of the Chairman. In what proportion the Guardians who vote for him are *ex-officio* Guardians, or in what proportion they are under the influence of the *ex-officio* Guardians, is a matter which legally does not concern us at all; but, having taken legal opinions upon the question, we came to the conclusion that the Chairman had an absolute right to say what business should be put before the Board of Guardians, and what should not. Well, that proposition being once ascertained, the rest became very plain; and, unfortunately, there was only one solution of the matter. In the history of the case from that point upwards, the account that has been laid before us differs very slightly from that which has been put by the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Sexton). It differs only in one particular; but that particular, I may say, appears to me to be rather an important one. A question arose in the Carrick-on-Suir Union as to the right of the majority present to adjourn a meeting, and the adjournment took place in consequence of a resolution, which I think the hon. Member read, and which had been communicated by the Millstreet Board of Guardians, referring to the extension of the benefits of the Land Act to leaseholders. The hon. Gentleman and the Local Government Board agree so far. The Chairman of the Board of Guardians refused to put that resolution, and, in consequence, the majority of the Board of Guardians adjourned the meeting. Now comes the sole point of difference between the information that was laid before us and the case that has been stated by the hon. Gentleman. The hon. Gentleman, as far as I can gather, says the Chairman, on the occasions on which the Board met subsequently, would not allow the Guardians to proceed to the business of the Union, unless under the condition of dealing with and throwing aside the resolution which they wished to submit. On that point I can find—and I have searched very carefully—no trace whatever in the documents before us to bear out the statement of the hon. Gentleman; and I must say it is an unfortunate thing that the Guardians did not think it their duty to represent all the facts to the Local Government Board. While I cannot help thinking it is possible that the hon. Gentleman has insisted a little too strongly upon this point, I may add that the Guardians appear to have passed a resolution, the words of which I have not taken down, but which come very much to this—that they had been dissolved on account of the exercise of their absolute right to vote for a certain resolution. Now, the result of this disagreement between the Guardians and their Chairman was that the Guardians repeatedly met, and met only to adjourn. They met on the 1st of July. That was the meeting at which the resolution was originally refused. The course adopted by the Carrick-on-Suir Board of Guardians was this. On the 1st of July, the Chairman refused to put the resolution, and on the 8th and 11th, and again on the 15th, the majority of the Guardians voted in favour of the adjournment of the meeting, and the meeting was accordingly adjourned. This having been brought to the notice of the Local Government Board, they requested their Inspector to go down and report upon the business in arrear in the Union, and on the 14th they wrote a letter to the Guardians, in which the Guardians were warned that if they persisted in neglecting to discharge their legitimate duties, the Local Government Board would be forced at once to take steps to place the management of the affairs of the Union in the hands of paid officers. The Inspector was present on that occasion, and he earnestly placed before the Guardians the consequences of their perseverance in the course they had entered upon. What they did they did with their eyes open. Now, the result of the ordinance which was passed by the Guardians was that the business of the Union was totally neglected; the duties of the Guardians were not discharged; no money was ordered to be issued by the Guardians for outdoor relief during the course of three weeks, and the cost of such relief amounted to £16 or £17 per week, and was advanced by the Clerk of the Union from his own resources. The advances made under the Seeds Act were left unpaid, the adoption of a new rate after the rate had been duly certified by the Clerk was postponed, the consideration of the reports from the sanitary officers, the signing of cheques for outdoor relief, and all other cheques, were among some of the principal forms of business which fell into arrear; and the whole local business was at a standstill. Nobody can doubt after this that, through the fault of the Guardians, under whatever temptation they may have acted, the duties of the Carrick-on-Suir Union have not been duly and effectually discharged. The Board of Guardians having been distinctly warned that the appointment of paid Guardians would be the result of their failure to perform the ordinary business of the Union, the only alternative the Local Government Board had was to send down their Inspector to report, and, upon his remonstrances failing, to dismiss the Guardians, and appoint paid officers to attend to the local work of the district, that being the consequence which the Local Government Board had already pointed out.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: Had they not the power of dismissing the Chairman?

MR. TREVELYAN: No doubt, they could have done so; but that would have been a most high-handed and arbitrary proceeding, and would have savoured more of the region of politics. Some method or other must be devised to prevent bodies elected for the purpose of carrying on the non-contentious part of the business of the country from partaking of a political and partizan character. Different methods may be devised for that purpose. With regard to the Boards of Guardians, the method which has hitherto been devised, and which, on the whole, has been found to work fairly satisfactory, is that the Chairman should be intrusted with the power of saying what is, and what is not, fit business for a Board of Guardians to transact at their meetings. Of course, I know very well that in the course of past years, in innumerable Unions throughout the country, some Chairman of a Board of Guardians has occasionally taken a different view of his duty from others. I do not know whether it is the case that the Local Government Board actually invited this Board of Guardians in 1869 to petition in favour of the Land Act; but I have no doubt the hon. Member is right in saying that a great many resolutions trenching on the domain of politics have been passed by Boards of Guardians, and sent up to the Local Government Board, and I should regard the Local Government Board as acting in a foolish and ill-advised manner, if they insisted on watching too closely the political character of the resolutions sent up to them. Since I have been Chief Secretary for Ireland, I have had from Boards of Guardians, and from other local bodies—occasionally from Grand Juries—resolutions which have not been to me extremely agreeable, because they trenched on politics, and from a point of view which was not sympathetic with my own. But I have not been too careful in looking into these matters, and I think that a rough-and-ready rule must be made; and that rough-and-ready rule—whether it is right or not, I am not here to say—is, in the case of a Boards of Guardians, for the Chairman to say what matters shall be brought on for discussion. I do not propose to enter upon the duties of the Chairman; but I can quite understand that he might say that this particular question was of too political a nature to be submitted to a Board of Guardians, and my opinion is, that if he laid that down as his view, it was the duty of the Board of Guardians to accept it. They were there to carry on the local business of the district, and the course they have taken, although I allow it was not taken without temptation, considering the constitution of the Board, was, I think, a thoroughly ill-advised course. But, whatever the conduct of the Guardians may have been, the duty of the Local Government Board was absolutely pointed out to them. They had no course whatever of any sort or kind open to them except that which they adopted. As for deposing the Chairman because he refused to put to the Guardians a resolution in favour of the amendment of the Land Act, that would have been a course extremely high-handed and extremely arbitrary. The course which the Local Government Board have adopted has been very unpleasant indeed. There was a great deal that was very disagreeable on both sides, and I think the whole case a very good illustration of the difficulties which beset any Government in Ireland which tries to do its duty by both parties. But whatever the sympathies of the Local Government Board may have been, its course of action could only run in one direction. It could not call on the Chairman to put a resolution which, on the whole, the Chairman was right in not putting, although I am willing to allow that, if the resolution had been put, the Local Government Board would have regarded it with considerable equanimity. These being the facts of the case, if they were to perform their duty as a Local Government Board, they could only take the course they did take. They appointed two Vice Guardians to transact the business of the Union; and by the next election, in March, I earnestly hope the "grandfatherly" advice which the hon. Member for Sligo referred to, of the Local Government Board Inspector, will have been adopted, and that the Guardians may return to their duties, and may continue to discharge them in a manner that will enable the Local Government Board in future to regard them as a model Union.

Mr. HEALY said, the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland amounted, from first to last, to a statement that the President and Chairman of every Board of Guardians in Ireland could, if he liked, provoke a dissolution of that body. That was the sum and substance of the right hon. Gentleman's remarks; and, in other words, the Local Government Board had given a distinct premium and had held out a distinct incitement to the Chairmen, who were mostly drawn from the landed class, to crush out all popular and local life in the country. The Boards of Guardians in Ireland were one-half elected representatives of the ratepayers, while the other half was composed of members of the landlord class, who, as magistrates, were *ex-officio* Guardians. When the Poor Law Act was first introduced in the House of Commons, many years ago, there was nothing in it to give any *ex-officio* representation at all. It was in "another place" that the *ex-officio* representation was inserted in the Bill; so that the country was entirely indebted for that blessing to the House of Lords, who sent the Bill back to the House of Commons with a provision in favour of the *ex-officio* element. What had been the result? The landlords had the right to sit on the Boards of Guardians as magistrates; they had a vote also for the elected Guardians as ratepayers, and by the pressure which they were able, as landlords, to bring to bear upon the rest of the voters, under the present extraordinary system of voting which existed under the Poor Law, they were generally able to return a majority of the Board. That being so, and these persons being wholly out of harmony with the feeling and wishes of the Irish people, the Local Government Board now came forward and said—"Let these gentleman have the power of stopping all the business, if they choose to be obstructive, and then if the elected Guardians still refuse to be dictated to, we will step in and suspend them, and substitute paid officials." A great amount of comment was made in that House 12 months ago, when the Speaker came forward and, by a *coup d'état*, suspended the Irish Members; and quite as great a comment was made when the Chairman of Committees, on a recent occasion, suspended a number of Members. But he (Mr. Healy) ventured to say that nothing so high-handed had ever been done, either by the Speaker or by the Chairman of Committees, as the action of the Local Government Board in the case of the Carrick-on-Suir Board of Guardians. There was no contention that the Guardians were not willing to discharge their duty, and transact the ordinary business of the Union. They were perfectly willing, on all these several occasions, to do their duty, and they protested at the time against being prevented by the Chairman from doing so. Therefore, there was no truth whatever in the allegation of the Local Government Board that the Carrick-on-Suir Guardians were unwilling to discharge their duty. They were perfectly willing to discharge their duty; but they were not willing to swallow the prescribed course the Chairman had laid out for them. They were quite ready to sign the cheques for outdoor relief, and to do all the things that were necessary in reference to making the rate and receiving the reports of the Sanitary Inspectors, which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had enumerated. Could the right hon. Gentleman say that the Guardians were unwilling to discharge the long list of duties which he had read out from that Table? They would only have been too happy to have done so; but the Chairman insisted that they should not. Standing with a pistol at their heads, he said in effect—"First eat the leek; first mark the M.S. as read; then you may go on with the ordinary business of the Union." Yet that was conduct which received the approval of the Local Government Board. The Chief Secretary for Ireland could not escape blame in the matter. He was the President of the Board, and, as "soft words buttered no parsnips," he had no desire to be sympathetic with the right hon. Gentleman, when it was quite evident he was to blame. Who were the members of the Board? The President of the Local Government Board in Ireland was the Chief Secretary for Ireland for the time being; the Vice President was Henry Robinson, the Under Secretary; and the other members were Mr. Charles Croker King and Mr. George Morris. It would thus be seen that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland and the Under Secretary constituted one-half of the Board; and, notwithstanding that he had been distinctly told that the elected Guardians were perfectly willing to discharge their duties, the right hon. Gentleman got up and defended the Board of which he was not only a member but the President, and in connection with which, when sitting at the Board, he would have the power of giving a casting vote. To say that he (Mr. Healy) sympathized with the right hon. Gentleman would be rather Platonic. How could any sympathy be expressed with the right hon. Gentleman, when it was open for him to bring in his own Under Secretary, at the next meeting of the Board, and tell Mr. Croker King and Mr. Morris that he would have no more of this kind of conduct? If the right hon. Gentleman took that course, there was no doubt that Mr. George Morris, Mr. Charles Croker King, and Mr. Henry Robinson would see their way to the adoption of the view of the Chief Secretary for Ireland and of the Lord Lieutenant. An example had already been set in a matter of this kind by the Local Government Board, who, finding that their action was mischievous, had agreed deliberately to set it aside. It was said that the Local Government Board had no desire to run counter to the wishes of the people. He (Mr. Healy) denied that *in toto*. What did they do in the case of Dr. Kenny? Because Dr. Kenny was arrested as a "suspect," and because he was acting as treasurer of the Land League, they instantly dismissed him from an important Government office he held. They all knew that when a row was made about the matter in that House—[Mr. WARTON: Order, order!]—he knew perfectly well that the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) was not the only Member who was in the habit of making a row in the House.

MR. WARTON rose to Order, and appealed to the Chairman whether the use of the word "row" was regular?

The CHAIRMAN made no response.

MR. HEALY continued: The Committee knew very well that after a commotion was made in that House about the dismissal of Dr. Kenny, the Local Government Board reinstated him in the position he had held, and, taking an unprecedented course, withdrew their sealed Order. But, nevertheless, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland now came forward, and wished the Committee to presume that the course of conduct pursued by the Local Government Board in this case was something new. The fact was, that if the resolution which the Chairman refused to accept had been a resolution congratulating the Queen on her escape from the pistol of the fellow who attempted to shoot her down at Windsor, or a resolution deploring the unfortunate affair in the Phœnix Park, the Local Government Board—if the Chairman had acted as an obstructive—would readily have found some other way out of the difficulty. What was fully recognized in Ireland was, that whenever there was any desire on the part of the ruling power to make itself unpleasant and obnoxious to the people at large, it invariably did it, and the Local Government Board formed no exception to the rule. The Local Government Board, representing, as it did, the true spirit of British legislation, always endeavoured to make things as unpleasant as they could. They had heard last night that there was in Ireland, at the present moment, a spirit and desire to make things work as smoothly as possible; but now it was said that, come what might, the strict letter of the law must be obeyed. The law in Ireland was always to be obeyed, so long as it was oppressive and unpleasant to the people. Persons who were constantly crying out about the law, appeared to take great delight in making the law as unpleasant to the people as possible. His complaint against the Chief Secretary for Ireland was this—If the right hon. Gentleman had had his heart in his business, as he seemed to say he had, it would have been a very small thing to tell the Local Government Board that what they had done was wrong. For his own part, if he (Mr. Healy) were a ratepayer of Carrick-on-Suir, as long as the Local Government Board sent down paid Guardians to distribute his money according to their own will, he would pay them no rates; and he trusted that the ratepayers of Carrick-on-Suir, so long as the Local Government Board sent down their paid instruments to spend their money, would give them no money to spend. He trusted that the people of Ireland would see that that was the only way in which they could hit back at the Government, and that, practically, they had the matter in their own hands. In the case of Carrick-on-Suir, the Local Government Board had sent down Vice Guardians. Then let the ratepayers refuse to pay the rates, and let the Local Government Board whistle for them. It would then be seen how soon the Local Government Board would be brought to their senses. If such a course were generally adopted, the Local Government Board would be much more cautious how they took a high-handed action of this character. It was quite true that they would have power to attempt to collect the rates by levying distress warrants; but if they seized the cattle of the farmers, nobody would buy them. Let the Local Government Board send in their rent-collectors upon the farms, and what happened in the late Land League agitation would occur again. Nobody would buy the cattle. Where the landlords had the pull in the Land League agitation was, that they could evict the tenant; but, in this case, the Local Government Board could do nothing of the kind. They could only seize the property of the tenant; and, as nobody would buy it, they would not be one whit the better off.

MR. TREVELYAN: I have been looking carefully through the Papers. It was a most unfortunate thing, certainly, that when an administrative question was in hand, certain facts were kept from the notice of the authorities, and that those facts are put forward for the first time in Parliament. Now, I do not for a moment question the aspect which the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) has put upon the story. I think it is very likely that it may have escaped the notice of the Guardians, who have failed to bring it under the notice of the Local Government Board. [Mr. SEXTON: No!] I attach great importance indeed to the transactions which took place at the Board on the 8th and 11th of July. There is no question whatever as to the nature of the transaction which took place on the 1st of July. The Local Government Board sent a letter to the Clerk of the Union of Carrick-on-Suir, and this letter, being addressed to the Clerk of the Union, would, I presume, come under the notice of any Guardian who chose to look at it. I will read a passage from that letter—

> "It appears that at the meeting on the day referred to—namely, the 1st instant—the Chairman having declined to put a question to the meeting which was wholly unconnected with the duties of the Board of Guardians, the majority of the Guardians present voted for the adjournment of the meeting, and that the meeting was accordingly adjourned, leaving much of the ordinary business unfinished. The Guardians adopted a similar course on the 8th instant, the 11th instant, and again on the 15th instant, and the Local Government Board, having read reports from their Inspector, Mr. Hamilton, describing the business which had been neglected by reason of the repeated adjournments referred to," &c.

Thus it will appear that the letter addressed to the Clerk of the Union distinctly states that the course adopted on the 8th, 11th, and 15th of July was the same as that which was taken on the 1st of July; and in the case of the 1st of July, the Chairman, having declined to put a question to the meeting, which was wholly unconnected with the duties of the Board of Guardians, the majority of the Guardians present voted for the adjournment of the meeting, and that the meeting was accordingly adjourned, leaving much of the ordinary business unfinished. The Guardians adopted a similar course on the 8th instant, the 11th instant, and again on the 15th instant, and the Local Government Board having read reports from their Inspector, Mr. Hamilton, describing the business which had been neglected, took action in the matter. I gather from the hon. Member that something else happened; but, nevertheless, the facts as reported by Mr. Hamilton, the Inspector, could only lead to the conclusion that additional provocation had been given by the Guardians, and that they had still insisted on the same course of proceeding, to the neglect of the ordinary business of the Union. The Guardians, on receiving this letter from the Local Government Board, were open, I think, to lay their view of the case before the Local Government Board, especially when it distinctly differed from that contained in the letter of the Board in one important particular stated by the hon. Member. If this statement does not fully express what happened at the subsequent meetings, it is very important that, even at this eleventh hour, the Guardians should have an opportunity of placing their case before the Local Government Board.

MR. SEXTON hoped he might be allowed to say a few words in order to make the case clear. There were four adjournments, and it was in respect to these four adjournments that the dismissal of the Board took place. On the 1st of July, when the Chairman refused to receive the resolution, a motion for adjournment was carried for the first time; but on the 8th, 11th, and 15th of July, the Clerk asked the Chairman to go on with the ordinary business, and then take the resolution at the close of the sitting, and the elected Guardians assented to that course; but on each of these three occasions the Chairman insisted on having the disputatious matter first disposed of. On one occasion, when this offer was refused by the Chairman, Mr. Hamilton, the Inspector of the Local Government Board, was himself present.

MR. TREVELYAN: I hope we may be allowed now to make progress with the financial Business of the Committee. The case has now been brought down to a point which, I think, will enable the Local Government Board to arrive at a clear understanding of the whole merits of the question. It is quite evident that, in the minds of the Guardians who have communicated with the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), there was one important and cardinal point which has not been brought before the Local Government Board. I shall be glad to have that point brought under the notice of the Local Government Board, and that point is whether there was any unnecessary obstruction placed in the way of the transaction of public business at the three subsequent meetings of the Guardians on the part of the Chairman. Until that representation is before the

Local Government Board, and until the Local Government Board have inquired into it, I cannot regard this question as finally decided. I earnestly hope the hon. Member will communicate with the Guardians, and see if there is any further evidence in the case which can be placed before the Local Government Board, and which, I must say, after the reception of that letter by the Clerk of the Union, they neglected to place before the Local Government Board. I will see that the whole subject is inquired into by the Local Government Board.

Mr. REDMOND said, he had listened to the last observations of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland with great satisfaction, because there was a marked difference in a very important point between the information supplied to the Local Government Board and the information that day supplied to the Committee by his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton). His hon. Friend said that the Guardians were willing to go on with the ordinary routine business of the Union, but they were prevented from doing so by the Chairman. And it would appear that that fact had not yet been brought under the consideration of the Local Government Board. He (Mr. Redmond) thought that was a remarkable omission; but he did not think it was an omission on the part of the Guardians, because he found, in a report of the proceedings at one of the meetings immediately before the dissolution of the Board, that the fact was brought under the notice of Mr. Hamilton, the Inspector of the Local Government Board, sent down for the express purpose of inquiring into all the facts. Mr. Hamilton would seem to have neglected his duty entirely. Mr. Hamilton appeared, as his hon. Friend had stated, to have gone to the Board of Guardians and to have addressed some grandfatherly remarks to the Board; but when he went back to Dublin he did not report what the true facts of the case were at all. He (Mr. Redmond) would read an extract from a report of the proceedings, giving the remarks of Mr. Walsh, one of the Guardians, on the occasion when Mr. Hamilton was present. Mr. Walsh said—

> "The Clerk suggested this day week that the business of the Board—the legitimate business of relieving the poor in the house and giving outdoor relief where necessary, should be taken up, and all other things postponed. That course was regularly proposed; but the Chairman would not accept the motion, or take the opinion of the Board on it. Again, to-day, instead of first taking up the most important business of relieving the poor, the Chairman decided to take up where we broke off the last day. What we broke off at was the letter of the Millstreet Board."

The Board had been anxious on all occasions to fulfil their duties in regard to relieving the poor; but the Chairman had persistently obstructed them. The statement he had read was made in the presence of Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Hamilton was bound in duty to bring it under the notice of the Local Government Board. It contained the most important point in the whole matter. He (Mr. Redmond) freely admitted that if any Board of Guardians refused to fulfil its duties, it would devolve upon the Local Government Board to take measures to see that the duties were discharged; but in this case no such contention could be raised by the Local Government Board, because their own Inspector found that the Guardians were willing to fulfil their duty, but that they were obstructed and prevented from doing so by the action of the Chairman. He could quote other extracts to show the character of the proceedings; but he would only read one from the remarks made at a meeting held immediately after the dissolution of the Board, or rather at the meeting when the letter dissolving the Board was read. Mr. Walsh, the same gentleman he (Mr. Redmond) had quoted before, said, among other things—

> "We were the majority of the Board, and we came here to express and record the opinions of the ratepayers of the Union, and to do the business of the Board. That would not be done in spite of us. Even our Clerk asked our Chairman to do what we asked, to have the cheques signed, the relief list gone through, and the ordinary business transacted. The Chairman decided against us."

These important facts were now brought for the first time to the knowledge of the right hon. Gentleman who was the President of the Local Government Board, and he (Mr. Redmond) earnestly appealed to the right hon. Gentleman to go into the matter afresh, and if what had been stated that day proved to be correct, he would then ask the right hon. Gentleman to reconsider the decision the Local Government Board had arrived at. In the course the Local Government

Board had taken, they were undoubtedly establishing a most dangerous precedent in Ireland. The concluding remarks of his hon. Friend the Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) would show the dangerous ground upon which the Local Government Board and the Government were standing, if they persisted in the course of action they had adopted. What would the immediate effect of their action be? It would be an incitement to the Chairmen of other Boards of Guardians to take a similar course, and the result would be the dissolution of many Boards of Guardians all over Ireland. Wherever there was a Board of Guardians presided over by a man of the same opinions and the same despotic inclination as the Chairman of the Carrick-on-Suir Board, whenever he endeavoured to prevent the Guardians from carrying an important resolution of this nature, and wherever the Guardians were men of independance and determination, the same conflict would inevitably arise, and the Local Government Board would be obliged to dissolve many Boards of Guardians throughout the country. Was that a prospect they were willing to face? Were they not aware of the danger alluded to by his hon. Friend—namely, the difficulty of collecting the rates under such circumstances? That difficulty would be exceedingly great, and it was a danger which they ought to avert by every means in their power. The resolution which the Chairman of the Carrick-on-Suir Board refused to allow to be put from the Chair was one which every hon. Member in connection with the Local Government Board would admit to be connected with the business of the Guardians. The business of the Guardians was to take care that they kept down the rates and relieved the poor of the district; and what could more tend to keep down the rates than to bring about a state of things in which evictions in the most cruel form would be stopped? At the time when these proceedings were taking place, cruel evictions were being carried out by a landlord who was absolutely an *ex-officio* member of the Board.

MR. SEXTON: Even on the day of the dissolution of the Board.

MR. REDMOND said, he was sorry that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had not alluded in a more marked manner to the character of that resolution. It was a resolution precisely similar to one which the Local Government Board itself had asked the Guardians throughout the country to pass, and the same kind of resolution had already been passed by many Boards of Guardians without any attempt being made to obstruct the Guardians in the performance of their legitimate functions. If the conduct of the Chairman of Carrick-on-Suir were supported and defended by the Government, the unfortunate result which had happened in this case was likely to be repeated. He asked the right hon. Gentleman to follow up the statement he had made by taking care that the decision of the Local Government Board in the matter was reconsidered. The right hon. Gentleman said that the Local Government Board had taken the only course open to them—namely, dissolving the Board of Guardians. He (Mr. Redmond) entirely denied that assertion. The right hon. Gentleman said it would have been a high-handed act to have dismissed the Chairman. He (Mr. Redmond) must say that he thought it was a much more high-handed act to dismiss the Guardians, who were not, as the Chairman was, *ex-officio* Guardians, but elected Guardians, returned by the ratepayers to dispense the rates to which they contributed. It was in the power of the Local Government Board to have taken a course of action in reference to the Chairman which would have obviated all these difficulties. He understood from the right hon. Gentleman that power was vested in the Chairman to say what business was to be transacted, and what not, at every meeting of the Board. But he (Mr. Redmond) understood that to be merely a rule of the Local Government Board, and he presumed it was a rule that could be abolished altogether. Therefore, there were two certain courses open to the Government other than the course they had followed in this case. He sincerely trusted that the Local Government Board would retreat from a position which was untenable in argument and fraught with danger to the best interests of the country.

MR. WARTON said, he was rather surprised at the form taken by the opposition to this Vote on the part of Irish Members below the Gangway. They had consumed a considerable amount of time in discussing a question between the Local Government Board and the Board of Guardians at Carrick-on-Suir, while they said nothing whatever of other questions of real importance to the welfare of the Irish people that presented themselves in connection with the Vote. There was, to his mind, at least one subject that claimed the serious attention of Her Majesty's Government—namely, the reduction in the number of the Consulting Sanitary Officers, which, apparently, effected a saving to the country of £300. He (Mr. Warton) was, at a long distance, a humble follower of the late Lord Beaconsfield, who, in one of his speeches, parodied the language of the Preacher by the words—*Sanitas sanitatum omnia sanitas.* The noble Lord was bitterly reproached for that; but experience had shown the force of the phrase; and, bearing that in mind, he felt it his duty to call particular attention to the alteration made in the number of Consulting Sanitary Officers appointed under the Public Health (Ireland) Act, 1878. He regretted to find, by the detailed account given on page 165 of the Estimates, that there was a diminution in the amount charged for the salaries of these officers, the amount being £1,300, as compared with £1,600 paid last year. The difference arose from the fact that the number of Consulting Sanitary Officers was 17 less this year than it was for 1881-2. Now, he could not but regard this as a very serious matter, because it seemed to indicate that the Local Government Board in Ireland were more anxious to reduce the expenditure in connection with the Office than they were to secure the sanitary welfare of the people. He would not ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland to pay attention to this matter, because he was well known to attend to everything in his Department with considerable zeal; but he would call his attention to the result of what appeared to be a very short-sighted and mistaken policy on the part of the Local Government Board in Ireland. If hon. Members would look at the items on page 165, they would find that the charge for the cost of medicines and medical and surgical appliances had been increased. These two circumstances, taken together, the diminution in the number of Consulting Sanitary Officers, and the increase of cost of medicines, brought out the fact that more medicine was required in the workhouses in Ireland in proportion to the diminution in the number of officers. The Committee would find, by referring to Sub-head H., that whereas in 1881-2, £17,500 was sufficient for medicines and appliances, the sum required for 1882-3 was £18,500, the increase of £1,000 being due, in his opinion, to the foolish policy of the Department in cutting down the salaries and reducing the number of the officers in question, whose functions were so necessary to the prevention of disease in Ireland. There was another subject to which he asked the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board—namely, the facilities given for the prevention of small-pox. He observed that the supply of lymph had not increased, and he wished to know whether the same means were afforded in Ireland as in England for vaccination from the calf, because there was a large number of persons who had a strong prejudice against vaccination with lymph from the cow, which it would be well to overcome if possible? The right hon. Gentleman had done something in this direction, and there was now a certain small supply of calf lymph for England; but he (Mr. Warton) was most anxious that, in this respect, Ireland should be treated with equal justice. He again expressed his regret that notwithstanding the increase that had taken place in the population, there was a decrease in the number and salaries of so important a body of men as the consulting Sanitary Officers, coincident, as he had shown, with a heavy increase in the amount of medicines required at the Irish workhouses. It seemed to him that the questions raised by Members from Ireland upon this Vote were of minor importance as compared with those he had called attention to, and he sincerely hoped the latter would receive the serious consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he did not think there was very much in the argument of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton), that because the number of Consulting Sanitary Officers had been reduced, there was an increase in the quantity of medicine required in the workhouses in Ireland. The comparatively small sums shown in the Estimates were given to the medical officers of the various Unions as consulting officers, their business being simply to receive the reports of the acting Sanitary Officers. That being so, he (Mr. Biggar) looked upon the salaries paid as being for no services rendered whatever; at any rate, he did not think the Consulting Sanitary Officers did any practical work, and, therefore, he saw no reason why their number and the salaries paid to them should be increased. Now, with regard to the question raised by his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) as to the dissolution, by the Local Government Board, of the Board of Guardians at Carrick-on-Suir, he was much pleased that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland seemed disposed to inquire further into the case. But he took the opportunity of remarking that the decision of the Local Government Board in the case of the Carrick-on-Suir Board of Guardians was very much on a par with their conduct in all cases that came before them. No matter what the subject might be, they always took the unpopular side of the question, which was as much as to say that the interests of the ratepayers in Ireland counted for nothing, and that the only parties entitled to be heard and considered with attention were the *employés* of the Board. He had received a letter from a gentleman in the county of Leitrim, which called attention to a question that, to his (Mr. Biggar's) knowledge, had been raised in many of the Unions in Ireland; it was a question that was certainly entitled to the impartial consideration of the Local Government Board, but which, as it seemed to him, they invariably decided in the wrong way. It related to the amount of poundage to be paid to the collectors of the rates. The fact was notorious that the collectors received a higher poundage for the collection of the Poor Rates than was allowed to the collectors of Income Tax, and the ratepayers suffered in consequence. Although the Boards of Guardians, as a rule, were disposed to fix a more moderate rate for the payment of the collectors, the Local Government Board invariably interfered, taking the part of the collectors as against the ratepayers, and making the Guardians pay a higher rate than they could get the work done for by others. On the 13th of July last, a resolution was adopted by the majority of the Board of Guardians of the Union referred to in the letter of his correspondent, reducing the rate of poundage from 9*d.* to 6*d.*, on the ground that some collectors had collected rates at 6*d.* in the pound at a time when collection was more difficult than it was at present. His correspondent went on to say that, formerly, the collection of the rates was open to public competition, and last year a number of proposals were sent in to the Board of Guardians by persons who offered to collect the rates at 6*d.* in the pound. These offers would have been entertained, but the Local Government Board overruled the Board of Guardians, and insisted upon a rack-rented and highly-taxed people paying 9*d.*, instead of 6*d.*, in the pound, for the collection of the rates. This afforded an excellent illustration of the action of the Local Government Board in Ireland, who, as a matter of fact, seemed on all occasions to select the very worst way of deciding questions that came before them. He would now bring before the Committee, very briefly, a circumstance which had occurred in the county of Cavan, and which afforded another example of the one-sided procedure of the Local Government Board. A friend of his had been a candidate at the last election of Poor Law Guardians. There was rather a close contest on the occasion, and his friend alleged, as he (Mr. Biggar) believed truly, that if the Returning Officer had decided fairly, he would have had a substantial majority. The decision, however, was against his friend, and in favour of his opponents, the matter turning very much on the question whether a certain person, formerly a landlord in the Union, could or could not claim to vote as landlord. His friend raised the point that the person who claimed to vote was not owner of the property, and was not entitled to vote in respect of it; but the Returning Officer decided against him, and the Local Government Board refused any inquiry into the circumstances. He did not think it was a legitimate proceeding on the part of the Local Government Board to decide a question against a person who challenged the conduct of a Returning Officer, upon the *ex parte* statement of the individual whose conduct was called in question. The fact was, the property in respect of which

Mr. Lauder claimed to vote was in the hands of the Court of Chancery, and no one, as his friend had pointed out to the Returning Officer and the Local Government Board, could make any legal claim to it whatever.

The CHAIRMAN said, the hon. Member must confine himself to the question before the Committee. The Vote had already been discussed at considerable length, and in entering into these minute details it appeared to him that the hon. Member was going altogether beyond the sphere of the Vote.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he had not the slightest desire to travel beyond the question before the Committee. He was discussing the conduct of the Local Government Board in Ireland, and, by way of illustration, he had laid before the Committee two cases. The first of these was where the Local Government Board had insisted that a Board of Guardians in the county of Leitrim should compel the ratepayers to pay 9*d.* in the pound for the collection of the rates, when they could get the work done for 6*d.* in the pound. The second case he had mentioned was that of his friend, who alleged that the Returning Officer had wrongly decided with regard to the vote of Mr. Lauder, at the election of Guardians, and in which case the Local Government Board had refused an inquiry, upon the *ex parte* statement of the Returning Officer. Now, he (Mr. Biggar) had certainly not occupied the time of the Committee for more than five minutes altogether, nor had he referred to more than two documents out of the number he held in his hand; and, therefore, he thought that the grievances, of which the cases he had cited were illustrations, and which were keenly felt by the ratepayers in Ireland, had not been unduly pressed. He repeated that the Local Government Board were constantly setting themselves in opposition to the interests of the ratepayers, as they had done in the counties of Leitrim and Cavan; and seeing that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had acknowledged that they seemed to be mistaken in the matter of the Board of Guardians at Carrick-on-Suir, he would ask him to institute a *bonâ fide* inquiry into the conduct of the Returning Officer, who decided to take a vote that ought not to have been given in respect of certain property—the documents in his hand, of which he had not read a single line, showing that his friend ought to have had the benefit of the vote, and that he would, in consequence, have been returned as Guardian of the Poor for the division in question. In concluding his remarks, he begged to assure Her Majesty's Government that he should, whenever he had the opportunity, point out the misconduct of the Local Government Board, which seemed, on all occasions, to select the worst possible way of doing the business that came within its cognizance, and which seemed, moreover, to be the Department especially petted by the Chief Secretaries for Ireland.

Mr. HEALY said, he had also to complain that, whereas the Boards of Guardians had certain powers with reference to superannuation, under an old Act of Parliament, as he understood the Local Government Board had issued a Circular, directing them not to make use of that Act in future. This seemed to him a very unusual proceeding. The English Government, as a rule, were very fond of the law of Ireland—when it happened to be in their favour—but here it seemed there was a Circular being sent to the Guardians, telling them they were not to use the law. He asked whether Mr. Robinson had directed that Circular to be sent, and whether it was at his recommendation that a Bill, repealing the old Act and setting forth a new scale, was now introduced? He (Mr. Healy) thought, as there were already grants for one-half of the charges for medical officers, dispensaries, medicines, and sanitary officers, that it would not be too much for the Government to throw in one-half the superannuation charge. He trusted the Government would see their way to insisting that the Local Government Board should make use of the existing Act of Parliament, and not put forward measures that were not wanted. There was another point to which he desired to call attention—namely, the practice of the auditors of the Local Government Board to reduce the sums voted by the Boards of Guardians for the support of the families of "suspects" and evicted persons. The fact was that the families of the victims of the Government policy were left without the means of support, and when a man was arrested, it was usual for the Boards of Guardians to vote, say, £1 a-week for the support of a family of eight or ten persons—not a very extravagant sum for a family of that size to live upon even in Ireland; but, as he had just remarked, the amount voted was always reduced by the auditors. He regarded that as a most unwarranted interference on the part of the auditors; and he trusted the Chief Secretary for Ireland would direct that when grants were made to the families of evicted tenants and imprisoned "suspects," the practice of disallowing the amounts should be discontinued, and that the auditors should be told that they had no other business with regard to this matter than to pass the sum voted. Moreover, he hoped that the new spirit which the right hon. Gentleman had infused into the treatment of Irish questions in that House would be transferred to Ireland during the Recess, and that the gentlemen who constituted the Local Government Board would be told that the best thing they could do with regard to local matters in Ireland was to let the constituted local bodies alone.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, he hoped the Government would not yield to the request of the hon. Member for Cavan. The hon. Member appealed to the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant to exercise what he termed the new spirit he had evinced with regard to Irish affairs, in order to prevent gentlemen charged with the responsible duty of auditing the accounts of the Guardians, meddling, as he called it, with the amounts voted by the Boards of Guardians to the families of persons who had been imprisoned as "suspects," or evicted from their holdings. In asking that, the hon. Member seemed to think it the duty of the auditors to pass items in the accounts of the Guardians, simply on the ground that the money was voted to persons who came within the category of persons under these conditions. He (Mr. J. Lowther) had some experience of the manner in which the affairs of the Local Boards of Guardians in Ireland were conducted, and he thought it right that the Committee should see that there was a distinction, and that a very marked one, to be drawn between such Boards in England and Ireland. In England the Boards of Guardians considered it incumbent on them to carry out their duties in conformity with the spirit as well as the letter of the law; but, in Ireland, the spirit of the law appeared by many of the Boards of Guardians to be ostentatiously set at naught. They made allowances of an exaggerated character—although £1 a-week might not seem a large amount—to persons who came under the categories named; and although the Guardians voted the money, it must be remembered that what they spent came out of the pockets of the ratepayers. The position taken by the hon. Member for Cavan was that the Local Government Board were not right in placing a check upon the liberality of these Boards; but he (Mr. J. Lowther) trusted the Committee would not allow that doctrine to pass unchallenged. Boards of Guardians in Ireland very frequently constituted themselves the exponents of the views of a certain section of the community, and, as in the present case, made extravagant allowances in favour of persons who had placed themselves in antagonism to the law of the land. One effect of the proposal of the hon. Member would be that the constituencies, who, he believed, were not always in harmony with the Local Boards, would, by their Representatives in that House, call the Government to account for allowing the ratepayers' money to be spent in the manner described. Under these circumstances, he trusted the suggestion of the hon. Member would not be entertained.

Vote *agreed to.*

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That a sum, not exceeding £28,031, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Public Works in Ireland."

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, a year ago he moved for a Return with regard to the loans granted for the Relief of Distress in Ireland. He wished to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, whether he could inform the Committee the amount of the balance which remained unapplied for in respect of those loans; whether there was a time appointed at which the applications from persons who desired to obtain loans at 1 per cent interest for improvements in Ireland must cease;

and, again, if that time had expired, whether there had not also been a time fixed at which no further applications would be entertained for advances in respect of loans which had been sanctioned under the Relief of Distress (Ireland) Acts? Further, if such time had been fixed, he would like to know whether it had expired, and whether it would not be a fair matter for consideration by the authorities, if no such period had been fixed, to name a date after which no further advances would be made? He thought there would be a great advantage in this, because if there should be a substantial surplus remaining unapplied for after the period had expired for making application for advances, it could be carried forward for the purposes of the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill, which had recently passed the House.

Mr. COURTNEY said, at the expiration of the time fixed by the Act for applying for advances, there was no balance over that could be available for the purpose indicated by the hon. Member.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury had misapprehended his meaning. No doubt, there was a time fixed beyond which no applications for loans under the Relief of Distress (Ireland) Act were to be made. But that was not his point. Advances in respect of loans already sanctioned were made from time to time by the Local Government Board in Ireland; but he had reason to suppose that applications had not been sent in for anything like the whole amount of the loans sanctioned. He believed there was a considerable sum outstanding in respect of loans sanctioned under the Relief of Distress (Ireland) Act; and, in the event of that being the case, he suggested that it would be well for the Local Government Board in Ireland to consider the expediency, under existing circumstances, of fixing a time beyond which no future applications in respect of the loans already sanctioned should be made, and then there would be a substantial balance which could be applied for the purpose of the Arrears of Rent Bill.

Colonel NOLAN asked whether the works on the Shannon were now in working order? He knew they were far advanced towards completion, and believed they were promised to be in working order at the end of July.

Mr. COURTNEY said, he understood the works referred to by the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan) would be completed next month.

Mr. WARTON said, he would call the attention of the Secretary to the Treasury to what appeared to be a number of discrepancies in calculating the charges for the salaries of certain officials in the Department of Public Works (Ireland). Hon. Members would observe, on page 167 of the Estimates, that the salaries of the first-class bookkeepers and clerks commenced at £320, and rose with an annual increment of £20 to a maximum of £500. Now, whether the number of these officials was four or five, it was impossible by any method of calculation to arrive with a yearly increment of £20 at the sum of £2,448, charged as the total amount of their salaries for the year 1882-3. Again, in the architect's branch, there were two draftsmen, employed at a minimum salary of £210, with an annual increase of £10, rising to a maximum of £250 a-year; but by no arithmetical process that he was acquainted with would these conditions give the sum of £467, charged as the total salaries of these gentlemen for the current financial year. The same observation applied to the charge of £237 for a second set of draftsmen, whose salaries began at £80, and rose with an annual increment of £15 to £200—indeed, this page of the Estimates was full of discrepancies of the kind, which he would briefly point out as illustrative of the imperfect manner in which the accounts were presented to Parliament. Referring still to the architect's branch, there was £271 charged for a furniture clerk, whose salary commenced at £200; annual increment, £10; maximum, £300; and £2,295 charged for nine clerks of the works—including an allowance of £20 per annum to six for an office—with salaries beginning at £150; annual increment, £10; maximum, £2,295. In the engineer's branch, there was a charge of £556 for an assistant engineer, with a minimum salary of £400; annual increment, £20; maximum, £600. And finally, in the solicitor's branch, there was a clerk at £120 commencing salary; annual increment, £10; maximum, £200; for whom the sum of £179 was charged for the current year. The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury had the reputation of being a wonderful calculator; and he would, perhaps, be able to explain to the Committee the process by which those extraordinary arithmetical results had been arrived at.

MR. COURTNEY thought, before assuming that the accounts were incorrect, the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) might have considered the possibility of some of the officials he had referred to not being paid salary at the same rate for a whole year.

MR. WARTON said, he had anticipated that defence on the part of the hon. Gentleman; and he now asked him whether he would state that the apparent discrepancy was caused in the way he had indicated? He would, of course, accept the hon. Gentleman's answer in the affirmative; at the same time, he should feel that the entries were imperfect, inasmuch as no time short of a year was stated in the Estimate.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, it was with a considerable amount of reluctance that he ever offered objection to a Vote on Account of any Department of the Civil Service. Having been himself in the Civil Service for a number of years, his sympathies were very strongly enlisted in the interest of the clerks in the Service; and although he was a Member of the House of Commons, he considered himself very little more than an ex-War Office clerk. He repeated that it was with reluctance that he brought forward any charge against a Civil Service Department; but when he considered the amount of influence which the Vote under consideration had upon the interests of Ireland, when he considered how the Office of Public Works had for years been recognized as little else than a Department to obstruct and prevent the development of the interests of Ireland, he felt, as an Irish Member, that he was bound to offer some protest against the expenditure of public money in connection with the Office of Public Works. The Board of Public Works in Ireland had influences of the most varied and ramified type. There was scarcely any Department in which the Board of Works was not concerned. There was no Department in which the public interests of Ireland could be developed by the aid of the central Administration which the Office of Works did not affect, and there was no single branch of those interests in which the paralyzing influence of that Office might not be distinctly traced. In endeavouring to appreciate the reasonableness of the Vote now submitted to the consideration of the Committee, he had carefully perused the records of the Office of Public Works for the last three years; and in the last volume he found a very long and detailed account of a multiplicity of works, which any person, cursorily perusing, would take as a proof of the great energy and immense public usefulness of the Department. It would appear that in almost every branch of the Administration this Board had some important duties to discharge; and the Report was replete with figures running into hundreds of thousands, and even millions of pounds, that would induce the belief that the Office of Works in Ireland was distributing public money in aid of the development of the resources of the country to a tremendous extent. But when one examined a little further and more closely into the root of the matter, he found that all the figures and references to Acts of Parliament and important public works in reality related to a period commencing in 1841, or, at any rate, as far back as the Famine year; and that this Department, which issued annually a cumbrous Report, had very little to show in the shape of present work. He had endeavoured, as far as he was able, having some knowledge of Departmental duties, derived not only from his experience in the War Office, but from his experience when in charge of an important office in Ireland, to estimate the amount of work actually thrown upon the Office of Public Works, and, allowing for the amount of correspondence necessarily involved, also to estimate the strength of the staff necessary for carrying out the work. With regard to the Secretary's Office, he should have been happy to undertake the charge of the duties in that branch, making a liberal allowance for all the requirements of the Office, with half-a-dozen intelligent men. But hon. Members would see that in the Secretary's Office, including the Chairman and Commissioners, there were no less than 17 persons employed. Then there was the accounts' branch, which had a staff of 18 men. It was impossible to estimate the work thrown on the architect's branch;

it would be, at any rate, of very considerable dimensions. The engineer's branch was smaller than the architect's; but he believed it did its work thoroughly well—that was to say, as far as the person in charge could do it. The solicitor's office had, for 1882, a staff of four men, with messengers and others. He had no doubt that all the branches named in the Estimate were as much over-manned as the Secretary's branch, which he had more particularly alluded to. He suggested to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland that, during the Recess, if he could find it within his province to make inquiries with regard to an important matter of this kind, he should investigate the working of the Office of Public Works in Ireland, and that if he considered in so doing he would be trespassing on the province of the Treasury, he should endeavour to institute such a Departmental investigation as would cause a thorough overhauling of this large establishment. He (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) had no hesitation in saying that a capable Administrator, taking the work in hand, would be able, within 12 months, to reduce the staff of the Public Works Office in Ireland by at least 30 per cent; and he defied any man to show him, by the published Report of the Office, how there could possibly be work for more than six intelligent men in the Secretary's branch, where, according to the Estimate, 17 persons were employed. The Irish people, in every portion of the country, felt that the Public Works Office was nothing more or less than a kind of obstructive breakwater of the Treasury, established in Ireland, by which the distribution of public money in aid of local funds was prevented against the will of Parliament, and in spite of the Votes of that House. Now, he proposed to move a reduction of the Vote, in respect of the salaries of the Chairman and the Secretary. The salary of the former was £1,500, and of the latter £800, or a total of £2,300 taken together; but, inasmuch as a number of Votes on Account had been taken, he proposed to reduce the Vote by the sum of £1,100 only. The reason why he selected these items for the purpose of reduction was this. Between four and five years ago a Committee was appointed, the Members of which were Viscount Crichton, Mr. Mitchell Henry, Mr. Kavanagh, Mr. Fremantle, and Mr. Murray, with Mr. Hamilton as Secretary. Amongst other recommendations, after making such a Report as probably was never issued in respect of any Public Department in England, Scotland, or Ireland, the Committee recommended the removal from office of the present Chairman and the present Secretary. The Report, which was worthy of citation before the Committee, contained passages to the effect that it would not be fair to impose fresh or more important duties on an officer, who, like the present Secretary, had been in the Public Service for more than 40 years. That was signed as far back as June, 1878; and the gentleman referred to had, therefore, at the present time been in the Public Service between 40 and 45 years. The Report went on to express the opinion that, after so long a period of service, the Secretary was entitled to retire on a pension, and the Committee recommended that he should be replaced by an officer; and he asked the particular attention of the Committee to the following words:—"Who would be able to relieve the Board of some of their less important duties." This meant that, at the time the inquiry took place, five years ago, the present Secretary was perfectly useless, and absolutely beyond work; that he was incapable of relieving the Board, even of the least important of their duties. The present Board, again, did no work; according to the Report they were not fit for the work they had to do, and, as had been already shown, the Secretary was so old and so incapable of office work, that he could afford them no assistance whatever; and his retirement had been recommended, for that reason, so far back as the year 1878. The reason stated in the Report for this arrangement was, that it would give the Board more time to devote to inspection, and enable them to attend to some of the more important business which appeared at that time to be left too much to the subordinate officers of the Board. The Committee would readily understand that, when duties, which properly fell to the heads of Departments, were delegated to subordinates without responsibility for their performance, those duties, in all probability, were not properly discharged. As a matter of fact and notoriety, they were not discharged at all; and so, probably owing to the unfitness of the Secretary and Board to do their own work, the Public Works Office in Ireland, which was intended to be an efficient and active Public Department, had fallen into a state of permanent paralysis, and the great interests of the country, which it was intended to promote by their action, remained undeveloped and obstructed. The Committee said, with regard to the present Board, that they expected the recommendation already made would more effectually secure to the public the advantages intended by the Legislature, which was to say that the Committee recognized the fact that the advantages intended by Parliament to be given to the people were not secured to them by the existing arrangement, and that that, to a great extent, was owing to the inefficiency of the leading members of the Staff. The Committee, therefore, expressed their belief that the adoption of the recommendation in their Report would, "in a great measure, remedy the defects of the administration of the Board." Without going over the whole of the ground covered by the Committee, he would remind hon. Members that the Report was replete with references to the leading idea—that the chief reason why all the business under the control of the Public Works Office in Ireland was in a hopeless state of confusion and arrears was the inefficiency of those at the head of the Department. The Committee expressed their conviction that the head of this important Department should possess unusual administrative abilities; that he should command the entire confidence of the public and his subordinates by a vigorous and comprehensive grasp of the subjects with which he was called upon to deal, and that he should be able, both in his recommendations to the Treasury and in his communications with the public, to enforce his views with authority. That was the idea which the Committee had of an efficient head of the Department; but they added that nothing could be further from their intention than to depreciate the merits of the present holder of the office, or to detract from the value of his long and distinguished public services. It was certainly not for him (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) to depreciate the value of services that, before he was born, possibly, might have been of the most signal character. The Report stated that nothing could exceed the zeal with which the holder of the office had applied himself to the work, or the conscientious industry he had brought to bear upon it; it was possible, however, that after so long a period of services rendered, and in spite of a strong constitution, he might feel unequal to the strain which future responsibility would entail, and, consequently, be unable to do full justice, either to himself or the Department; and, if so, the Committee added—

> "While regretting the loss of his great experience, we think he should be afforded an opportunity of retiring, and that a State pension should be secured to him."

He questioned if there was ever a public servant condemned by a Report in more complimentary terms. Such was the view of the Committee; but, notwithstanding their recommendation, the "creeping palsy" which had come over the Public Works Office in Ireland had been allowed to continue to the detriment of the public interest. As it was right to place the whole case before the Committee, he should mention that one of the Committee dissented from the recommendations of his Colleagues—namely, Viscount Crichton—who said he regretted he was unable to agree in the recommendation contained in Paragraph 244, which he could not but regard as equivalent to an intimation that the retirement of the Chairman was desirable; in other words, four out of five Members of the Committee considered it desirable that the Chairman should be retired. But Viscount Crichton added that he had no hesitation to join in the censure passed on the Board, in certain respects, and for which, in his capacity, the Chairman must be regarded as responsible; but, on the whole of the evidence submitted, he could not see sufficient ground to warrant any reform in his management of the business of the Board, and he would be glad if the Chairman's great acquaintance with the duties of the office could be preserved to the public in the future. Nothing could be more creditable to the noble Viscount than these expressions; but, if anyone weighed the language, he ventured to think they would perceive that the noble Viscount recognized, as the other Members of the Committee had done, that it was impossible to leave the Board as it was then constituted, and that if the Chairman was to be continued in office, it was absolutely necessary to make some arrangement by which his inefficiency might be counteracted—that was to say, that some person should be associated with him. But no one had ever been associated with the Chairman, and since that time to this the Board had been going from bad to worse; and anyone who considered the Report of the Irish Board of Works would see that there was absolutely nothing to show in return for the tremendous expense which Parliament was now called upon to sanction. He maintained that the whole Office was over-manned, and that the staff for half the year had practically nothing to do, for there was in no one single branch of the Department an amount of work sufficient to keep the men in it fully employed during any single month of the year. It was a matter of notoriety in Dublin that the staff of the Office of Public Works, when the Parliamentary Session was ended, breathed more freely, and congratulated each other upon the fact that they had been allowed another lease of life for 12 months. That being the fact, well known as it was in certain circles in Dublin, he thought it ought to be made known to the Committee. There was another point on which he wished to dwell briefly before he sat down, and that was the position of the architect to the Board. Some time ago he had addressed a Question to the Secretary to the Treasury with regard to the position of this officer, who, it appeared, was a member of the directorate of a building society in Dublin; and it was perfectly well known that other building societies were deterred from making applications for advances to the Board of Works, as they were entitled to do under certain Acts of Parliament, by the knowledge of the fact that the architect of the Board, who was a member of a rival building society, used all his influence to prevent their getting the advances, which otherwise they had reasonable grounds to expect would be granted. It was but a few days ago that he received a letter from a person in Dublin, to the effect that the writer happened to be a member of a building society in Dublin, and that the idea had occurred to him that if he could effect a loan through the Board of Works it would be a great boon. But the writer added that, on consideration, he found he should be giving himself an amount of unnecessary trouble by making any application to the Board of Works, seeing that the architect of the Board held a prominent position as Chairman in a different building society to that which he belonged to. He (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) asked if it were a desirable thing that a member of a public office should be allowed to act as Chairman or member of a building society, competing for public assistance with other building societies, which did not enjoy the same official privileges. In reply to the Question he had asked no satisfactory answer was given. However, he did not propose to object to the salary of the architect for the current year; but he trusted that the good feeling and proper official sense of the Secretary to the Treasury would cause him to see that it was incumbent on the Treasury to insist that the architect to the Public Works Office in Ireland should retire from so equivocal a position. With regard to the Secretary and the Chairman, he did not see how, after the words in the Report of the Committee, which inquired into the management of the Department, it was possible to retain those two officers; and he therefore begged to move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £1,100, which, taking into account the sums already voted, would about represent the balance of the salaries of the officers in question.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £26,931, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Public Works in Ireland."—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor.*)

Mr. BLAKE said, he concurred in nearly everything his hon. Friend (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) had said, and he felt some delicacy in speaking about Public Departments in Ireland, because he had been for some time connected with one of them. He would, therefore, rather not say anything about them; but, agreeing that there was a very great change called for in regard to the Board of Works in Ireland, and having considerable knowledge of that Board, he felt he must say something upon the subject. He could, however, assure the

Chief Secretary for Ireland that he spoke with no ill-feeling towards the members of that Board, for he was on very good terms with them. He (Mr. Blake) had been in the Fisheries Department, and it was the object of that Department to show that the loans would be paid; but, owing to the fault of the Board of Works, those loans which could have been collected were not collected and still remained out, and probably would remain out. In his advocacy of an extension of these loans, he (Mr. Blake) had drawn attention to the manner in which the loans had been repaid by the fishermen. In any change in the Board of Works, unquestionably the Chairman and the Secretary must go, because they had been there so long that the time had come when they might be put on retirement; but he thought his hon. Friend, from not being entirely acquainted with the facts, was rather hard on the Secretary. He, like many other secretaries, had been made the scapegoat for the failings of many of the members of the Board. He had been a most efficient executive officer; it was his duty to carry out the orders given to him, and in that respect no charges could be brought against him. The deficiencies of the Board were not due to him, but to those in higher positions. He had been, and still was, a very efficient officer. The hon. Member spoke of the Department being over-manned. That was so in certain particulars; but the Department was under-manned in other respects—in the Engineer's Department, for instance. His (Mr. Blake's) reason for thinking that that Department was under-manned was that there was great delay in the construction of piers and in inspection. He agreed with his hon. Friend's observations respecting the Architect's Department; and he hoped the Chief Secretary for Ireland, who was Chief Commissioner of Public Works in Ireland, would be able to pay more attention to that subject. It seemed to him that it was very much to be regretted that the Chief Secretary for Ireland, or some other officer, was not an *ex-officio* member of other Public Departments in Ireland; for it would conduce greatly to their efficiency if someone in the Chief Secretary's Department attended the meetings of the Boards. Certainly, a visit from an independent officer of the Government to the Board of Works would be also very valuable. For a long time a re-casting of the Board of Works had been promised, and nothing was more strongly wanted and; he hoped the Chief Secretary for Ireland, who had promised to look after the Asylums Board and Fisheries Board, would promise to carry his very practical mind into the Board of Works, and see what was required there. So far as he (Mr. Blake) was concerned, if a Motion was brought forward for reforming that Board, he should give it his determined assistance.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD announced that, as his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) could not answer his question, he would, on Thursday next, ask whether the total amount of loans sanctioned under the Distress Acts of 1880 had been advanced; and, if not, what was the amount of the balances yet unclaimed?

MR. COURTNEY, in reply, said, he could not state how much had been repaid; but the amount sanctioned to be advanced was about £1,400,000, and he believed that nearly the whole had been advanced. With regard to the observations of the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor), he did not think the Board of Works in Ireland would be very gratified by the special sympathy expressed for them by the hon. Member. He (Mr. Courtney) himself took great interest in the Public Works Department in Ireland, and, from the limited experience he had had of them by communications with the officers of the Board, he felt compelled to attribute the unpopularity of the Board to their unreadiness to lend money. He frankly admitted that this Department was not perfect; but he was afraid there were few Departments that were perfect. If an accusation could be sustained that the Department was over-manned, he was afraid there were many Departments in England against which the same accusation could be made. But he did not admit, after an examination of the work done by that Department, which was of an extensive character, that the Department was as over-manned as the hon. Member said. The hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Blake) had, in one way, put the matter directly in the contrary, and said some of the Departments were under-manned.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I admitted that the Engineer's Department was under-manned.

Mr. COURTNEY thought the hon. Member had forgotten what he (Mr. Courtney) had told him in reply to one or two Questions; that that recommendation of the Committee had not been overlooked; but the great quantity of new work which was thrown on the Board last year—which required a good deal of attention and preparation—made it impossible to undertake a task analogous to swopping horses in the middle of the stream. If that had been done, a great deal of the present work could not have been transacted. From seeing what the Department had done, and was doing, he was convinced that the Department had been most faithful and diligent in carrying out the intentions of Parliament; and the apparent inadequacy of the result was not due to the fault of the Department, but, to a great extent, to the extreme difficulty of dealing with persons who were unable, either through ignorance or a want of knowledge of business, to put themselves into practical relations with the Department. But the difficulties, such as they were, had been overcome, and the Return which he had presented to the House a few days ago, and which was not yet in general circulation, would show that the Department was in a state of great activity in relation to the particular business thrown upon them last year, and that, at all events, the Department was not in that state of decrepitude which the hon. Member for Queen's County had described. The number of applications up to July 31 was 485; of these 160 were inadmissible—that was to say, they were made by persons who were so unacquainted with the conditions prescribed by Parliament that the applications could not be admitted. Of the remainder, 41 were transferred under the Act 10 & 11 *Vict.*, and were most of them sanctioned; and of the rest 292 had been provisionally entertained, and 152 had been sanctioned by the Treasury, the amount applied for being £27,710; 140 were still under inquiry, and of those 98 were not yet ripe for consideration. There had not been a sufficient number of days necessary for decision, and of the remaining 42 which, in point of time were ripe for consideration, 17 were delayed by the neglect of the applicants to comply with the conditions, so that progress could not be made; 21, which had been retarded by the applicants, were now progressing; and 4 were held over, at the wish of the applicants themselves. Thus the Returns, so far as the interests of the applicants were concerned, reflected the greatest credit on the Department. If hon. Members had the figures before them, they would see that, whatever the paucity of applications granted, that was not due to the neglect of the Department, but to the inherent difficulty of the task, which had been carried out with more despatch than could have been expected.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked how many applications had been granted up to the 31st of March this year?

Mr. COURTNEY, in reply, said, that, up to March 31, there was considerable difficulty in putting the machinery in motion; but, at all events, there was the result that, on the 31st of July, 150 applications had been granted, involving a sum of £27,710, under the 31st section.

Mr. SEXTON: There were two classes of loans under the section.

Mr. COURTNEY said, he understood that the 31st section dealt with loans to occupiers. With respect to the Chairman and Secretary, the hon. Member for Queen's County, no doubt, did quote things that were said of the Chairman and Secretary; but he (Mr. Courtney) was afraid those quotations were made with a good deal of colour of running comment which gave them a different aspect.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I must object. I read the *ipsissima verba.*

Mr. COURTNEY said, he thought the hon. Member commented on the quotations; but he admitted that the hon. Member quoted textually from the Report. But he commented on the quotations he made, putting in his own words so as to convey, intentionally or not, a different impression from that given by the Members of the Committee. The recommendations of the Committee, to whatever extent they might go, and however they might be qualified with respect to the Chairman and Secretary, had not been neglected or overlooked, and would not be overlooked; but no action could possibly have been taken in recasting or reorganizing the office during the recent critical times.

MR. HEALY asked, whether it would be believed that, for the 10 months up to May 31st, the Department had spent £2,856 of the ratepayers' money, and had not made one single advance? Yet the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury had the face to get up and say that the Department was in an efficient condition. How was the Board induced to do anything? Owing to a series of Questions in the House, Colonel M'Kerlie, the spider of the Board of Works, came out of his web, and then the Board made some advances. So long as Parliament was sitting the Board were in a state of trepidation; but when Parliament was not sitting they were free, and Colonel M'Kerlie would execute a *pas seul.* The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Courtney) said the complaints had not been overlooked or neglected; but, if that was so, how was it that four years had passed since this Report was made in 1878, and it had never been acted upon? The Report, which practically recommended that Colonel M'Kerlie should be sent about his business, remained a dead letter, and Colonel M'Kerlie remained at the head of the Board of Works. If a special pension would induce him to withdraw, he (Mr. Healy) would give him 10 times his salary, as he thought that would be well spent; and if the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Courtney) would put on the Estimates such an amount for that purpose, he ventured to think the Irish Members would cheerfully vote the money to get Colonel M'Kerlie out of office. The 31st section was the most important section of the Land Act; and the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Courtney) took great credit to himself for the fact that, of 360 applications which had been made, 154 had been sanctioned by the Treasury. But would the hon. Gentleman explain how it was that the Board had framed a rule which made it impossible for the 500,000 of the 600,000 Irish tenants to take advantage of the section. Parliament sweltered over the Land Act of last year, and fully debated this 31st section, and then Colonel M'Kerlie framed this rule to prevent the 500,000 of the 600,000 tenants taking advantage of the section. Colonel M'Kerlie, the spider of the Board of Works, threw his webs around the administration of the Act, and debarred 500,000 of 600,000 occupiers of the soil taking advantage of it; and the public were further informed that four years ago it was recommended that Colonel M'Kerlie should be sent to his place, wherever that might be, upon a special pension in order to get rid of him. That recommendation had, however, never been acted upon, but was locked up by Colonel M'Kerlie in his desk. This House passed the Land Act, the 31st section of which ordained that certain occupiers were to get loans; but by making a rule as to £100, amounting to £120 in valuation, the Board of Works absolutely nullified the operation of that Act, and prevented 500,000 tenants taking advantage of the 31st section. Colonel M'Kerlie had made a rule—[Mr. COURTNEY: The Treasury.] Well, under, he presumed, the influence of Colonel M'Kerlie. He had made some suggestion, he (Mr. Healy) supposed, and after the Act had been passed with so much difficulty he deprived these 500,000 tenants of the benefits of the Act. [Mr. GLADSTONE: No, no!] The Prime Minister did not give assent to that. Who, then, was responsible? Whoever was responsible, it was time some period should be put to action of this sort. Five-sixths of the occupiers were under £20 valuation. He hoped the present Financial Secretary to the Treasury would do something to get some security for small holders of land—say, those under £4 valuation. It was not an easy thing to get security for money, but there was a wide margin between £4 and £20 valuation; and he (Mr. Healy) thought the Treasury might fairly be asked to revise this rule, so as to enable holders of £8 or £10 valuation to get security. It might happen that the holder of even a £4 holding would be able to give collateral security; and, therefore, a hard-and-fast rule that in no case should an application be entertained unless the applicant's holding was of a certain value—say, £15 and upwards—would certainly lead to abuse. The Treasury made this hard-and-fast rule, and the result was that only 152 applications had been sanctioned by the Treasury. The estimate of the expenses was no less than £5,000 for 12 months. The estimate should bear some proportion to the amount advanced. The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury had said that the total sum advanced was £27,710. The cost of making these advances was £5,000, which was certainly too great a proportion to the sum advanced. He trusted that although they had hitherto appealed in vain for these periodical Returns they would have them in the future. The months of June and July had passed, and, except for the statement of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Courtney) that night, the Committee were in the dark as to what the Board of Works were doing. It would be a stimulus to Colonel M'Kerlie if what the Board of Works were doing was made known.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he wanted to say one word as to what had fallen from the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy), who, he was sorry, had entered into this difficult question. It would be most unjust to lay on that very valuable public servant, Colonel M'Kerlie, whose tenure of office had been a very distinguished one, the responsibility for these rules. It was the Treasury which was responsible for the rules, though he was not able to say whether Colonel M'Kerlie had made suggestions on the subject. The matter was settled by the Treasury, and the Treasury was responsible for the Vote as it stood. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Healy) had said 500,000 tenants had been entirely shut out from the benefits of the Land Act. [Mr. Healy: The 31st section!] He assured the hon. Gentleman that that section of the Act was a very large and extraordinary extension of the principles upon which Parliament had hitherto acted, and it was an extension which required to be managed with a good deal of discretion. He did not say that a Parliamentary rule was an inflexible one; but it was very difficult to determine how far the Executive Government might be justified in entering into relations of debtor and creditor with all the small tenants in Ireland for the purpose of giving them advances for the cultivation of their holdings. The hon. Member must remember that the expenses of small loans were very heavy indeed to the Government, and it was a serious matter to consider whether public money could be employed in granting these very small sums, and whether the great peculiarities of the condition of the Irish farmer, which had led Parliament to go so far justifiably and properly and wisely in meeting what seemed the essential quality of condition—whether those peculiarities were such as to warrant proceeding to such bounds as the hon. Member might wish with regard to lending Government aid to single holders of farms, and especially very small ones, for the purpose of enabling them to improve the cultivation of their farms. He did not think the subject could be dealt with wholesale, or that it could be dealt with largely on the Vote for the Board of Works in Ireland. It was not the Board of Works that was really chargeable. The question involved was one of policy, and it was an extremely difficult one. He was by no means desirous of excluding further discussion on the subject; but caution must be observed on the part of the Treasury.

Mr. SEXTON said, that, in order to justify the case which had been made from the Irish Benches against Colonel M'Kerlie, it was not at all necessary to deny the value of his public services in the past. The Prime Minister had spoken of the tenure of office of Colonel M'Kerlie; and he (Mr. Sexton) supposed that the right hon. Gentleman, who had had a long and somewhat close relation with Colonel M'Kerlie, might have had an opportunity of discovering faculties in that gentleman which had not been apparent to the general public. All that Irish Members complained of was that Colonel M'Kerlie's tenure of office had been exceedingly prolonged. There were very few who could compete with the Prime Minister in his period of public service; but Colonel M'Kerlie had been so long in the Public Service that it would be well if he were out of office. The Irish Members did not say this on their own motion, for a Departmental Committee, in language which was clear and unmistakable, indicated that the time had come when Colonel M'Kerlie should retire. His hon. Friend (Mr. Healy), when he said that the rules issued by the Treasury had shut out five-sixths of the Irish farmers from the benefits of the Land Act, was not dealing with the Land Act as a whole, as the Prime Minister seemed to imagine, but with the 31st section of the Act. When the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Courtney) was speaking a short time ago, he (Mr. Sexton) asked him whether the loans made under the 31st section of the Land

Act had been made to occupiers or not. He showed that the 31st section of the Act authorized two kinds of loans to be made—namely, loans for the reclamation of land, and loans for agricultural improvements. There was no limitation in the section providing that the loans should not be made to occupiers.

MR. COURTNEY: The advances have been made to occupiers solely.

MR. SEXTON said, that after a year's operation of the Act they found that only 150 advances had been made. His hon. Friend (Mr. Healy) unintentionally overstated the efficiency of the action of the Board of Works in reference to this section. If he understood his hon. Friend properly, the sum of £27,000 was the amount sanctioned to be advanced. It would have been interesting to know how much of the £27,000 had actually passed from the form of grants on paper to the form of cash advances to occupiers. For expenses, the estimate was—For Land Act Loans 1881, Section 31, £5,000; Inspection under Land Improvement Act, £3,500—altogether the expenses amounted to £10,000. If the hon. Gentleman would tell them how much of the £27,000 had been paid over, the Committee might arrive at the absurd result that the cost of the Department in distributing loans had been as large as the amount advanced. He considered that the 31st section, if vigorously worked, would have rendered very satisfactory results, results certainly less open to criticism than the present results. When they found that at the end of a year, notwithstanding the amount of reclaimable land in Ireland, and the number of holdings requiring improvement, and the number of occupiers willing to avail themselves of the benefits of the section, only 150 occupiers had received advances, could they conclude otherwise than that the section had failed? The Prime Minister had spoken very wisely, of course, of the necessity of prudence in making advances of this kind; but, surely, the right hon. Gentleman would admit that under a rental of £20 or £10, numbers of tenants might be found with so vital an interest in retaining their holdings that the State would not act imprudently in making them an advance. Unfortunately, red-tapeism had always characterized the proceedings of the Board of Works in Ireland. The Church Commissioners had to deal with as ignorant a class of people as the Board of Works had; but the result was very different. The Church Commissioners transformed a great body of holders of Church lands from tenants into proprietors; and they did that by putting simple instructions in the hands of the people, and by taking the pains to communicate to the holders what facilities the law allowed to be given them. The Board of Works, on the contrary, took pains to keep such facts from the knowledge of the people, to keep the people in ignorance of what the law was; and it was for this reason that he was forced to dissent from the praise which had been lavished on the Board of Works. The Committee had received no explanation of the item of £800, being the amount of the architect's salary. Now, the architect was a prominent member—in fact, the leading spirit—in a building society in Dublin. Was it proper that the architect of the Board of Works should also be a leading member of a building society, which might, some time or other, call upon the Board of Works for advances of money? Was it proper that this gentleman should be able to act as a buffer between the Board of Works and the building society? He hoped the Government would see their way to require this architect to retire from one or other positions he held.

MR. CALLAN said, he noticed that the Vote for the Architect's Branch was £839, £39 of which was for car-hire. Dublin, the Committee well knew, was the most car-driving city in the world; and, in the name of common sense, why the architect of the Board of Works should pay £39 for car-hire in 12 months he could not understand. A man could drive from Westland Row to King's Bridge for 6*d.*; and, therefore, £39 for car-hire was a preposterously large sum to allow a man with a salary of £800. The Board of Works seemed to be one of the many bad institutions of Dublin Castle. £3,500 was set down to be paid to Inspectors of works in progress under the Land Improvement Act. What public works were in progress in Dublin to warrant an expenditure of £3,500 for their inspection? Who were the Inspectors? How many were there? It was a remarkable fact that, in the Estimate, the number of Inspectors was not given. He noticed that the solicitor's branch of the Board of Works cost the country £2,100 a-year. What was the legal business of the Board of Works to entitle them to expend such a sum? In addition to the sums he had already quoted, he found £2,200 was allowed for travelling expenses. Was it intended to afford any explanation of this item? Who were the officials? What were their duties? What works had they to inspect that would justify an allowance for travelling expenses of £2,200, in addition to the sum of £3,500 for inspection of works under the Land Improvement Act? This was altogether separate from anything done under the Land Act of 1881, for, as had already been pointed out, £5,000 was set down as the cost of granting loans under the Act of last Session. Furthermore, £1,200 was charged for extraordinary staff, £900 of which was for the engineer of the pier and harbour works. How many piers in Ireland had been repaired this year? He would not complain of this Vote, if the piers and harbours were in good repair; but it was because the money was spent upon officials, and not upon the piers, that he took his objection. Then there was £300——[The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson): It is absurd.] He overheard the right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland say this criticism was absurd. Where had the money been spent? What amount of money had been spent upon pier and harbour works, for the inspection of which was charged £1,200? Had £12,000 been spent in harbour works? When works were in progress, what was inspected? In his own county the Grand Jury at first declined to take over some works, because they knew from information that no inspection of the works had taken place during their progress. The county had since been saddled with an enormous expenditure in maintaining the works. Had the county itself erected them, they would have put in proper foundations, and thus have obviated considerable expenditure. Now, as to Colonel M'Kerlie. He (Mr. Callan) was surprised the Government kept the gallant gentleman in office. He would tell the Committee a story about Colonel M'Kerlie. Twelve years ago, the inspectorship of the Boyne navigation from Drogheda to Navan, attached to which was a salary of £200 a-year, was vacant, and Mr. Thomas Whitwell nominated a gentleman for the post. The gentleman nominated was a native of Drogheda, and passed a very creditable examination upon his appointment. Colonel M'Kerlie sent for him, congratulated him upon the able and creditable manner in which he had passed the examination, and asked him where he had been. The gentleman replied that he had been at Wexford, and, in answer to a further question, said he was a Catholic. He was thereupon bowed out, and in two days afterwards his appointment was cancelled. He (Mr. Callan) brought the matter before the then Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Chichester Fortescue), now Lord Carlingford. The right hon. Gentleman said—"This is a very unfortunate thing, and I would rather you would drop it." He (Mr. Callan) said—"It is a matter I will not drop." The Chief Secretary for Ireland said—"Do you know anybody you could put in his place?" And he (Mr. Callan) immediately telegraphed to a gentleman in Dundalk, who voted for him at the previous election. ["Oh!"] Oh, he never forgot these things. He telegraphed to the young man to know if he would accept £200 a-year, and the next day he had an answer by telegraph, saying he would be most happy to do so. He nominated his friend for the post, on the express condition that he was not to bring the matter before the House. His friend had held the appointment ever since. ["Oh!"] He would do the same thing to-morrow if he could. The Prime Minister seemed shocked; but he thus acted at the instigation of a Member of the right hon. Gentleman's own Cabinet, and he (Mr. Callan) was most happy to receive the suggestion, because he was able to benefit one of his constituents to the extent of £200 a-year. He found, from the annual Report, that his friend had given great satisfaction in his office. He mentioned these circumstances to show the Committee that Colonel M'Kerlie disqualified the original candidate on account of his religion. He (Mr. Callan) was invited by the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) to give evidence before the Departmental Committee; but he and The O'Conor Don declined to do so, because they knew they would be pumped well, but that due consideration would not be given to their complaints. As long as Colonel M'Kerlie was at the head of the Board of Works in Ireland, there was not the slightest chance of that Board being of any value in promoting the best interests of the country. Colonel M'Kerlie was a worn-out public servant; he ought to be got rid of, and some deserving young man promoted who would be of service to the country.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he wished, as the Mover of this reduction, to disassociate himself from any expression of personal discourtesy to Colonel M'Kerlie. He did not know Colonel M'Kerlie; he had no reason to suppose that, in the administration of his office, he had been guilty of anything unworthy of a gentleman, or of a respectable public servant; and the only ground upon which he moved the reduction of the Vote was that a Committee appointed to investigate the administration of Colonel M'Kerlie's office recommended his retirement, and that it was notorious in Ireland that the present administration of the Board of Works was destructive to the public interest.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 10; Noes 86: Majority 76.—(Div. List, No. 314.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(3.) £3,170, to complete the sum for the Record Office, Ireland.

(4.) £14,552, to complete the sum for the Registrar General's Office, Ireland.

Mr. SEXTON said, he noticed that a considerable part of the Vote—namely, £12,416—had reference to the taking of the Census in Ireland in 1881. It would be well if the Chief Secretary for Ireland would let the Committee know how far the publication of the Census had proceeded, and by what time the Returns would be complete.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he was glad to be able to give the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) a little information on this point; and he hoped the hon. Gentleman would consider it of a satisfactory character. The books for the different counties had all been issued, with the exception of those for Roscommon, Mayo, Galway, and Sligo. The books for Roscommon and Mayo had gone to press; but those for Galway and Sligo were yet under revision. All the county books, however, would be finished by the middle of August. The summary of the four Provinces was well in hand, and the General Report Tables were far advanced, and would probably be ready by the end of September. He would like to give one or two figures in the way of comparison between the work done in respect of the Census of 1871, and that in respect of the Census of last year. The first county book issued in regard to the Census of 1871 was published on the 3rd of September, 1872; the first county book in regard to the Census of 1881 was published on the 26th of September, 1881, or nearly a year earlier. The last county book for the Census of 1871 was published on the 20th of February, 1875; the last for the Census of last year would probably be published in August, 1882, or two and a-half years earlier. The General Report for the Census 10 years ago was published on the 29th of September, 1875, and that for the Census last year would probably be published in September, 1882, or three years earlier. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Sexton) would probably be glad to hear that this rapidity had not been purchased by an increased outlay of money. The total Estimate for the Census of 1881 was £26,000, being £16,000 less than the cost of the Census of 1871.

Vote *agreed to.*

(5.) £14,388, to complete the sum for the Valuation and Boundary Survey, Ireland.

Class III.—Law and Justice.

(6.) £46,138, to complete the sum for Law Charges.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, under Sub-head B there was an item of £21,000 for Criminal Prosecutions. He wished to ask what was the total cost of the prosecution of the Directors of the Northern Counties Insurance Society—"Regina *v.* Milnes?" £7,000 had already been paid; but he would like to know whether there was another sum still payable in connection with the case; and, if so, what sum? There was another case about which he wished to ask a question, on the Comptroller and Auditor General's Report in regard to the accounts of the year. He found this note—

"Included under this Sub-head B are payments of £5 each to twelve jurymen in the case of 'Regina *v.* Birch' and others."

The trial of the Directors of the West of England Bank came on before the Lord Chief Justice of England and a common jury at the Central Criminal Court, and lasted eight days. At the conclusion of the trial the foreman of the jury appealed to the Lord Chief Justice to allow the jury expenses, and the Judge stated he had no power to make them any allowance; but if it were in his power he would do so. The matter having been referred to the Treasury, their Lordships, acting under the advice of their solicitor, awarded the 12 jurymen an allowance of £5 each. What he wanted to put before the Committee was the consideration whether it was a right and proper thing that jurymen in Crown cases should be taught to look to the Crown for payment, and especially that that payment was to be made only after the finding of the verdict. It appeared to him there was something about this precedent of an extremely dangerous character, and of a character altogether at variance with the popular notions of the purity of the administration of justice. The administration of justice probably stood higher in England than in any other country in the world; but if that sort of precedent was to be introduced, there was a very great danger of the great reputation of the public administration of justice being considerably assailed.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, that the question of the payment of jurymen in the case referred to by the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) was raised before the Committee on Public Accounts. Payment to jurymen was only granted in cases of a special nature, and where a trial had continued at very great length. The Committee on Public Accounts reported that they saw no reason to question the decision of the Treasury in awarding, under the special circumstances of the case, and after the trial was concluded, payment to the jurymen in the matter of "Regina *v.* Birch and others."

Mr. R. N. FOWLER pointed out that the Crown had no more to do with the case referred to by the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) than the hon. Member had himself.

Mr. Arthur O'Connor

Mr. BIGGAR said, that what the hon. Member for the City of London (Mr. R. N. Fowler) had said only applied to that particular case; but if an example were given in particular cases that the Government would give fees to jurymen, it might come to be that a very strong inducement would be held out to jurymen to find verdicts. He believed that in special jury cases, if the juries did not give a verdict either for the plaintiff or the defendant, the result was that they did not get a fee; but if they did give a verdict, either for one party or the other, they did get the fee. He rose, however, to call attention to two small items in this Vote. Under Sub-head H, he found the item of £13 for the Advocate General of the Office of Lord High Admiral, and £100 for Counsel and Judge Advocate for the affairs of the Admiralty and Navy. He desired to receive some explanation of those two items.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, that, with reference to the question raised by the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor), he had to say that he shared very much the views of the hon. Gentleman himself, because he considered that the payment of jurymen was a matter that ought to be very carefully watched. In this instance, however, he understood that the payment was not made until the case was over. If the application had been made for payment during the trial, he thought the learned Judge would certainly have discountenanced any payment. It was well that the matter should be very carefully guarded, lest it should fall into a precedent, and he had no doubt that it would be so.

Mr. WARTON said, he wished for some explanation of the item which concerned the intervention of the Queen's Proctor in the Divorce Court. It was a very curious thing that an allowance should be made for the intervention of the Queen's Proctor of £2,200, and that only £200 in costs should be recovered; it really amounted to this—that the Queen's Proctor only intervened successfully one time in ten. He certainly thought that the greater portion of the expenses of the Queen's Proctor ought to be recovered; but, perhaps, it would be in the power of the hon. and learned Attorney General to explain the item satisfactorily. If the £2,200 included the salary of the Queen's Proctor, there would be no cause for surprise; but it appeared that the salary of this official was £2,500 in addition.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James), in reply, said, that the Queen's Proctor received no salary at all as Queen's Proctor; but he did as Solicitor to the Treasury. As to the amount of costs recovered, it must be remembered that it was a most difficult matter for the Queen's Proctor, from various causes, to prove his case; and that, no doubt, accounted for the smallness of the costs recovered. The hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) had referred to the case of "Regina *v.* Milnes." This was a prosecution which commenced before the present Government came into Office. The trial lasted for a very considerable time; but he did not think that the outstanding payments would be at all large.

Vote *agreed to.*

(7.) £2,031, to complete the sum for Public Prosecutor's Office.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said that last year there was a discussion raised upon this Office, and it was certainly then the opinion of the Committee—as it was of the hon. and learned Solicitor General, and, he believed, of the hon. and learned Attorney General also—that the Office was not at all in a satisfactory condition. The hon. and learned Solicitor General stated in the Committee that it was the intention of the Government to make an investigation into the Office; that the Office had not been of as much use as was desired; and he (Sir Henry Holland) now wanted to know whether any investigation had been made into the Office during the year, and what steps had been taken to put the Office on a better footing?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, it was true that the Office was not at all what could be wished; there was not Staff enough in the Office to enable the Public Prosecutor to take sufficient care of the public interest in the matter of prosecutions. He did not object to a discussion of the matter; but if a Public Prosecutor was to be fully maintained in this country, that could only be done at a very much greater expenditure. A number of agents throughout the country would be required, and a large sum of money would be necessary for that purpose. Last year the Public Prosecutor had displayed considerable activity, and the effect of the existence of a Public Prosecutor had a great influence. At the same time, he felt that some inquiries ought to take place, and he would represent that earnestly to the Treasury. This was a matter very much for public opinion, and he would represent the views of hon. Members to the Treasury.

Mr. WARTON said, he would remind the Committee that last year, when this matter was under discussion, the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) described the present system as a sham. The hon. and learned Attorney General had spoken about the necessity for a Staff of Assistants. What he (Mr. Warton) complained of was that a certain Staff of Assistants was provided for by Parliament. Last year this Staff was exceedingly small, and this was adhered to on some excuse with regard to the Treasury. In the interests of justice that was not a proper course. The Treasury might consider whether another Assistant was required, and they were empowered to appoint one, if they thought necessary. The Staff of one Assistant, one Chief Clerk, two Clerks, and a Messenger was perfectly ridiculous; and the excuse of the hon. and learned Attorney General would not hold water, because, under the Russell Gurney Act, a sufficient body of Assistants was provided for. Next year, he hoped there would be one more Assistant provided; and, if not, he (Mr. Warton) should use much stronger language with regard to the matter.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, that it appeared, from the speech of the Attorney General, that nothing had been done this year, and that all that was promised was to represent the matter to the Treasury; but that was not what was wanted. What he desired was a Committee or a Royal Commission to inquire into the working of this Department. It might be that no more money was required, but that the matter was really one of re-organization.

Mr. WARTON said, the hon. and learned Attorney General had not contradicted his statement that it was originally intended that there should be these Assistants. He could understand the organization being commenced modestly with one Assistant; but did the Government believe in the payment of a Public Prosecutor or not? If not, they had better abolish the Office altogether; but if they did believe in it, they should carry it out thoroughly; and it was absurd, after three years, to refer it to the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, who did not care twopence about the interests of justice.

Vote *agreed to.*

(8.) £120,436, to complete the sum for Criminal Prosecutions, Sheriffs' Expenses, &c.

Mr. WARTON said, that under this Vote there was a salary of £900 for the Clerk of Assizes for part of the South-Eastern Circuit; and also a salary of £953 for the Clerk of Assizes for part of Essex, Kent, Sussex, and Surrey. He did not wish to disturb either of those gentlemen in the enjoyment of their offices; but all these places followed one another in continuous order, and he wished to know whether it was not sufficient to have one Clerk for what had now become one Circuit, or whether the Government intended to keep up two Clerks of Assizes? If these places were to be treated as one Circuit for professional purposes, were they to be treated as one Circuit in regard to salaries?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, that in these cases it was decided that whenever either of these offices was vacated, the offices should be made one, and when a vacancy occurred the Treasury would arrange for one payment.

Mr. BIGGAR asked how it was that there had been a reduction in the salary of the Clerk of Arraigns from £500 to £400?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he did not know why there had been this reduction, unless there had been a new appointment.

Vote *agreed to.*

(9.) £101,017, to complete the sum for the Chancery Division and Supreme Court Generally.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, it was stated last year that a Committee would be appointed to consider whether the Staff of Sir William Dunbar, the Comptroller and Auditor General, should not be enlarged, to enable that officer to make a substantial and real audit of the Paymaster General's Account. He wished to know whether that Committee had been appointed, and the Staff increased; or what steps, if any, had been taken?

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he agreed with the hon. Baronet (Sir Henry Holland), who was Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee. Sir William Dunbar, in his last account, said—

> "In my former Reports, I frequently alluded to the insufficiency of my staff. I have had occasion again to report to the Lords of the Treasury, and they have intimated their intention to appoint an inquiry. The examination is now seven months in arrear, and I have been under the necessity of abandoning some important parts of the audit."

This officer was appointed by the House to audit these accounts in Chancery, and yet he had to complain year after year of not being able to perform his important duties. He hoped the Financial Secretary to the Treasury would give some information in explanation of this matter.

Mr. MAGNIAC said, he remembered that when these funds were transferred there was a distinct promise given that the matter should be carefully attended to. There was considerable opposition offered to the Bill on that very ground, and he thought the matter deserved very serious consideration. If these funds were not in the hands of the Government there would be—he would not say a misapplication of them—but they would get lost in the great mass of other trusts. He hoped that serious attention would be given to this subject.

Mr. COURTNEY said, that the Estimates showed a considerable alteration in an augmentation of the Paymaster General's Office.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, the question referred to the Comptroller and Auditor General's Office, and not to an increase in the Paymaster General's Office.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, the question was whether the Chancery funds were audited or not. The Comptroller and Auditor General said he could not do this, and the Committee ought to receive some answer with regard to the carrying out of the promise made last year.

Mr. STAVELEY HILL said, he did not wish to take up a strong attitude on this matter; but he thought some answer ought to be given.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he thought the Committee were now in a position very different from that of last year. Then there was a Secretary to the Treasury (Lord Frederick Cavendish), who, for mastery of detail and devotion to duty, and for exemplary attendance, and his assiduity in that House had, probably, never had an equal; and he (Mr. Arthur O'Connor), who had devoted considerable attention to the public accounts, could speak with appreciation of the noble Lord; but, at present, for any Member of the House to enter upon any criticism in that House of these accounts was very much like firing arrows into a haystack. The most careful criticism was utterly passed over, and that was a sad contrast to the circumstances of last year, when observations were certain of receiving intelligent appreciation from the Representative of the Treasury. Now hon. Members might make any number of complaints, and quote official authorities; but it was all no use, as there appeared to be no one who was capable of dealing with them.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he thought every hon. Member would agree with every word that had been uttered with regard to the late Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Lord Frederick Cavendish). No officer could ever have performed his duties more efficiently than that noble Lord; but when the hon. Member said that the present Financial Secretary was not performing his duties in like manner, he ought to recollect that the Financial Secretary had come very recently into his Office. There was no continuity of the promises and pledges given last year; and it was competent for the Financial Secretary to say that he did not hear pledges given two years ago, and could only take up the thread given him by the Government. He thought the present holder of the Office was doing all he could to pick up the threads; and he was certain that it was his hon. Friend's (Mr. Courtney's) desire to place these questions fully before the House.

MR. STAVELEY HILL thought the question was not whether the present Secretary to the Treasury was carrying out the promises given last year or not. The simple question was, whether the pledges had been carried out?

MR. T. C. BARING said, he felt bound to protest against the doctrine laid down by the hon. and learned Attorney General, that there was no continuity of pledges.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, what he had stated was that there was no continuity in the knowledge of his hon. Friend (Mr. Courtney).

MR. T. C. BARING said, he understood the hon. and learned Attorney General to say that the pledges given by one Secretary to the Treasury were not binding on another. If the hon. and learned Gentleman's statement did not bear that meaning, he (Mr. Baring) had nothing more to say; if it did, then he entirely objected to the doctrine.

MR. WARTON said, the words used by the hon. and learned Attorney General quite conveyed the impression described by the hon. Member (Mr. T. C. Baring). He (Mr. Warton) would make the suggestion that when one Financial Secretary to the Treasury made a pledge it should be recorded; so that if he died his pledge should remain on record.

THE CHAIRMAN: We are going into a discussion on a question which is not that of the Chancery Division.

MR. COURTNEY said, he had made inquiries, and found that a Committee was appointed to consider this matter, and had come to conclusions which were considered satisfactory, but which he was not now able to state.

Vote *agreed to.*

(10.) £76,209, to complete the sum for the Central Office of the Supreme Court of Judicature.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he did not wish to object to any item in that Vote, but to throw out a suggestion to the Secretary to the Treasury, which he might be able to use in the interests of the Public Exchequer. He did not wish to enter on a discussion of the Middlesex Registrar's Office at present, because there was a Bill before the House on that subject; but the Middlesex Registry was an office established in 1704, and it was intended to do certain work of a particularly useful kind. That work was carried out for 17 years, and after that abandoned. For this work the Court was authorized to charge certain fees and no more; and, as a matter of fact, the fees had not satisfied the Office, and some fees which were entirely unauthorized had for more than 100 years been charged. The fees so charged had enlarged the receipts of the Office beyond anything originally contemplated, and of all the officers originally appointed there now remained only one—Lord Truro—who received a certain share of the balance of the fees after paying the expenses of the Office. The Exchequer was supposed to receive a sum representing what ought to have gone to three Registrars, who were entitled to a share of the spoil. It must be remembered that the receipts of this Office came from public extortion, carried on for a long series of years. He did not blame Lord Truro, who had succeeded to an office which had fattened on the public before he assumed the office; but he had been endeavouring to discover whether the Exchequer received a fair proportion of the amount of fees realized by the Registry Office; and he was bound to say, as far as he had been able to trace the matter, there was a balance of several thousands of pounds due to the Exchequer which had gone somewhere else—he would not say to Lord Truro or to any other person—but it did not come to the Treasury; and he would suggest to the Secretary to the Treasury the advisability of obtaining from those who had the records a statement of the amounts realized—say, during the last 20 years, and the amount which, year after year, ought to have been paid to the Exchequer, and whether there was not, as he had stated, a very considerable sum, amounting to thousands of pounds, now due to the Exchequer from this source.

Mr. COURTNEY said, the figures he had before him showed that in 1881 and 1882 the amount received was £4,750, or one-half of the receipts.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, the amount ought to be three-fourths.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, there were originally four Registrars, but only one now remained; and the course pursued was that whenever Registrars were not reappointed, the fees they would have received should be divided, and the result was that for many years past Lord Truro had received one-half, and the Treasury the other half of the fees. There was a Bill before the House to remedy this matter, a Bill reducing the amount that Lord Truro received from half to a quarter.

Vote *agreed to.*

(11.) £56,990, to complete the sum for Probate, &c. Registries of the High Court of Justice.

(12.) £6,162, to complete the sum for the Admiralty Registry of the High Court of Justice.

(13.) £8,971, to complete the sum for the Wreck Commission.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he wished to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, if he could say whether the alteration made last year in respect of the expenses and fees payable in connection with the Wreck Commission had resulted or not in an increase in the public charge?

Mr. COURTNEY said, he believed there had been no increase; but, on the contrary, a decrease in the charge.

Vote *agreed to.*

(14.) £20,136, to complete the sum for the London Bankruptcy Court.

Mr. MAGNIAC said, he must be allowed to express a strong hope that that was the last time they would see this Vote in this form. The state of the Bankruptcy Court was a scandal to the country, and the very fact that £2,000,000 or £3,000,000 had been accumulated through the operations of the Court without check was a grievance in itself. Practices went on every day amongst Bankruptcy trustees which, he might say, approached very nearly the limits of fraud. The costs of trustees accumulated in an unjustifiable manner, immense fortunes being often made out of the property of creditors. In fact, he did not know in what Parliamentary words to characterize these proceedings. He sincerely trusted this was the last time they would see this Vote.

Vote *agreed to.*

(15.) £325,039, to complete the sum for the County Courts.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, he wished to know whether the Government intended to take steps to put an end to the illegality of paying more than was allowed by the law for revising the accounts of the treasurers of County Courts?

Mr. COURTNEY said, they had a very fair prospect of being able to pass a clause to effect the object of the hon. Baronet. There was a Bill before the House in which it was proposed to include this clause. At present, however, there was a block against the Bill in the name of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton).

Vote *agreed to.*

(16.) £3,442, to complete the sum for the Land Registry.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, he was glad to see the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department in his place now; because, on former occasions, no one had opposed this Land Registry Office with greater vehemence than that right hon. and learned Gentleman had done. They might expect, from the position of the right hon. and learned Gentleman, that something would now be done in the matter. There was no division taken on the matter last year; but it was understood that the subject would be considered this Session, the Government being anxious to see it placed on a satisfactory footing. He (Sir Henry Holland) did not know whether anything had been done.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, that as to the gentlemen who had been appointed in connection with the Land Registry, seeing that they were placed in the position of having very little to do, it was now proposed to transfer the Middlesex Land Registry Office to them. They would have to perform all the duties of that office combined with their own.

Vote *agreed to.*

(17.) £18,690, Revising Barristers, England.

(18.) £8,556, to complete the sum for Police Courts, London and Sheerness.

(19.) £286,858, to complete the sum for Metropolitan Police.

(20.) £935,298, to complete the sum for Police, Counties and Boroughs, Great Britain.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he wished to ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he would indicate the course the Government intended to pursue in regard to the Bill relating to the superannuation of the police?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: It has been dropped.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I am sorry to hear it.

Mr. MAGNIAC said, he should like to say, in regard to the matter, that the right hon. and learned Gentleman was as anxious as anyone that the Bill should be passed, and the trouble he had so far taken in the matter entitled him to the thanks of hon. Members. He (Mr. Magniac) hoped the measure would be introduced next Session, and that the right hon. and learned Gentleman would state what his prospect of dealing with it would then be. At one time it was said that there were great points of opposition in regard to the Bill; but, probably, these had been removed.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that "Hope springs eternally within the human breast." He himself had experienced great disappointment at his inability to pass the measure that Session, as the proposal contained provisions which were necessary to satisfy the just demands of a very deserving body of men. These men would feel very disappointed at the failure of the measure. With reference to one class of opposition to the Bill, he believed that, owing to the skill and judgment of the hon. Member for Oldham (Mr. Hibbert), to whom and not to himself (Sir William Harcourt) the principal credit for the Bill was due, the feeling on the part of municipal boroughs against the measure had been entirely removed. There had been a feeling that it was the wish of the Home Office to obtain a more centralized power over the police of the country. Such, however, was not the feeling of the Home Office; indeed, it was opposed to their wish. So far from wishing to interfere in local self-government in regard to police, the Home Office desired rather to enlarge the power of the localities to deal with the local police. That was the feeling with which the Home Office was actuated; and, that having been brought home to the local authorities, all difficulties raised by them had been removed. There was a much more formidable opposition, one that every Minister had begun to fear, and that was the opposition of that which was called the

Local Taxation Party. That was really the opposition which had been fatal to the Bill. All he could say was that he would do all in his power to secure for the measure an early day for discussion next Session.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, the real question was as to the method of paying the police. They were now paid, half by the local authorities, and half out of the Consolidated Fund. He believed that if the same proportions were adhered to in the new Bill, the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department would find the task of passing it much easier.

Vote *agreed to.*

(21.) £284,677, to complete the sum for Convict Establishments in England and the Colonies.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR wished to know if the Secretary of State for the Home Department or the Secretary to the Treasury could inform the Committee if any system had been decided upon for valuing the proceeds of prison labour? Last year, when the question was raised, it was understood that it was under the consideration of the Home Office and the Treasury as to how the assessment of the value of prison labour should be made, checking the amount actually derived therefrom. As this was rather an important question in connection with Public Accounts, it was desirable that they should know what decision the Treasury had arrived at.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he did not quite gather the drift of the hon. Member's (Mr. Arthur O'Connor's) question. The proceeds of prison labour were given at the top of the page at £15,000. One thing he might say on this subject of convict labour was this—that it created a great deal of jealousy on the part of free labour. The Government desired to relieve the taxpayers of the country as much as they could by making the work of the prisoners lucrative. In order to reconcile the two kinds of labour as much as they could, they had been making an effort to employ convict labour on public works. That, they considered, would be less interfering with the public labour market than anything else. Great progress had been made; but he hoped that still greater progress would be effected in the future in devoting prison labour to works of public utility.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, he wished to draw attention to a suggestion made by the Public Accounts Committee this year. The Comptroller and Auditor General had impressed on them the desirability, now that the sale of manufactured articles had become an important item, of having a more complete check than they possessed already upon that item. There should be, he thought, a Conference between the Departments on the question. The matter was one of some difficulty; but perhaps the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department would do what he could to assist in bringing about a satisfactory arrangement.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said, the matter had been brought under his notice, and he could promise the hon. Baronet that it would not be lost sight of.

Mr. MAGNIAC said, the question had been fully discussed, and the admission, or statement, had been made on the part of the Government, that the whole thing was in a transition state, and that the value of prison labour was difficult to estimate. If nothing had been done since last year, he did not think the estimate of the amount of receipts for this labour was a very reliable one.

Mr. BIGGAR asked what had been done in regard to the bequests, made for the benefit of prisoners, in existence before the prisons were taken over by the Government?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said, a Bill had been introduced that very evening dealing with the subject referred to by the hon. Member.

Vote *agreed to.*

(22.) £406,804, to complete the sum for Prisons, England.

Mr. MAGNIAC said, he had occasion, last year, to refer to this Vote, on behalf of some gentlemen interested in the question. The Committee was aware that many of the Justices interested in the matter had joined together to strengthen the hands of the Government in dealing with prisoners, so as to enable the Government to alleviate the condition of the prisoners. As to the conveyance of prisoners, by a legal decision given some months ago, the cost of taking them from one place to another had been thrown upon the Government to a greater extent than had been expected; and it was generally understood that the Prison Commissioners were disappointed at that decision, and that an endeavour was being made—he did not say wrongly—to save the country as much as possible of the cost of conveyance, by sending prisoners, after their conviction, to the nearest prisons in which they could be confined. It had been shown, on the other hand, that great hardship might be inflicted on a prisoner by removing him to a prison out of his own county, though the prison outside his own county might be nearer than the county prison. He was glad to hear that the matter would be taken into consideration; and he thanked the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department for the view he had taken concerning it.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND said, that he saw, on page 230, Proceeds of Prison Labour for 1881-2, *nil,* whereas the proceeds for 1882-3 were estimated at £20,000. How was that?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, the £20,000 he could understand; but the *nil* he must confess he could not understand. Unfortunately, the hon. Member who had a knowledge of this subject had gone to bed.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND: On Report I will repeat the question.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Yes; and I will see that an answer is prepared.

Vote *agreed to.*

(23.) £130,643, to complete the sum for Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Great Britain.

(24.) £17,142, to complete the sum for Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he begged to call attention to the Report made by his hon. Friend sitting beside the Secretary to the Treasury with regard to criminal lunatics hitherto confined in county lunatic asylums, and to ask that it should be taken into consideration, so that the matter might be dealt with as soon as possible.

Vote *agreed to.*

MR. WARTON said, he would now move, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again." It was now 28 minutes past 1, and he did not know how many Bills the Government were going on with after this. Some would, no doubt, be taken, as they might yet, very easily, sit for another hour. They had to meet at 12 o'clock to-day, and the Sitting would not be like a Wednesday Sitting, which would, of necessity, terminate at 6 o'clock; but, looking at the amount of Business yet to be got through—owing to the Government attacks upon the House of Lords having thrown everything late—they might have to sit until very late. He hoped the Government would now agree to Progress being reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, the remaining Votes were not such as would cause discussion. The next Votes were for the Lord Advocate and Scotch Criminal Proceedings, the Scotch Courts of Law and Justice, and the Scotch Prisons. There were only three Scotch Votes.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND: Will the Government agree to report Progress when the Scotch Votes are disposed of?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Yes.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE said, he was afraid he should have to call the attention of the Committee to one of the Votes.

MR. WARTON: If there is to be any dispute on the matter, we had better report Progress at once.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: At any rate, let us proceed with the Votes until a dispute arises.

MR. WARTON said, that if they took the first three Scotch Votes, and it appeared likely that a discussion would arise on the fourth, they could then stop.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

(25.) £40,260, to complete the sum for Lord Advocate and Criminal Proceedings, Scotland.

(26.) £41,200, to complete the sum for Courts of Law and Justice, Scotland.

(27.) £80,987, to complete the sum for Prisons, Scotland.

House *resumed*.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*.

Committee to sit again upon *Monday* next.

PARCEL POST BILL.—[Bill 254]

(*Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Courtney.*)

CONSIDERATION. THIRD READING.

Order for Consideration read.

Mr. FAWCETT: As there are no Amendments to this Bill, I would ask the House to consider it and allow it now to be read a third time.

Mr. WHITLEY said, he would not oppose the measure; but he desired to point out that some persons might be injured by it, and they were the people who for years had been engaged in the carrying trade—those who had hitherto had to do with the delivery of parcels. He saw the difficulty of admitting the principle of compensation, because, as the right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General would tell him, there was no monopoly; but, at the same time, the right hon. Gentleman would admit that for a private individual to compete with the Post Office was an absolute impossibility. A great number of those interested in the carrying trade had communicated with him (Mr. Whitley), and had expressed the opinion that people who had carried on a business for 20 or 30 years, and had embarked large capital in it, would be utterly ruined by the passage of the measure. As compensation could not be given, he would ask whether it could not be arranged with the Railway Companies with whom the Postmaster General had entered into an agreement for the carrying of parcels at a certain tariff, that the same tariff should be allowed to the present carriers? If the right hon. Gentleman could do anything in that direction, he (Mr. Whitley) was sure he would remove a great deal of the apprehension which was now felt, and rightly so, by the members of the trade to which he referred. If the Postmaster General could see his way to exercise any influence he might have with the Railway Companies in order to induce the Companies to place the carriers in the same position as to tariff as the Post Office, it would be a great relief to an important class of traders; and, at the same time, he could not help thinking it would conduce to the interest of the Government.

Mr. FAWCETT said, he was afraid it would be impracticable for him to make such a representation. He thought, however, that a feeling of self-interest would be likely to operate on the Railway Companies — as the Post Office, when this Bill passed, would not be able to prevent them from carrying parcels on their own account—and would make them anxious to give the best terms they could to the private parcel carriers. The Post Office would be limited to the carrying of parcels up to 7 lbs. in weight; and he believed the effect of the Bill would be to stimulate the carriage of parcels, and that very many more of over 7 lbs. in weight than were carried at present would be carried in the future. It seemed to him, therefore, that any pleas on behalf of the carriers would be unnecessary.

Bill, as amended, *considered;* read the third time, and *passed.*

GOVERNMENT ANNUITIES AND ASSURANCE BILL.—[Bill 190.]

(*Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Courtney.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 3rd August.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Short title and construction) *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Limit of grant of annuities).

On the Motion of Mr. Fawcett, the following Amendments made:—In page 1, lines 25 and 26, leave out "through the medium of a savings bank;" and in page 2, line 1, leave out "two," and insert "one."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Contract for endowments and definition of insurance) *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Limits of insurance).

On the Motion of Mr. Fawcett, the following Amendment made:—In page 2, line 18, leave out "two," and insert "one."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Tables for annuities and insurances), On the Motion of Mr. FAWCETT, the following Amendment made:—In page 3, line 23, leave out from "persons," to "such," in line 24, and insert "entitled to insurances in force at that time."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (Regulations).

MR. W. M. TORRENS, in rising to move the Amendment of which he had given Notice, said, that he ventured to raise a protest against the plan of the right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General, on behalf of those friendly societies which, he considered, had rendered great service not only to the working classes themselves, but the community at large, by enabling the working classes to make insurances. The right hon. Gentleman's intention, as he (Mr. Torrens) understood it, was to do a great service to the classes who at present were restricted, in some degree, as to the possibility of insurance; and he would, if the Committee were in a position to enter fully into the question, and would enable him to do so, state succinctly what seemed to him to be sufficient reasons why the proposition made by the right hon. Gentleman in this clause should be regarded as fraught with serious danger. He objected to the proposal on the simple ground that, in the independent Companies in which the middle classes had to insure, measures were taken to enable them to guard against fraud; whilst the Postmaster General proposed that the Exchequer should gratify the desire of poor people to make money out of the lives of their relatives. He (Mr. Torrens) could not help thinking that that was not likely to improve the morality of the working classes, or conduce to their domestic happiness. There were honest and dishonest men in all classes. Even in the orders of society to which Members of the House belonged there were, confessedly, sometimes found individuals who made very grave errors in the matter of insurance—errors deserving of being stigmatized in Courts of Justice with very severe rebuke; and it would be affectation to say that because a man lived by wage labour he was above the temptation to make an insurance that could not be defended. The right hon. Gentleman proposed to do that in the Post Office which was never done anywhere before—namely, to assure to the amount of £25 without requiring any medical examination or certificate. He (Mr. Torrens) would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he would sanction that system of insurance in the case of the upper classes? He thought that all of them who, in the course of their lives, had been moved by solicitude for the welfare of the working classes, and had identified themselves with the various movements which had taken place in the interests of those people, were bound to have regard to that sacred maxim, "Lead us not into temptation." The proposal of the right hon. Gentleman certainly seemed to him to be leading into temptation people who had never been so tempted before. His right hon. Friend said—for he (Mr. Torrens) had argued the question with him in private—that because a man was not likely to commit a fraud in his own case he was not likely to do it in others; but he (Mr. Torrens) did not agree with that at all. Working men, like other men, had family ties and incumbrances. If they taught him to gamble with the lives of his children, they would be taking a false step, which they would never be able to retrace. The right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General said he was cautious in this matter, and would not risk the public purse beyond £25 in each case; but how did the right hon. Gentleman know that his successor, whoever he might be, would not raise the maximum to £50? The present Government's proposal would prove simply the thin end of the wedge. If they taught these people to lose consideration for the health of their wives and children, they would never be able to go back, because when they proposed such a thing they would be told that they were casting aspersions on the character of the working classes. He knew it would be in vain, still he ventured to protest against this proposal, in the true interests of social economy. He wished to move the Amendment which stood in his name.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 28, after "state of health," insert "and any other circumstance tending to affect the duration of life as certified in writing by a duly qualified medical practitioner resident in the district."—(*Mr. W. M. Torrens.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. FAWCETT said, he had given careful attention, not only to what his hon. Friend (Mr. W. M. Torrens) had urged that night, but also to what he had previously urged in private conversation on the subject, and everything which fell from the hon. Member deserved careful and respectful attention. He (Mr. Fawcett) knew the interest the hon. Gentleman took in the subject. Well, he (Mr. Fawcett) was anxious to bring about an assurance for small sums, because he believed that, in that way, a structure of thrift could be gradually raised up amongst the labouring classes of the country. He believed it was possible—and those who had had experience in connection with friendly societies would bear him out—with proper security, to dispense with the necessity for a medical certificate. Medical certificates, there could be no doubt, offered very serious difficulty in the way of assuring for small sums. It was said that they could get certificates for small amounts, and that if a certificate was worth anything at all, it ought to be as careful in the case of a £5 insurance as in the case of an insurance for £500 or £5,000. That might be true; but experience taught them that a certificate was not as careful for a £5 insurance as for an insurance for a large amount. The Post Office proposed to adopt the greatest security against abuse, and it must be understood that the Post Office had no option as to the form in which the assurance business had to be carried on. The Post Office were merely agents for the carrying on of the business. The conditions of it had to be first of all laid down by the Commissioners, sanctioned by the Treasury, and then laid upon the Table of the House. What was proposed was this—that, in case of small amounts, the person who insured did so without a medical certificate; but the most careful inquiries would be made, and if the person insured died within six or 12 months he would get no advantage at all, and if within one or two years—the period being determined by the National Debt Commissioners—only half the amount assured. If the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Whitley) was in the House he would say, from the great experience he had had in connection with friendly societies in Liverpool, where they adopted this plan, that this system of deferred or partial payment would give security against fraud. As to the temptation placed in the way of the working classes, he (Mr. Fawcett) knew that fear was sometimes expressed; but it seemed to him that such fears applied to the whole system of insurance, because if a man wished to insure a life from an improper motive, he would be more likely to do it in such a way as to be sure that the moment the life ceased he would be entitled to full benefit, rather than that if the life lasted so long as a year and a-half he would only get half the amount. If the House would give the Post Office the opportunity of making this experiment, it would be made under the most careful conditions laid down by the National Debt Commissioners.

Mr. STAVELEY HILL said, he could not agree with what had fallen from the Postmaster General. One of two things must happen. If they were going to insure sickly lives, they must certainly load those lives, or else they would not be doing justice to the healthy lives; and how could they tell whether a life should be loaded, or insured at the ordinary premium, except on a medical inquiry? The right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General said they expected to gain the object by refusing payment if death took place within a certain number of months; but how unfair that might be. Take the case of a postman, whose duty took him out in all weathers. Suppose he insured his life in October, and in November he caught cold and shortly afterwards died, he, or his family, were to be refused the insurance.

Mr. FAWCETT: Not necessarily. The assured will have the option of insuring under a medical certificate and coming to full benefit at once, or without a medical certificate and only coming to full benefit after a certain period.

Mr. STAVELEY HILL said, the right hon. Gentleman suggested, however, that the insurance would be principally without a certificate. A man might say—"I am strong and healthy; there is no occasion for me to go to the doctor; I will insure without a certificate," and soon after his insurance he might catch cold and die. Was there any reason why such a man as that should not have full benefit? There was no reason why there should not be a proper medical examination in every case. It could be done at a very small price; a medical man could be appointed in every district, who would give a certificate for a very small amount. He (Mr. Staveley Hill) would ask the right hon. Gentleman really to consider this matter again, and could assure him that it would be much better and safer if the assurance was allowed to all alike on a proper medical certificate.

Mr. WHITLEY said, he rather agreed with the views of the right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General. He (Mr. Whitley) had had some experience in insurances of this kind, and there could be no doubt that the proposition of the right hon. Gentleman was one which was advocated by the Insurance Companies, who had to deal with these lives. In assuring the lives of the poor—in £25 assurances, for instance—there was much greater difficulty in regard to medical certificate than in regard to assurances for larger amounts. When they came to deal with probably 100,000 people, it would be found that the proposition of the right hon. Gentleman was the most practicable one—that was to say, where a man, having the option of obtaining a medical certificate, refused to avail himself of that option, and chose to run the risk of dying before the end of six months, 12 months, or two years, it should be open to him to do so. Such risk would prevent that temptation which had been referred to this evening; and it must be borne in mind that this plan was one which was adopted by those Insurance Companies which did a large amount of business amongst the poorer classes. He really believed that in adopting the proposition of the Postmaster General they would be adopting the principle recognized by the Insurance Companies; and he could not help thinking that though medical certificates might be of some advantage where an insurance for a large amount was effected, he thought that where the amount assured was small the suggestion of the Postmaster General was one that would be most efficacious for protecting the Post Office from fraud, and, at the same time, be best for the working classes.

Mr. WARTON said, he was very much impressed by the arguments of the hon. Member for Finsbury (Mr. W. M. Torrens). There was only one thing which the hon. Member had said with which he could not agree, and that was his expression of the hopelessness of opposing the proposition of the Postmaster General. In matters of this kind they should never abandon hope. The question before the Committee was a very serious one. When they looked at this clause, the eye caught the figure of £25, and they imagined it was a question of £25; but, on looking a little further into the matter, they saw that the subject was insurance, and that the £25 might amount to hundreds of thousands of pounds a-year, and it became apparent that the undertaking was a large one. It was a very serious matter; but what was most serious was the question of principle. The proposal now made was an encouragement to people of all classes to endeavour to cheat the Government; and they knew that there were a great many people who would willingly cheat the Government, who would not cheat anyone else. Some ladies thought nothing of cheating the Revenue by smuggling lace into the country; and many people, without the slightest qualm, would bring through a few cigars without paying the duty. They must take people as they were. The honest man paid the Government all he owed, and paid his neighbour all he owed; but that was not the general sentiment. Amongst the lower classes especially, it was considered a clever thing to cheat the Government. He (Mr. Warton) gave the Postmaster General credit for good intentions; but he must say he thought his proposal most unjust. How did Insurance Companies live? Why, they had tables prepared as to the average risks in ordinary lives, and they insured people by those tables, and they got the pull by cutting out the unhealthy lives. They got their profit by taking wholly healthy lives on calculations based upon all lives in general. How could the Government do as they proposed, seeing that if they did they would be cheating the healthy lives? He saw no provision in the Bill relating to option, and he protested against proceeding on the assurance of what was to be done.

An hon. Member said, the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) did not seem to be aware that the whole subject had been before a Select Committee, and that they made no recommendation on this point, because there was ample evidence that the Post Office could protect itself.

Mr. WARTON said, that the Post Office could only protect itself by aiding honest people. His wish was to see the morality of the people protected.

Question put, and *negatived.*

On the Motion of Mr. Fawcett, the following Amendments made:—In page 3, line 42, after "Act," insert—

"Or otherwise for regulating the mode of payment of such annuities or insurances, or of any annuities granted under any Acts repealed by 'The Government Annuities Act, 1853,' and for regulating the receipts to be given for the same;"

Page 4, line 3, at end, insert as a separate paragraph—

"(e.) For enabling a person to whom an insurance is granted to nominate a person to whom the money due under such insurance, not exceeding fifty pounds, is to be paid on the death of such person, and for the discharge to be given for such money; and."

Line 5, after "for," insert—

"The making of contracts, the making of payments to obtain Savings Bank Annuities and Insurances out of the deposits in a Savings Bank."

Line 6, after "behalf and," insert "the contracts and payments so made;" and, in line 13, at end of Clause, insert—

"Regulations may be made, in pursuance of the said section sixteen of 'The Government Annuities Act, 1864,' as amended by this Act, by the National Debt Commissioners, with the approval of the Treasury, so far as regards any annuities and insurances granted by such Commissioners either directly or through any parochial or other securities."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 7 (Application of Saving Banks Acts).

On the Motion of Mr. Fawcett, the following Amendments made:—In page 4, line 24, leave out "obtaining," and insert "the immediate purchase of;" and, in line 34, leave out from "and," to "unlawful," in line 37, and insert—

"And it shall be lawful to credit the account of a depositor with any such deposit or sum: Provided, That if, after such deposit or sum has been credited, the aggregate sum standing to the credit of a depositor exceeds the maximum amount which otherwise is allowed to be deposited in a savings bank, either in any one savings bank year or in the aggregate, such excess shall bear no interest, but shall be forthwith applied to the purpose for which it was deposited, or paid over to the depositor."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 8 (Trust and joint account).

On the Motion of Mr. Fawcett, the following Amendments made:—In page 4, line 42, after "insurance," insert—

"(Except such trusts as are from time to time recognised by law in relation to deposits in savings banks, and except such trusts as are provided for by section ten of 'The Married Women's Property Act, 1870,' or any enactment now or hereafter to be passed relating to the property of married women);"

Page 5, line 2, after "receivable by," insert "the National Debt Commissioners or;" line 14, before "as," insert "persons;" and, in line 17, leave out "the," and insert "any."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 9 (Insane or incapacitated grantee); Clause 10 (Amendment of 27 & 28 Vic. c. 43, ss. 8 & 11, as to surrender of policy or assignment of policy after payment of five years premium); Clause 11 (Forfeiture by person holding annuity or insurance exceeding the maximum or making false declaration); and Clause 12 (Penalty for receiving annuity or insurance in fraud of the Commissioners) severally *agreed to.*

Clause 13 (Application and investment of sums paid for savings bank annuities or insurances), *postponed.*

Clause 14 (Definitions) *agreed to.*

Clause 15 (Repeal of Acts and savings).

On the Motion of Mr. Fawcett, the following Amendments made:—In page 8, line 25, insert as a new paragraph—

"The regulations in force under any enactment repealed by this Act shall continue in force until revoked or superseded by regulations made in pursuance of section sixteen of 'The Government Investments Act, 1864,' as amended by this Act."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

On the Motion of Mr. Fawcett, the following New Clause *agreed to,* and *added* to the Bill, after Clause 15:—

(Extension of Acts to Channel Islands and Isle of Man.)

"'The Government Annuities, 1853,' 'The Government Annuities, 1864,' and this Act shall extend to the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man, and the Royal Courts of the Channel Islands shall register the same accordingly."

Preamble.

On the Motion of Mr. Fawcett, the following Amendment made:—In page

1, line 7, leave out "when granted through the medium of savings banks."

Preamble, as amended, *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

MERCHANT SHIPPING (MERCANTILE MARINE FUND) [PAYMENTS TO FUND, &c.].

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

MR. WHITLEY said, there was one point in connection with this subject that he wished to call attention to, and he took that opportunity of doing so because the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, a few nights ago, had unintentionally led him astray by saying that the Bill connected with this subject provided for appeal from decisions in the case of casualties at sea, which appeal, at present, did not exist. The only appeal was in the case of masters, whose certificates had been cancelled; there was no appeal for the owners of ships. Now, his hon. Friend, as he (Mr. Whitley) had before remarked, had certainly stated that that would be provided for in the Bill; but, on examining it, he found it contained no such provision. Then he had to ask the attention of the House and Her Majesty's Government to the fact that the Bill proposed to charge the Mercantile Marine Fund with the costs of surveys in connection with the Boiler Explosions Act of this Session. But he wished to point out that that Act had no connection whatever with the Mercantile Marine Fund, which was made up chiefly from the subscriptions of sailors. It certainly, at first sight, seemed a strange thing to charge the Fund with the surveys of steam boilers, because, in the Explosions Act referred to, explosions of boilers at sea were expressly excluded; and, therefore, it seemed to him unintelligible to say that the Mercantile Marine Fund should be charged with the expenses of surveys in connection with the Boiler Explosions Act recently passed. He thought, therefore, that some good reason should be given why accidents connected with the explosions of boilers on land were charged to the Mercantile Marine Fund. The proposition that £75,000, at present collectable from sailors, should not be charged hereafter, would be very gratifying and a great advantage to the mercantile community. There was no doubt these charges were a very serious tax on seamen; but when he looked at the Bill he found that this remission was not carried out by it; because it was left for the Board of Trade to decide. He thought that was not quite fair, and that in the Memorandum explaining that this £75,000 would be remitted, it ought to be distinctly stated that the Mercantile Marine Fund should be absolved from paying this amount of money every year. According to the Bill, it would be in the power of the Board of Trade, if they thought fit, to remit these fees, and he was aware that the objects of the Bill had been arranged between the Treasury and the Board of Trade; but he thought it unfair at the end of a Session to introduce a Bill which, on the face of it, by this Memorandum, purported to relieve the shipping community of £75,000 a-year, but then provided that the Board of Trade might refuse to remit the fees. He should like to have a definite expression of opinion upon this, and a distinct assurance that, if the Bill passed, the £75,000 a-year, now levied on seamen, should really be remitted. If he could get that assurance from the President of the Board of Trade, or any other Member of the Government, he should be relieved of much of his difficulty with regard to the Bill.

MR. J. HOLMS said, it was intended that the £75,000 should be remitted; but he thought it was rather late to enter upon a discussion of the Bill at that hour of the night. It was only proposed, when the Bill came on, that the Speaker should leave the Chair, and Progress be reported.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

MATTER *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of an annual sum of £40,000 to the Mercantile Marine Fund; and of authorising the repayment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of charges paid out of rates in respect of costs incurred in prosecutions for offences committed at sea, and of expenses connected therewith, which may become payable under the provisions of any Act of the present Session to amend the Law with respect to the charges on and payments to the Mercantile Marine Fund, and to expenses of prosecutions for offences committed at sea.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow.*

ALLOTMENTS (*re-committed*) BILL.

(*Mr. Jesse Collings, Mr. Burt, Mr. Brand, Mr. Bryce.*)

[BILL 227.] COMMITTEE.

[*Progress 3rd August.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 5 (Power to let lands inconveniently situated).

On the Motion of Mr. HIBBERT, the following Amendment made:—In page 2, line 32, leave out "the," and insert "any."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (Saving old rights).

On the Motion of Mr. HIBBERT, the following Amendments made:—In page 2, line 37, after "nor," insert "section twelve of;" line 40, leave out from "operation," to "but," in line 42; page 3, line 4, leave out "such," and insert "the;" line 4, leave out "a poor person," and insert "poor persons;" line 9, after "if," insert "they had been legally settled in the parish and;" and in line 9, after "and," insert "section twelve of."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 7 (Preference to cottagers living in parishes where the lands are situate).

On the Motion of Mr. HIBBERT, the following Amendment made:—In page 3, line 14, leave out "cottagers and labourers," and insert "poor."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 8 (Where lands are held partly for the benefit of the poor) *agreed to.*

Clause 9 (Charity Commissioners to settle rules in certain cases).

On the Motion of Mr. HIBBERT, the following Amendments made:—In page 3, line 27, leave out from beginning of Clause to "as," in line 34, and insert—

"The trustees or the majority of them may from time to time make and, when made, revoke and vary such rules;"

Line 35, leave out "such;" line 35, after "allotments," insert "under this Act;" line 36, leave out from "for" to "preventing," in line 39; line 41, leave out "and regulations;" page 4, line 1, leave out "and regulations when so settled and approved," and insert "as are for the time being in force under this section;" and in line 2, at end of Clause, add—

"Provided that—

(a.) A copy of all rules made under this section shall be sent to the Charity Commissioners as soon as may be after they are made, and the Charity Commissioners may, if they think fit, by order disallow any rules made under this section, and upon such disallowance the same shall be void;

(b.) Such public notice as is provided by the Schedule to this Act shall be given of all rules in force under this section, and a copy thereof shall be at all times given gratis to any cottager or labourer demanding the same;

(c.) Any four cottagers or labourers, or any of the trustees, if aggrieved by any such rules, whether in respect of anything contained therein, or of any omission therefrom, or if aggrieved by the want of any rules, may complain to the Charity Commissioners, and the Charity Commissioners, if they think such complaint is well grounded, may make such order as appears to them necessary to remedy the complaint. Any such order may rescind or alter any such rules, and may make any rules for the purposes of this section, and such rules shall be duly observed by all persons and corporations whatsoever."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 10 (In case of neglect of trustees to publish notice).

On the Motion of Mr. HIBBERT, the following Amendments made:—In page 4, line 4, leave out "appropriation," and insert "setting apart;" line 7, leave out "a portion," and insert, "any allotment out;" line 12, leave out from "shall," to the end of the Clause, and insert—

"Cause a complaint of such omission, neglect, or refusal to be, without charge to the applicant, sent to the Charity Commissioners, who shall inquire into the complaint, and the said Commissioners if satisfied that such omission, neglect, or refusal exists, and requires to be remedied, may send a certificate to that effect to the county court judge, who shall issue his order for remedying in manner specified in the certificate, such omission, neglect, or refusal, and such order may be enforced in like manner as an order made by such judge in the exercise of the jurisdiction conferred on the court by 'The

Charitable Trusts Act, 1853,' and the Acts amending the same."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 11 (Certificate of Charity Commissioners sufficient defence for trustees).

On the Motion of Mr. HIBBERT, the following Amendments made:—In page 4, line 21, leave out from "not," to "or," in line 22, and insert "giving such public notice or proceeding for such setting apart of land as is required by this Act;" and in line 24, leave out from "any," to the end of the Clause, and insert—

> "Complaint of any omission, neglect, or refusal on the part of the trustee to give public notice or proceed for the setting apart of land or otherwise comply with the provisions of this Act, or to any action or suit in respect of such omission, neglect, or refusal."

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

MR. WARTON moved to report Progress, on the ground that the Committee were going too fast.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Warton,*)—put, and *negatived.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause 12 (Arrears of rent, and in case of refusal of tenant to quit).

On the Motion of Mr. HIBBERT, the following Amendments made:—In page 4, line 29, leave out "arrears of;" line 34, after "same," insert—

> "And sections one hundred and ten, and one hundred and eleven of 'The Inclosure Act, 1845,' shall apply as if they were herein enacted, and;"

line 35, after "of," insert "local;" and in line 35, leave out "Acts," and insert "sections."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

MR. HIBBERT moved the insertion of the following Clause after Clause 12:—

(Letting of allotments.)

> "With respect to the letting of allotments in any field or portion of land set apart for the purposes of this Act, the following provisions shall have effect:—
>
> (1.) Public notice of the intention to let the same shall be given in manner directed in the Schedule to this Act;
>
> (2.) Every allotment shall be let free of all charges (that is to say): tithe, tithe rentcharge, rates, taxes, and outgoings whatsoever, and shall be let at such rent as land of the same quality is usually let for in the same parish, with such addition as is necessary to satisfy the said charges, and, in this section, the expression 'outgoings,' includes the expense of getting possession, and allotting, dividing, and fencing the field or portion of land set apart and collecting the rents, and any sum payable for such draining of the allotments and means of approach to the allotments as may be necessary;
>
> (3.) The trustees shall, for the purposes of all rates, taxes, tithes, and tithe rentcharge be deemed to be the occupiers of the allotments;
>
> (4.) One person shall not hold any allotment or allotments exceeding one acre;
>
> (5.) No building whatever shall be erected for or used as a dwelling or workshop on any part of any allotment, and if any building is so erected or used, the trustees shall forthwith pull down the same and sell and dispose of the materials thereof, and the proceeds of the sale shall be applicable in like manner as the rent of the allotment;
>
> (6.) If at any time the trustees are unable to let any allotment or any portion thereof, they may let the same or such portion thereof as may be unlet, to any person whatever at the best annual rent which can be obtained for the same, without any premium or fine, and on such terms as may enable them to resume possession thereof within a period not exceeding twelve months if it should at any time be required to be let for allotments; but such letting shall not be deemed to exonerate the trustees from giving public notice under the foregoing provisions of this section."

Motion *agreed to;* Clause *inserted* accordingly.

MR. HIBBERT moved the insertion of the following Clause, to follow the preceding Clause:—

(Provision for allotments in scheme of Charity Commissioners.)

> "Where a scheme is made by the Charity Commissioners after the passing of this Act in relation to any charity, and part of the endowment of such charity consists of land other than buildings and the appurtenances of buildings, the Charity Commissioners shall insert in such scheme a provision authorising the trustees of the charity to set apart portions of the said lands for allotments, and the same may be set apart and let as allotments in like manner as is directed by this Act."

Motion *agreed to;* Clause *inserted* accordingly.

MR. HIBBERT moved the following Schedule:—

Schedule.

(Regulations as to public Notices and Lettings.)

"1. Public notice, for the purposes of this Act, shall be given by fixing the notice on the doors of the church of the parish in which the land referred to in the notice is situate, and if there is no church, then on some public building or conspicuous place therein.

"2. Public notice of the setting apart under this Act of a field or portion of land shall be given in the month of February, or such other month as the trustees may fix, and the first notice shall be given in the said month next after the passing of this Act, and if not so given shall be given as soon as may be afterwards, at such time as may be fixed by the trustees, or in case of their default, by the county court judge for the district in which the land is situate, or by the Charity Commissioners.

(Letting.)

"3. The public notice of the intention to let an allotment out of land when set apart, shall specify the amount of land to be let, and the rent per acre or rod to be paid, and the place and time at which applications are to be made, and shall be given annually in the month of June, or in such other month as may be fixed by, or in pursuance of, rules under this Act: Provided, That, in any year in which there will be no allotment vacant out of land already set apart, it shall not be necessary to give such notice.

"4. The first public notice of the intention to let an allotment shall be given in the month of June next after the trustees obtain possession of the allotment, or at such other time not more than one month later, as may be fixed by or in pursuance of rules under this Act; and, if not so given, shall be given at such time as may be fixed by the county court judge for the district in which the land is situate, or by the Charity Commissioners.

"5. The time for applications for allotments out of land when already set apart shall be the month of August, or such other month as may be fixed by or in pursuance of rules under this Act.

"6. The allotments shall be let to persons in the order in which they apply, or in accordance with such other order as may be provided by rules under this Act, so that there shall be no undue preference shown as regards the persons to whom they are let.

"7. Each allotment shall be let on a yearly tenancy beginning at Michaelmas Day, or at such other day as may be fixed by or in pursuance of rules under this Act."

Motion *agreed to.*

House *resumed.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND) BILL [*Lords*].—[BILL 258.]

(*Mr. Attorney General for Ireland.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) moved the following Clause:—

(Prohibition in anticipation of income.)

"It shall not be lawful for the Board to anticipate in one year the income of any future year; but this enactment shall not prevent the hiring of any office, the assignment of salary of any officer, the grant of exhibitions, or any other like act in one year which involves a periodical payment not only in the said year, but in future years."

Motion *agreed to*; Clause *inserted* accordingly.

House *resumed.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

CRUELTY TO ANIMALS BILL.

(*Mr. Anderson, Mr. Samuel Morley, Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. Passmore Edwards, Mr. Buchanan.*)

[BILL 206.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. WARTON said, that he understood the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had said that no Bills but Government Bills would be taken at the Saturday Sitting.

MR. COURTNEY said, he was afraid the Government could not allow the second reading of this Bill to be taken to-morrow.

MR. ANDERSON protested against the Government pledging the House not to take certain Business on any particular day. It had never been the practice to prevent a private Member putting down his Bill for any day on which the House sat. It was quite an innovation on the part of the Government to say—"We won't allow a Bill to be put down on any particular day." It was a mean and selfish thing on the part of the Government to say—"We will put down our Bills for this day, but won't allow private Members to do so." He would remind the Government that three weeks ago, when they attempted to control the House in this way, the House declined to be controlled, and the Government got a well-deserved defeat. This was an innovation which the House ought not to tolerate, and, he hoped, would not tolerate. It was undoubtedly in the discretion of the House itself whether a Bill should be put down on any particular day. He wished to point out that the Bill now in question was in a peculiar position on account of blocks. One of the hon. Members who had blocked the Bill had gone off to Ireland to amuse himself; and the consequence was that an hon. Member, who was no longer present taking any part in the proceedings of the House, but was 500 miles away, still continued to dominate the proceedings, just as if he were present. That was a most improper state of things. It was an abuse of the Half-past 12 o'clock Rule, and one which the House ought not to permit at all. He hoped the Government would not, at any rate, raise any objection to the Bill being put down for to-morrow. If, when the Order was called to-morrow, the Government or the House did not choose to go on with it, the responsibility was theirs, and he could not complain. He did most distinctly protest against the Government preventing him putting the Bill down for to-morrow.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow."—(*Mr. Anderson.*)

MR. WARTON moved that the Bill be put down for second reading on Monday.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "To-morrow," in order to insert the words "upon Monday next," —(*Mr. Warton,*)—instead thereof.

Question put, "That the word 'To-morrow' stand part of the Question."

The House *divided*:—Ayes 20; Noes 27: Majority 7.—(Div. List, No. 315.)

Words *inserted.*

Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to.*

Bill to be read a second time upon *Monday* next.

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS [ADVANCES, &C.]

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) *Resolved,* That it is expedient to authorise advances, out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, or out of moneys in the hands of the National Debt Commissioners, held on account of Savings Banks, of any sum or sums of money not exceeding £3,000,000, in the whole, to enable the Public Works Loan Commissioners, and not exceeding £1,200,000, in the whole, to enable the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, to make advances in promotion of Public Works.

(2.) *Resolved,* That it is expedient to authorise further advances, out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, of any sum or sums of money, not exceeding £4,000,000, in the whole, to enable the Land Commission in Ireland to make advances, or for the purchase of estates, in pursuance of "The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881."

(3.) *Resolved,* That the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt be authorised to advance, with the consent of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, to the Irish Land Commissioners the sum of £2,600,000, for the purposes of any Act of the present Session to make provision respecting certain arrears of rent in Ireland; and that it is expedient to authorise the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to guarantee the repayment to the said Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt of any moneys so advanced.

(4.) *Resolved,* That it is expedient to empower the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to postpone, on such conditions as may be agreed upon, the payment of Annuities due to the Public Works Loan Commissioners by the Pulteney Harbour Trustees in respect of a loan made by the said Commissioners for the Pulteney Town Harbour in Wick Bay.

(5.) *Resolved,* That it is expedient to amend "The Public Works Loans Act, 1875," "The Public Works Loans (Ireland) Act, 1877," and "The General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861."

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

REVENUE, FRIENDLY SOCIETIES, AND NATIONAL DEBT [STAMP DUTY, PAYMENTS, AND ADVANCES].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) *Resolved,* That it is expedient to authorise the imposition of a Stamp Duty on any grants or contract for payment of a Superannuation Annuity of the following amount:—

For every full sum of £5, and also for every fraction less than £5, or over and above £5, or a multiple of £5 of the annuity . . . . . . 6*d.*

(2.) *Resolved,* That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of compensation to certain officers for loss of fees, and the payment, by the creation of Terminable Annuities charged on the Consolidated Fund, of any deficiency in the sums due from the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt to Friendly Societies.

(3.) *Resolved,* That it is expedient to authorise the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt to advance, out of moneys in their hands on account of Savings Banks, any capital sum to be paid to the Treasury in pursuance of "The Prison (Officers Superannuation) Act, 1878," and to authorise the repayment to the National Debt Commissioners of such advances, either by Terminable Annuities to be paid out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, or immediately out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

(4.) *Resolved,* That it is expedient to authorise the National Debt Commissioners to lend, out of moneys in their hands on account of Trustee and Post Office Savings Banks, sums payable by the Treasury to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England, and the repayment of such loans by the creation of Terminable Annuities charged upon the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

(5.) *Resolved,* That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of the Consolidated Fund to the Duchy of Lancaster, of a sum of £15,000, in respect of escheats, fines, and recognisances within certain liberties of the Duchy of Lancaster, which sum may become payable under the provisions of any Act of the present Session for amending the Laws relating to Revenue, Friendly Societies, and National Debt.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

MOTIONS.

EXPIRING LAWS CONTINUANCE BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HERBERT GLADSTONE, Bill to continue various Expiring Laws, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HERBERT GLADSTONE and Mr. COURTNEY.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 266.]

CORRUPT PRACTICES (SUSPENSION OF ELECTIONS) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL, Bill to suspend for a limited period, on account of Corrupt Practices, the holding of an Election of a Member or Members to serve in Parliament for certain Cities and Boroughs, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL and Secretary Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 265.]

House adjourned at Three o'clock till To-morrow.

* * *

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Saturday, 5th August, 1882.

The House met at Twelve of the clock.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—*Resolutions* [August 4] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILLS — *Resolution in Committee*—Government Annuities and Insurance [Annuities, &c.]*.

Resolution [August 4] *reported—Ordered—First Reading*—Public Works Loans* [269].

Ordered — First Reading — Prison Charities* [270].

Second Reading—Corrupt Practices (Suspension of Elections) [265]; Pensions Commutation [252]; Supreme Court of Judicature (Ireland)* [250]; Royal Irish Constabulary [264].

Select Committee—Union Officers' Superannuation (Ireland) [75], *nominated.*

Committee—Report—Entail (Scotland) [248]; Lunacy Regulation Amendment [230].

Committee—Report—Third Reading—Isle of Man (Officers)* [238], and *passed.*

Committee — Report — Considered as amended — Third Reading — Turnpike Roads (South Wales) [101], and *passed.*

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

TURNPIKE ROADS (SOUTH WALES) BILL.—[BILL 101.]

(*Mr. Dodson, Mr. Hibbert.*)

THIRD READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [1st May], "That the Bill be now read the third time."

And which Amendment was, to leave out the words "now read the third time," and add the word "re-committed," instead thereof.—(*Sir Henry Hussey Vivian.*)

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Debate *resumed.*

Question put, and *negatived.*

Word *added.*

Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee, and *reported;* as amended, *considered;* read the third time, and *passed.*

ENTAIL (SCOTLAND) BILL [*Lords.*]—[BILL 248.]

(*The Lord Advocate.*)

COMMITTEE. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [2nd August], "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, this was a small outcome of the large promises made by the Liberal Party and Her Majesty's Government with reference to Land Law Reform in Great Britain. But no one could have sat many hours in this Parliament without having a very lively sense of the hindrances which Her Majesty's Government had encountered in their efforts; and he would be the last to say that there had been any neglect on the part of the Government in this matter of Land Law Reform. He could not, however, but call attention, in presence of this very tiny measure, to what really was the promise of the Prime Minister in Scotland with reference to the Law of Entail and Settlement. The Prime Minister said—

> "Not only to liberate agriculture, gentlemen, but upon other, I will say upon what I think still higher grounds, I am for doing away with this Law of Settlement and Entail."

Well, he (Mr. Arnold) was himself heartily for doing away with the Law of Entail and Settlement; and he should not be either impartial or just if, after having made some slight effort against the Settled Land Bill, he did not say a word in reference to a measure which was of precisely similar and equally limited scope. The great and obvious disadvantage of the results of the present Session, in which the mainspring of public opinion was turned away from great questions of reform, was, that inasmuch as the Prime Minister and his Colleagues were unable to apply the mainspring of public opinion in this direction, the result was that a comparatively trumpery measure of this sort was brought forward, which did something, he admitted, to attenuate the practice of entail, but which, so far from abolishing entail, he believed, tended to confirm and extend its evils. Now, he would mention three figures which he thought it extremely important for the people of Scotland and the people of Great Britain to bear in mind. He asserted, without fear of contradiction, that in Scotland there were 12 persons who owned 4,500,000 of the acreage of the soil of that country; 53 Peers in Scotland, all of them possibly, and some of them actually, Members of the Upper House of Parliament, who owned two-fifths of the whole area of Scotland; and 330 persons in Scotland who held and owned two-thirds of the whole extent of that country. Most of that land, if not the entire of it, was held under the bondage of entail and settlement. He hoped the Scotch people would be moved continually to rebel against that bondage. He hoped they would in no measure or way be content with this trifling measure of reform which the Government had offered to them. With all his heart he desired that they should press forward against the continuance of an evil which this Bill did something to palliate, but which he hoped would, at no distant time, be completely eradicated from the land system of the country.

Mr. ARTHUR ELLIOT, while agreeing with his hon. Friend that this was a small Bill, thought Scotch Members must be very grateful to the noble Earl in the other House (the Earl of Rosebery), and those who had charge of the Bill in this House, that they had brought it forward, because, so far as it went, it was a satisfactory measure. But he should like to point out that there were one or two things in the Bill, nevertheless, which he would desire to see amended. The Bill proceeded on the principle that great complications had occurred, great limitations existed to the right of an owner in possession in dealing with his land, and it endeavoured to loosen the restrictions by which these owners were bound. So far good. But it provided most elaborate means by which owners might escape from those trammels. Now, that was perfectly right in respect of the difficulties which had been created by past deeds; but, for his part, he thought it far better and simpler for the future to prevent all those elaborate knots and difficult entanglements rather than simply to facilitate escape from such knots as had been previously tied. All these applications to the Court enabled an owner to get greater freedom in dealing with his land by means of an application to the Court. He required to apply to the Court. Almost nothing could be done without it. That was very well as regarded the past, and quite right and proper, because vested rights and expectations had accrued, and it was impossible to do justice to all the parties without an application to the Court to arrange the different interests. But as regarded the future, that was not so; and he ventured to say it would have been far simpler to designate on the face of the Bill what might be done, so as to constitute a fair disentail, and thus enable the parties to deal with the matter for themselves without an application to the Court. As regarded the great measure which had passed through the other

House this Session, the powers given to a life tenant under that Act—Lord Cairns' Act—might, to a very great extent, be exercised without any application to the Court at all, and he very much preferred that system of dealing with land. There were one or two other points which he would deal with in Committee, his object being to make the operation of the Bill more thorough, and to prevent its being evaded.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Short title) *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Definitions).

MR. ARTHUR ELLIOT moved, in page 1, line 12, after "Act," insert—

> "The expression 'heir of entail in possession' shall include any person in lawful possession of any land or estate, either directly or through trustees for his behoof, by virtue of any deed of trust intended to regulate the succession of such person, or to limit, restrict, or abridge his possession of such land or estate in favour of any future heir, so that such person is in substance, though not in name, the heir in possession of an entailed estate."

The object of the Amendment was simply to prevent the Act from being evaded by the creation of deeds of trust. He was informed that a very considerable number of estates in Scotland were settled by means of deeds of trust; and it was in order that an estate so settled, where the owner under such an instrument was, in fact and substance, nothing more nor less than heir in tail, should not escape the operation of the Act. He was afraid that an Amendment dealing with Scotch law could not be rendered easily intelligible; but in this instance he had taken his form of expression in defining "heir of entail in possession" from Section 19 of the Bill as introduced into "another place" by the Earl of Rosebery. In the marginal note the clause was described in this way—"Act to be made to apply to all entails and not to be evaded by trusts;" but for some reason or other that clause had disappeared from the Bill. His object now was the same which the Bill had when originally introduced, and he desired to reinstate the substance of that clause by altering and widening the definition of the expression "heir of entail in possession." The words—

> "So that such person is in substance, though not in name, the heir in possession of an entailed estate,"

might seem somewhat vague; but he had the authority of those who drew up the original Bill for making use of them. He had taken the definition verbatim from the Bill as introduced in the other House, and he trusted that the Lord Advocate would see his way to accept the Amendment. His only object was to make the Bill more effective and far-reaching, and to provide that it should not be evaded by the creation of deeds of trust.

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, he should have been exceedingly glad if the Government could have felt that it was within their power to accept this Amendment; and the best evidence of their desire in that direction was that in the Bill, as originally framed, they had introduced Clause 19, to which his hon. and learned Friend had referred. They had been very desirous, in framing the Bill, that not only those instruments which were technically entails should be struck at, but also instruments in any other form under which the evils might arise which they sought to make impossible in the case of strict entails. But it was pointed out in the course of the consideration of Clause 19 that it was somewhat vague—in fact, too vague to form a useful guide to the conveyancing profession. It was felt that it would put upon the Court in each particular case to say whether a particular instrument was or was not in substance, though not in form, an entail, and whether the rights of the heir were in substance, though not in form, the rights of an heir of entail. Now, he apprehended that in any Conveyancing Act it was essential there should be distinct definitions and clear directions given to those concerned in the preparation of the instruments with which the Act dealt. As the result of very careful consideration, and with every desire to keep the clause in the Bill, the Government felt they could not support it by such arguments as would be likely to commend themselves in either House of Parliament, or make the clause of real and practical value. On that ground it had been omitted, and—if he might venture to say so—he thought the dangers which would have attended the original clause would present themselves in an aggravated form under the Amendment which his hon. and learned Friend proposed, and for this reason—by Clause 19, the Government had intended to strike at evasions. What his hon. and learned Friend proposed was to make all persons holding under instruments of the kind described heirs of entail for the purposes of this Act. Now, that would not prevent the making of such instruments, but it would clothe the persons holding under them with rights and qualities appertaining to those who held under different instruments altogether—namely, strict entails. He had no desire to enter into technicalities; but he hoped his hon. and learned Friend would fully appreciate the remark when he said that each successive heir of entail was a full proprietor—a "fiar," as he was called in Scotland—a limited "fiar," no doubt, but still he was a "fiar"—partly by the Common Law and partly by the Statute Law, with many rights and qualities pertaining to that position. It would, therefore, be quite inappropriate to apply the rules of entail law to persons holding estates under trust deeds. Under the Scotch Trusts Acts , again, there were various powers which would enable sales to be effected, and other deeds to be done which did not apply to entails, but which would apply to the class of cases which this Amendment was intended to meet. While fully appreciating and sympathizing with the object of his hon. and learned Friend, the Government could not safely accept the Amendment.

Mr. ARTHUR ELLIOT said, he wished to impress upon his right hon. and learned Friend and the Committee that it was important to frame a clause so that the heir of entail in possession, in substance, though not in name, under a trust deed, should not escape from the operations of the Bill, but be freed from the trammels of those trusts. He dare say it was quite true, as his right hon. and learned Friend had said, that the clause, as originally drawn, was open to the objections which had been urged against it, and that it might be made to apply to cases to which it was not intended to apply. His object in desiring to reinstate the clause as it appeared in the Bill originally introduced in the other House, was to bring a person who was in substance, by virtue of a trust deed, the future heir under the operation of the Bill. He wished to secure that the powers exercised under a trust deed should be the same as the powers under ordinary deeds of entail. Of course, after the statement of the Lord Advocate, he would withdraw the Amendment; but he hoped that his right hon. and learned Friend would be able to deal with the question on the Report. He wished to impress upon the Committee that the matter was not merely one of mere technicality, but one of substantial importance, and it was most desirable that persons who held under deeds of trust should not escape from the provisions of the Bill.

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) would point out to his hon. and learned Friend that no person who was a mere beneficiary under a trust deed could well be in substance an heir of entail, because the attributes of the two positions were so entirely different. Power was given in the Bill to every heir of entail to sell the estate and convert the land into money. He was rather afraid, after careful consideration, that any provision dealing further with trusts than was proposed in the Bill would require to be reserved for a separate measure applicable to trusts. There were other forms of deeds than those of trust which, if found to be used for the purpose of defeating the main objects of the Bill, might be dealt with on a subsequent occasion ; but his hon. and learned Friend might take it from him that, had they found these difficulties could have been overcome in the Bill, they would have endeavoured to provide for them in it.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Heirs under new entails may disentail with the same consents as heirs under old entails).

Mr. ARTHUR ELLIOT wished to know whether the effect of this clause, taken in connection with Clause 10, if the Bill passed, would be to make the value of the expectancy under disentail payable to the heir apparent only, as would appear to be the case by the Rutherford Act, or to make the value of the expectancy payable to the subsequent heirs? Clause 3 applied to a case where the heir of entail in possession of an estate held under an entail desired to disentail the estate and acquire it in fee-simple. By the Entail Amendment Act of 1848, the consents of the three next heirs were requisite, and he desired to know if the effect of this clause, taken in connection with Clause 10, which enabled the expectancy of the nearest heir to be valued and dispensed with, was to require that the expectancy of the three next heirs should be ascertained and compensated? Was Clause 10 to be read in connection with the Rutherford Act, and, if so, would not the effect be that the heir in possession would be able to disentail the estate on paying the heir apparent only the value of his expectancy?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) said, he might explain that all the provisions and powers of the Rutherford Act would remain in force unless in so far as expressly altered by this Bill. It was not the purpose of this Bill in any degree to augment or diminish the number of persons who had an interest, which the law recognized, to compensation. In some cases there was only one person who had a right recognized by law, in some two, and in others three. But whatever person had a right to compensation at present would require to be compensated under this Bill. Its object was not to affect any beneficial right now existing, but simply to dispense with the necessity of the consents of persons holding such rights and to provide compensation for them. The Act of 1875 allowed the consents of second and third heirs, where there were such, to be dispensed with on payment of their value. The only step taken by Section 10 of the present Bill was to extend the same provisions to the case of the next heir.

Mr. ARTHUR ELLIOT said, the Act of 1848 provided that the consents of the three next heirs should be obtained before the estate could be disentailed, whereas the 10th section of the present Bill specified the heir apparent only. What he wished to know was whether the Bill enabled the heir in possession to disentail on paying the expectancy of the next heir, or whether it would be necessary that he should also pay the value of the expectancy of the subsequent heirs?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for SCOTLAND (Mr. Asher) thought his hon. and learned Friend was under a misapprehension. The clause simply enabled the heir of an entailed estate held under an entail dated on or after the 1st of August, 1848, to disentail the estate. In such a case, where the heir was born after that date, the consent of the heir apparent only was required, and, of course, he would receive the full value of his expectancy as compensation. But if the heir was born before that date, then the entail could not be barred except with the consent of all of those who were entitled to be compensated under the Act of 1848.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Heirs under new entails may sell, lease, feu, and charge on the same conditions as heirs under old entails) *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Applications for authority to charge for improvements and grant leases may be made in the Sheriff Court) *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (Provisions for applications for authority to borrow, charge, lease, and feu).

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) moved, in page 2, line 40, after Sub-section (3), to insert the following sub-section:—

"When at least one-fourth part of a capital sum borrowed for improvements on an entailed estate upon the security of a terminable rent charge, in manner provided by the Entail Acts, shall have been defrayed by the heir in possession, it shall be lawful for such heir, without the consent of the nearest heir being required, and whether the cost of such improvements shall have been charged prior or subsequent to the passing of 'The Entail Amendment Act, 1875,' to avail himself of the provisions of the said Act, for the substitution of a bond or disposition in security over the estate for the remainder of such capital sum."

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) moved to insert, in page 2, after Clause 6, the present Clause 20 (Improvements not charged to be deducted from valuation of estate disentailed).

Question, "That Clause 20 be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Clause 7 (Lease may be renewed three years before expiration).

Mr. ARTHUR ELLIOT remarked, that the hon. and gallant Member for Aberdeenshire (Sir Alexander Gordon) had given Notice of an Amendment in this clause; but, as the hon. and gallant Gentleman was not present, he (Mr. Elliot) should like to call attention to the clause. In the side-note to the clause the words were "three years," but in the body of the clause itself they were "two years." He merely wished to call attention to the discrepancy.

The CHAIRMAN pointed out that, as the hon. and gallant Member for Aberdeenshire was not present to move his Amendment, there was really no question before the Committee except the adoption of the clause as it stood.

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) said, that in the Bill as it was introduced into the other House, the words were "three years," and it appeared to the Government that three years was a reasonable period during which the heir of entail should have power to make a new arrangement. Objections were urged by certain Members of the other House to the clause altogether, and a sort of compromise was arrived at, by which two years were substituted. He did not think it was desirable to re-open the question.

Mr. ARTHUR ELLIOT said, that, upon the whole, he preferred two years to three. It was only the inaccuracy of the marginal note he desired to call attention to.

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) intimated that that would be remedied when the Bill was printed as an Act.

Dr. FARQUHARSON asked what was the precise meaning of the term "fair rent" in the clause?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) said, the explanation of the words "fair rent" was this—they simply meant such reasonable rent as could be got between two fair men bargaining in the market. One of the great evils which required to be provided for, in the old days, was against proprietors letting at inadequate rents and taking some consideration other than the rent. The clause was intended to provide that if the heir of entail desired to anticipate the period of letting, and made an arrangement with his tenant, he should do so at a fair rent. Then there was another matter that required to be dealt with. It was often provided in entails that leases should not be granted for what was called a diminished rent. He was sorry to say that, owing to the depressed condition of agriculture in Scotland, at present an heir of entail, who desired to make the very best bargain he could, was not always able to get a tenant at the old rent, and the clause would enable him to let at a fair, although it might be a diminished, rent; while, on the other hand, it would prevent letting at an unfair rent, and taking in return some other consideration from the tenant, personal to the heir of entail who granted the lease, and from which the subsequent heirs would derive no benefit, such as a "grassûm" or capital payment down at the commencement of the lease.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL wished to go back to the question of renewing the lease two years before its expiration. He did not think it could fairly be said that the provisions of the Bill met the views of the hon. and gallant Member for Aberdeenshire (Sir Alexander Gordon), because he believed the proposal of his hon. and gallant Friend was that, at least, two years' notice should be given to the tenant; and, therefore, under it the lease must be renewed two years before the expiry of the existing lease. In the case of this Bill, however, the heir of entail in possession was only entitled to renew the lease within two years—that was to say, two years or less than two years, which, as regarded the merits of the case, was not quite the same thing.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 8 (Applications may be made by guardians on behalf of minors and persons under disability) *agreed to.*

Clause 9 (Curator to be appointed to persons unable to consent) *agreed to.*

Clause 10 (Consent of nearest heir may be valued and dispensed with).

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) moved, at the end of the clause, to add—

> "If the heir apparent or other nearest heir whose consent is required as aforesaid shall have assigned his expectancy or interest, and the assignee shall have intimated the assignation to the heir in possession for the time being, at any time prior to the execution of the instru-

ment of disentail, such assignee shall be entitled to appear at any time prior to such execution, and to demand that the value in money of such expectancy or interest shall be ascertained, and shall be entitled to a preference upon such value according to the date of the intimation of his assignation, and such preference shall be given effect to in his favour when the value of such expectancy or interest is paid or secured."

Question, "That those words be there added," put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 11 (Consent of heir who has disappeared).

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) moved, in page 4, line 33, to leave out "Act," and insert "Acts."

Amendment *agreed to.*

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) moved, in page 4, line 39, after "dispense," insert "with."

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 12 (Procedure when heir in possession has disappeared) *agreed to.*

Clause 13 (Provision for disposal of fund deposited or invested after fourteen years) *agreed to.*

Clause 14 (Settlements by marriage contract not to be disappointed).

MR. ARTHUR ELLIOT moved the omission of the clause. He said he objected to the clause altogether. It appeared to him to be entirely inconsistent with the Memorandum which was printed at the beginning of the Bill. The last three lines of that Memorandum were—

> "The combined effect of these provisions will be to place it in the power of every proprietor of an entailed estate to disentail upon making full provision for the interests of other heirs in existence."

But when he came to read Clause 14, he found that the intended operation of the Bill was entirely limited to cases of what would be called in England marriage settlement. He should like to point out that, looking at the English case practically, such entail as existed in England was entirely by virtue of marriage settlement. It would appear that the object of this clause was to prevent the heir of entail in possession from dealing with his estate. And why? In order to give an interest to an unborn child—a child that might never be born; in fact, to a person not in existence at all, and a person who could have no interest in the estate until he was born. Until that child was born he would not be able to make his application, nor would he be able to obtain the requisite consent. There was no provision to dispense with the consent of the trustees under a marriage settlement, under certain circumstances. Therefore it came to this, that a contract of marriage by virtue of this clause would be an absolute bar to the carrying out of the intentions expressed in the last three lines of the Memorandum he had read. He hoped to see the time when limitations in regard to unborn children would be made absolutely bad. But, before that time came, he did not think it was too much to ask the Lord Advocate, on the part of the Government, to give full effect to these lines in the Memorandum affixed to the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be omitted."—(*Mr. Arthur Elliot.*)

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. ASHER) said, he was afraid the Government could not consent to the proposal of his hon. and learned Friend, that the clause should be omitted from the Bill. It certainly raised a very important question, because if the clause were struck out the result would be to nullify those highly onerous contracts—ante-nuptial marriage contracts—in certain cases. It would altogether render void most important covenants in marriage contracts. It was quite common for the heir in possession, or the heir apparent under an entail, when entering into a marriage contract, to stipulate that the issue of the marriage should succeed to the estate in their order, and that stipulation formed one of the covenants of that highly onerous marriage contract. Marriage was entered into on the faith of it, and whilst the law stood as at present, it was a stipulation that could not be defeated. The proposal of his hon. and learned Friend to omit the clause would have the effect of defeating that stipulation on the strength of which marriage was entered into. The clause, no doubt, had the effect of preventing lands which were the subject of this obligation from being set free from the fetters of entail for a time, but only for a time, Where an heir in possession or heir apparent had, under this marriage contract, undertaken an obligation that the estate should descend to the issue of the marriage, then it was quite true that the land, subject to that obligation, could not be disentailed until one of three things occurred—first, until there should be a child born of the marriage who, through the medium of his curator, could give consent to the entail being barred; secondly, until the marriage was dissolved without the existence of any issue interested in the obligation of the marriage contract securing the settlement of the estate; and, thirdly, unless the trustees of the contract consented to terms upon which they would discharge the obligation. It was very likely, he should think, that in most cases the obligations would be discharged under one or other of those methods; but if for a time the obligation should not have been discharged, the person who had solemnly undertaken an onerous contract would be bound by it. The broad ground on which the Government thought it impossible to accept the Amendment was because it would make the Bill have the effect of gratuitously defeating, and defeating without any substitute, the onerous obligation in the ante-nuptial marriage contract. What he had said was, of course, only applicable to marriage contracts which had been entered into prior to the date of this Act. There was a very marked distinction between marriage contracts entered into prior and subsequent to the date of the Act. A marriage contract after the date of the Act, if it were covenanted that the estate should descend to the issue of the marriage, would be subject to the risk of defeat by powers which would exist of barring the entail, and any person accepting a marriage contract with that obligation would take it subject to that inherent weakness. On the other hand, in the case of a marriage contract prior to the Act, a person accepting the contract would be in a different position; and, therefore, he would suggest that, while the Government could not allow the clause to be withdrawn, it should be qualified by inserting, after the word "contract," the words "entered into prior to the passing of this Act."

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, that all the observations of the hon. and learned Member in connection with this Bill had been of an identical character. He had always commenced his remarks by saying that as the measure was introduced into the other House, it had another form. He (Mr. Arnold) believed that when the Bill was introduced into the other House, this clause did not exist in it, but that it had been imported into it in that House. It was identical, he believed, with a clause in the Rutherford Act. In the concluding words of the Solicitor General for Scotland, the hon. and learned Member proposed what he (Mr. Arnold) should consider and accept as a radical change in the clause. The hon. and learned Member proposed that the clause should not have application to future settlements made after the passing of the Act. If the clause had stood in its entirety, and in the form to which he (Mr. Arnold) and his hon. Friend objected, he did not hesitate to say that the Bill would have been less than worthless. The pretence in the Memorandum would have been impossible, because it was impossible for the clause to place it in the power of a proprietor of entailed property to disentail. That would have been a false pretence; and he was sorry to say, furthermore, that when the Amendment of the Solicitor General for Scotland was accepted, it would still be a pretence without justification, inasmuch as the clause would not entirely carry out the promise of the Memorandum attached to the Bill. Still it was a very important concession, and would be a valuable improvement in the Bill. Provided it were proposed, he should certainly request his hon. Friend not to persevere with his Motion for the rejection of the clause.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he also thought that the clause as it stood would nullify the whole of the Bill, and make it worthless, and he was glad the Amendment was to be made, and that the clause was not to apply to future marriage settlements. He wished to know whether it would be governed by Clause 10, and that under it a proprietor would be able to disentail an estate as he would be able to disentail any other land, or was the law to be such that, whereas all other rights and expectancies might be set aside, the marriage contract would have the effect of an absolute entail? However desirous the heir might be to get rid of an entail, he might not be able to do so for 50 or 100 years, because there might be an heir with no children who might live for 50, 80, or 100 years. He would move, therefore, as an Amendment, that Clause 14 should be made subject to Clause 10.

The CHAIRMAN: I must point out that it is now too late, at this stage of the Bill, to make the alteration the hon. Baronet refers to.

Mr. ARTHUR ELLIOT said, he would withdraw his Motion; but he must say he should like the Government to go a little further. It was pointed out that it would be a breach of faith to the children if this provision was not carried out; but the clause would be mainly operative where there were no children at all. People might go on for 80 or 90 years without children, although in the view of the law they might have them whilst they were married and alive. He thought the Government should insert words in the clause which would enable childless people to deal with the estate as they saw fit.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for SCOTLAND (Mr. Asher) said, he hoped the hon. and learned Member would be satisfied that there was sufficient safeguard provided in the later portion of the clause to protect the interests referred to. He did not think it was reasonable to suppose where the prospect of issue had ceased, that the trustees would refuse consent. As he would not be in Order now in proposing to introduce into the clause the words he had suggested, he would bring them forward on Report.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he understood that no Amendment could be introduced at this stage; but he should like clearly to understand whether, as the clause would remain, it would not be possible for the heir in possession, under Clause 10, to sell the estate and put the money in the bank? If it was to be understood that this clause tied up, not only the value of the estate, but the actual estate itself, he should like to see some Amendment introduced on Report.

Mr. ARTHUR ELLIOT: I will withdraw my Amendment.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for SCOTLAND (Mr. Asher) said, the clause as it stood would not have the effect of preventing an estate being converted, but it would certainly prevent the interests of the issue being valued so as to set free the land and money from the fetters of entail. The case was distinct from that of entail, and the relation of the parties was quite different. In the case of entail the succeeding heirs were simply related to each other from the fact that they were in the relationship which this entail described as including succession to the land. But in the case to which Clause 14 referred, there had been a specific contract entered into between the parties with reference to the land, and it was a very different thing to make a statutory provision in the case of persons who were simply connected by relationship and interested in the entail of the land from making a specific contract, that the land should go to certain issue of the marriage. The effect of the Bill, as it stood, would be that the land might be sold; but the interest of the issue under the contract could not be valued and the value assigned, the surplus of the price being set free from the fetters of entail.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that if he was given to understand that the land could be sold, he would be satisfied; but he hoped the Solicitor General for Scotland would consider the wording of the clause, and that, if it did not carry out the intentions expressed by him, he would amend it to that effect on Report.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 15 (Application for order of sale);

Clause 16 (Procedure);

Clause 17 (Order of sale);

Clause 18 (Court may prescribe manner of sale).

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) said, he had an Amendment to move to extend the time during which the heir might object to a sale by private treaty, and insist upon sale by public auction, from 14 days to one month.

Amendment proposed,

In page 7, line 10, to omit the words "fourteen days," in order to insert the words "one month."

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

The CHAIRMAN: I see there is an Amendment on the Paper to leave out Clause 20. That clause has been struck out here, but it will be brought on as a separate clause afterwards.

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): The intention is merely to transpose the clause.

Clause 19 (Price to be consigned. Where price paid in consols, dividends to be paid to applicant and his successors. Where estate encumbered. Where applicant desires investment, trustees may be appointed. Powers of trustees. Purchase of lands. Investment after applicant's death).

Clause 20;

Clause 21 (Provisions to wives and children, &c., to be secured upon the fund);

Clause 22 (Disposition to be granted at sight of Court);

Clause 23;

Clause 24 (Piece of land sold to remain entailed estate);

Clause 25 (Investment of entailed money), *agreed to.*

Clause 26 (Deeds granted under authority of Court to be final).

Clause 27 (Application of Act).

Mr. ARTHUR ELLIOT said, he had another Amendment to move, and what he had said about the first was very much applicable to what he had to say about this. A great many estates were practically entailed under Private Acts of Parliament, and where that was the case it would be found that they would escape from the provisions of this Bill.

Amendment proposed,

In page 11, line 7, after "entails," insert "and all existing Acts are hereby repealed, so far as inconsistent with the spirit and intention of this Act."—(*Mr. Arthur Elliot.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. RAMSAY asked whether the Amendment, if it was adopted, would have the effect of repealing the Act of the Scottish Parliament of 1685? He was not himself competent to say whether such an Act would be repealed by a general expression of this nature, but he felt it desirable that that Act should be repealed. If the Lord Advocate said the Amendment would have that effect, he (Mr. Ramsay) should be very much gratified, as he thought it to the interest of the State that the land should be free from all fetters or incumbrance on the free action of the person who was in possession for the time being. This was an important point, which should be fairly considered by the Committee.

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) said, the Government could hardly accept this Amendment—it would not be safe to do so. The Amendment proposed not only that existing Acts which were inconsistent with this measure should be repealed, but also those which were inconsistent with the spirit and intention of the measure. That was not the usual form of repeal, and it might give rise to an infinite number of questions as to what was the meaning or the "spirit and intention" of this measure. The Amendment was unnecessary, because in so far as there was an inconsistency between the statutory provisions of this measure and other Acts, the latter would be repealed. If his hon. and learned Friend meant nothing beyond that, he was afraid it would be too indefinite to make it safe to adopt the Amendment. As to what had fallen from the hon. Member for the Falkirk Burghs (Mr. Ramsay), he would answer him by saying that if this Amendment were accepted, it would not totally repeal the Act of 1685; indeed, he did not think it would have a larger effect on that Act than would the provisions of this Bill without the Amendment. He quite agreed with his hon. Friend that the Act was unsuitable in its provisions, as they were originally enacted, to modern conditions, and he should not be at all sorry to see it make its final bow and disappear from the Statute Book. But as it had been modified by subsequent enactments, and as it would be modified by this Bill, it was very innocent. There was not much of it remaining, and they might soon see the residue pass away.

Mr. ARTHUR ELLIOT said, they should put into the Schedule the various Acts of Parliament that were to be repealed. He wished to know if those Private Acts which were not in the Schedule were to be dealt with or not by this Bill? He failed to see why those persons who were affected by those Acts should be allowed to escape from the trammels provided by this measure.

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) said, it was difficult to answer the hon. and learned Member with respect to Acts which were not here before them. They knew all the Public Acts, and had dealt with them; but as to all the Private Acts, they could not say what they were. If the hon. and learned Member would produce those Acts, or give a reference to them, they would be glad to consider them. He (the Lord Advocate) would be ready to confer with his hon. and learned Friend before Report, to see if some words could not be adopted to deal with the case of Private Acts. His hon. and learned Friend, as one skilled in the law, would see that it would not be safe to repeal these Private Acts in general terms by this measure.

MR. ARTHUR ELLIOT: On that understanding I will withdraw my Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

THE CHAIRMAN: Clause 20 will now become Clause 7.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): I move that that be so.

Agreed to.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, he wished to move the new clause to follow Clause 7 as to leases granted at diminished rents. New clause, page 3, after Clause 7, insert the following Clause:—

(Leases may be granted at diminished rent.)

"Notwithstanding any prohibition contained in any deed of entail against granting leases unless such leases are without diminution of rental, it shall be lawful for any heir of entail in possession of an entailed estate to grant leases for such period as it may be otherwise competent for him to do at a fair rent.

"Provided, That it shall not be lawful for such heir to take any grassum or other consideration for granting such lease other than the rent; and if the rent shall be less than a fair rent, or if any such grassum or consideration shall be taken, such lease shall be null and void."—(*The Lord Advocate.*)

Clause read a second time, and *added* to the Bill.

New Clause, page 6, after Clause 14, insert the following Clause:—

(Powers of creditors of heir entitled to disentail.)

"Where any heir of entail in possession is entitled to disentail the estate, with the consent of any other heir or heirs, or upon such consent being dispensed with by the Court, any creditor of such heir in possession, in respect of debt incurred after the passing of this Act, who has obtained decree against him for payment and charged upon the decree, shall, in the event of the debt so incurred not being paid for six months after the expiration of the charge, be entitled to apply to the Court, and the Court shall, if the said debt is not paid within three months after the date of the application, order intimation to be made to the heirs whose consents would be required or must be dispensed with by the Court in an application for disentail by the heir in possession, and in the event of any of the said heirs, or his curator, ad litem, appointed in terms of this Act, refusing to give his consent, the Court shall ascertain the value in money of the expectancy or interest in the entailed estate of such heir, and shall ordain the heir in possession to grant a bond and disposition in security over the estate for the amount so ascertained in favour of such heir, and if he refuses or fails to do so, the Court shall grant authority to the clerk of Court to execute such a bond and disposition in security, and such bond and disposition in security so executed shall be as valid as if it were executed by the heir in possession himself; and the Court shall thereafter ordain the heir in possession to execute an instrument of disentail of the estate; and if he refuses or fails to do so the Court shall grant authority to the clerk of Court to execute such instrument, and after provision is made for the interests of any other creditors whose debts are secured on the estate, the creditor aforesaid shall be entitled to affect the estate for payment of such debt, and shall have the same rights and interests therein as if an instrument of disentail had been executed and recorded by the heir in possession himself.

"If the estates of such heir of entail in possession of an entailed estate shall be sequestrated for debt incurred after the passing of this Act, the trustee on his sequestrated estates shall be entitled to apply to the Court for authority to disentail the estate, and the Court shall forthwith proceed in the same manner as is directed in this section with regard to the application of a creditor."—(*The Lord Advocate.*)

Clause *brought up*, and read a first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, this clause was entirely in harmony with the principle of the Bill, which made very little progress indeed. He hoped the time would come when the creditors of the proprietor of an estate would be able to get possession of the estate, and that before long they would have an Encumbered Estates Court throughout all Great Britain. That was the real remedy for the state of things, and this clause afforded a very small palliative.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, he did not know that it would have been necessary for him to have said anything upon this clause, had it not been that upon the question here raised, which the Government regarded as a very important question, a different view was taken in "another place." They had a very strong view, to the effect that a clause such as this should be introduced, giving to creditors of a person—at all events, in debts contracted after the passing of the Act—a right to reach his estate. The Government thought that where an heir of entail had that which would be under this Bill an asset available for the payment of his debts, he should make that asset so available, and that, if he did not do so, the law should step in to the relief of the creditors and compel him. As the clause was originally introduced, it applied to debts contracted prior as well as subsequent to the passing of the Act. But it had been pointed out that persons who entered into contracts with heirs of entail prior to the passing of this Act could not have relied to any extent upon the fund of credit which was raised by this Act; and he was very much afraid that the creditors of many heirs of entail in possession who had, prior to this time, contracted debts, had been paid in other forms, in the shape of large interest and the like, a very ample equivalent for the bad security which they had. It might be said with considerable force that if they made the clause apply to creditors in existing debts, they were inequitably increasing the security of persons who entered into usurious contracts, and it would be a fair settlement to pass the clause as the Government proposed it. He might say that there was another difficulty in the clause as it originally stood. It was pointed out that there were not very definite provisions made as to the manner in which the creditor could have his rights of access, and in which the rights of other heirs or persons interested in the estate should be provided for. They had endeavoured in this clause to meet these difficulties, and they had, in terms a good deal more detailed and ample than the terms of the original clause, given what would be a good working machinery. He must press this clause on the Committee, and he hoped they would accept it.

MR. RAMSAY concurred in all that had been stated by the right hon. and learned Gentleman as to the necessity of passing this clause. He felt that the Bill in its present form was but a composition of what they might look for in the early future. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had referred to the views held "elsewhere" about this measure. He (Mr. Ramsay) thought that, in the interests of the community, land should be entirely free to be disposed of by the person in possession, like any other form of property. Instead of securing land against interference by creditors, as it had hitherto been, it was the interest of the State that it should be as free from trammels as any other property. He hoped that the learned Lord Advocate would, at an early date, be able to secure the perfect freedom of all Scotland from the trammels of any settlement or entail whatever.

Motion *agreed to.*

Clause *agreed to,* and *added* to the Bill.

Schedule *agreed to.*

House *resumed.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

CORRUPT PRACTICES (SUSPENSION OF ELECTIONS) BILL.—[BILL 265.]

(*Mr. Attorney General, Secretary Sir William Harcourt.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

MR. WARTON pointed out that the object of this Bill was to suspend elections in certain boroughs until seven days after the meeting of Parliament in the Session of 1883. This would have the effect of preventing the constituencies in question from electing Members in the event of what appeared to be an impending General Election taking place, which would be a very serious thing. He did not know whether it was right or wrong to punish constituencies in this way; but he would point out that under the dying Disfranchisement Bill introduced by the Government four of the corrupt constituencies were only to be disfranchised during the Parliament of 1880; whereas this Bill, which they were told was the same as that of last year, would, in the case of a General Election taking place before next Session, carry the suspension into another and a new Parliament. This, he contended, would be an injury and a cruel injustice to the four boroughs in question. Why, he asked, should the Bill not be delayed to the October Sitting? He begged to move that the Bill be read a second time on that day three months.

Mr. H. J. TOLLEMACHE seconded the Amendment, and regretted that the Bill had not been brought on earlier, so that hon. Members would have had an opportunity of ascertaining what its provisions were. It was only brought on late that morning, and was now pressed to a second reading. As a very mild protest against the very hasty course the Government had taken on this subject, he would support his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Bridport if he would go to a division.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Mr. RYLANDS said, he could not think his hon. Friends opposite were serious in opposing the second reading of the Bill, because it could scarcely be contended that, in the event of a General Election, those boroughs included in the Schedule of the Bill should have an opportunity of again returning Members. He hoped the Attorney General would seriously consider, before he again proceeded with legislation on the subject, the propriety of inflicting an equal punishment on all the boroughs, and whether that punishment should not consist of the withdrawal of one of their Representatives in each case.

Mr. MONK said, he could not join the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) in opposing this Bill. Although it was an early day to take the second reading, he should not advise the hon. and learned Member to take a division on that point. He did not think the boroughs concerned could complain of the suspension of their electoral rights, in view of the serious charges which were brought against them. He would like to ask the Attorney General whether, in the event of a Dissolution—as they had very good reason to expect—in October or November next, the right to return Members to Parliament would be taken away from these boroughs? If the Attorney General could not answer that question, he would move in Committee to insert a Proviso to secure that the Bill should not affect the Constitutional rights of those boroughs which had not been adjudicated upon or considered by Parliament, in the event of a General Election taking place between now and February next. The amount of punishment which should be meted out to these boroughs was a different matter from the just condemnation which had been expressed with regard to them; but it was a great hardship to some of the boroughs that the measure of punishment which should be awarded to them should not have been considered by a Select Committee before Parliament dealt with the subject.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he did not propose to discuss the provisions of the Corrupt Practices Disfranchisement Bill, which the Government had been reluctantly compelled to withdraw. He was sure it was the wish of the Government to meet the general feeling of Members on both sides of the House as to the punishment which should be meted out to those boroughs, and he was certain that any suggestion which came from the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) would be considered. The Government only desired to do strict right in regard to those boroughs. The hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk) asked whether, if a Dissolution should take place between now and the meeting of Parliament in 1883, there would be power in those defaulting constituencies to return Members? His answer must be in the negative; and if there were no other reason, he thought the hon. Member would agree with him that if they did not take steps—and he assured the hon. Member they could not—to disfranchise those individual electors who had been reported as guilty of corrupt practices, the result would be that out of constituencies with an aggregate number of 32,000 electors, in the event of an election, 9,000 who had been reported as corrupt would be entitled to vote. Therefore, this House would receive the return of 14 Members from constituencies of whom considerably more than one-fourth would be corrupt electors. Under any circumstances, he thought the House would not wish to see that; it would be a scandal that these corrupt voters should have an equal right with the pure voters to exercise the franchise. The hon. Member for Gloucester asked the Government to give a pledge that they would not introduce any amendment into the Bill in Committee. He was unable to make any such promise; but there was at present nothing in his mind which rendered it likely that Amendments would be proposed. He proposed to go into Committee on the Bill, subject to the usual course in regard to Bills in Committee. The hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) had charged the Government with having introduced the Bill in its present form for Party purposes, because they intended to dissolve Parliament before the ensuing year, and that the Government was under the impression that the return of Members from those constituencies would benefit the Opposition. He had no anticipation of a Dissolution of Parliament being likely. He knew nothing at all as to what might be probable in the future; but, at all events, this Bill had not been introduced with a view to any such contingency. But assuming that 14 Members were returned from those boroughs, and that their political complexion remained unaltered, he knew this, that out of the 14 Members that would be returned, if there were no Suspensory Bill, 11 would be Liberals and only three Conservatives. If any inference could be drawn from that fact, it was that the introduction of the Bill could not have been the result of any Party action on the part of the Government, because if the chances of the next Election were the same as the last, they would be gainers by withdrawing the suspension. He could not believe that the hon. and learned Member was serious in the Amendment he had moved. The Bill itself had only been introduced on account of the difficulties and embarrassments which had arisen in regard to dealing with the question by the Disfranchisement Bill. The necessity for the present Bill arose from the condition of the legislative action of the House. He admitted that, both theoretically and practically, the Disfranchisement Bill ought to have been proceeded with, and that not only should it have been passed, but that it should have been accompanied by the General Corrupt Practices Bill. But the House was perfectly well aware of what had occurred, and the Prime Minister had most reluctantly been compelled to withdraw the Corrupt Practices Bill owing to the more pressing necessity for passing a punitive measure for the prevention of crime in Ireland, and a measure to remove the grievances under which the Irish people were now suffering. The House had consequently been debarred of all opportunity of legislating upon the question of corrupt practices, because the Prime Minister found he had no alternative but to yield to the appeal made to him not to deal with the question of disfranchising either constituencies or individuals in an empty House at the end of the Session. But, if the present Bill were not passed, every future election for these constituencies which had been proved to be corrupt would take place on the present unpurged register. He did not apprehend that his hon. Friend the Member for Gloucester desired that. [Mr. MONK: No, I do not.] Then it became absolutely necessary to pass this Suspensory Bill. If it were not passed the corrupt electors would have the same power of voting as those who were pure. The practical effect of passing a Suspensory Bill would be, that if a General Election were to be brought about this year—although why it should be deemed likely he was at a loss to understand—the only punishment inflicted upon the corrupt electors of the seven suspended boroughs would be that they would have been deprived for two years—since the Report of the Election Commission in 1881—of the power of returning Representatives. Hitherto, under similar circumstances, the conviction of a constituency of so serious an offence had always been visited by a much heavier punishment. It would be a perfect scandal to pass over the offence as if nothing out of the ordinary course had occurred, and it was absolutely essential to visit the corrupt voters with the displeasure of Parliament. The hon. Member for West Cheshire (Mr. Tollemache) said that the people of the city of Chester had been hardly dealt with; but there were some persons who were of opinion, on the contrary, that Chester had been rather lightly dealt with. It had certainly been said, he believed by the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis), that Chester had special friends in the Cabinet.

Mr. WARTON appealed to the Speaker, whether the hon. and learned Gentleman was regular in referring to past debates?

Mr. SPEAKER did not notice the interruption.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he had no desire to refer to past debates; but he simply wanted to point out how unfounded the allegations of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport were. He hoped the hon. and learned Member would not throw any obstacle in the way of the passing of the Bill; because it was admitted by everybody that something should be done during the present Session to convince the offending persons that the widespread corruption of which they had been found guilty should not be allowed to pass altogether without punishment.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, that he thought that the Attorney General had hardly given a sufficient answer to a suggestion made by the hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk)—namely, that, instead of disfranchising these boroughs, and depriving them of their rights, the electors who had been reported by the Commissioners as corrupt, and who had been scheduled, should be individually dealt with and prevented from voting. If this were done, the objection raised by the Attorney General, with great force, that if this Bill did not become law, these voters who had been scheduled by the Commissioners would be entitled to vote, and might materially influence an election, would be removed. He would venture to urge on the Attorney General to consider whether a clause might not be introduced to prevent those who had been scheduled by the Commissioners from voting. He was aware that, in some cases, this might work hardship, as some of those persons might be able to clear themselves from the charge; but he would prefer that rough justice should be done in this way rather than that the whole boroughs, and the large number of pure voters in those boroughs, should be disfranchised, as they were, by this Bill.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir Farrer Herschell) pointed out that there had been a good many Amendments put down to the Disfranchisement Bill to refer the measure to a Select Committee, in order to enable some of those who were scheduled as having been guilty of corrupt practices to give evidence to show why their names should not be retained on that Schedule. If the suggestion of the hon. Baronet were accepted, however, and they summarily disfranchised these persons, it would have the effect of excluding any such proceedings before a Select Committee in the future.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

LUNACY REGULATION AMENDMENT BILL [*Lords.*]—[Bill 230.]

(*Mr. Hibbert.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Hibbert.*)

Mr. WARTON complained that the measure was designed to enable the official Visitors of lunatic asylums to shirk their duty by reducing their visits from four to two each year, or to save the Exchequer the expense of appointing more Visitors. No more inhuman Bill was ever brought before the House.

Mr. HIBBERT said, the Lord Chancellor at present had 1,200 lunatics under his charge. Of that number, 800 were in lunatic asylums or licensed houses, and the remaining 400 were in private houses, mostly with friends. It was with respect to the latter that the Bill proposed to make a change. At present, they required to be visited four times a-year, and the present Lord Chancellor and the two previous Lord Chancellors had been desirous of increasing the number of visits to the lunatics confined in asylums. As regarded the others, the Bill proposed to enable the Visitors to visit all the lunatics under the charge of the Lord Chancellor at least twice a-year, and it would not prevent more visits being made in case of necessity. In order, however, to meet the objection entertained by some hon. Members to reducing the visits to lunatics in private houses, he was prepared to concede that there should be at least three visits a-year, or one in every five months.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND said, he did not rise to oppose the Bill, though he should certainly have done so but for the concession just made by the hon. Member (Mr. Hibbert). That concession he would, for one, accept; but he could not help expressing his strong opinion that this reduction of visits was a step in the wrong direction. He could not admit that four visits were too many, nor, indeed, did he understand that that was insisted upon; but it was argued that if these visits were continued, the other patients outside the private houses could not be properly inspected. Well, that only showed that the number of Inspectors should be increased, not that the visits should be lessened. It was admitted that the Commissioners did not shirk their work; it was not contended that the visits were too many and unnecessary; it followed, then, that, though the increase of expense might be regretted, the number of the official staff should be increased rather than that these unfortunate lunatics should not be fully looked after. He was aware that the Lord Chancellor and ex-Lord Chancellor had agreed to the reduction of visits; but they naturally looked to the Office, and they found that the officials were overworked, and they, therefore, cut down the work without, perhaps, sufficiently considering whether the case did not call for an increase of the Office. The hon. Member (Mr. Hibbert) had also referred to the Report of a Committee; but he observed that a great Chancery authority—the Master of the Rolls—presided over that Committee. He confessed he could not but regret the decision arrived at, even after the concession just made by the Government.

DR. FARQUHARSON supported the Bill, on the ground that the patients in private houses were, as a rule, well-to-do patients, harmless imbeciles, who were well cared for. It was in public asylums where cases of neglect or ill-treatment were more likely to be found, and it was to these institutions, therefore, that most visits ought to be paid. He repudiated the idea that this proposal was made because the Medical Inspectors wished to shirk their work.

MR. WHITLEY entertained a considerable objection to a reduction in the number of visits. He believed, on the contrary, that in many cases the number should be increased.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON strongly condemned the Bill as lessening the protection at present extended to alleged lunatics. They ought to be visited more frequently. Instead of that, the number of visits was to be reduced one-half.

MR. MONTAGUE SCOTT agreed with the hon. Gentleman who spoke last. He considered the number of Visitors ought to be doubled. That would raise the charge to £4,500 per annum; but then it should be remembered that the lunacy fees amounted to £6,000 per annum, so that the State would still have a profit of £1,500 per annum. Government ought to be ashamed to make money out of lunatics, taking a revenue from insanity.

Question put.

The House *divided:* — Ayes 53; Noes 3: Majority 50. — (Div. List, No. 316.)

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 to 3 *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (All Chancery lunatics to be visited twice a year).

MR. WARTON proposed to omit the words—

> "And it is expedient that such visits should, when the Lord Chancellor shall so direct, be permitted to be made at longer intervals than are required by the said enactment."

His reasons for proposing this Amendment were two. In the first place, he did not think it was necessary to use the word "expedient," for in the Preamble it was set forth—"Whereas it is expedient to amend the Lunacy Regulation Acts." His second reason, and his more important one, was, that they had been told over and over again by the hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill (Mr. Hibbert) that the Bill provided that those who received one visit were now to receive two; yet, as he (Mr. Warton) read the clause, he found no provision whatever for the second visit in the case of those visited once. It might be the intention of the Bill, but it was certainly not clearly stated; in fact, the words of the clause were very misleading.

Amendment proposed,

> To leave out the words—"And it is expedient that such visits should, when the Lord Chan-

cellor shall so direct, be permitted to be made at longer intervals than are required by the said enactment."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Mr. HIBBERT said, he agreed to the omission.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Mr. WHITLEY proposed to leave out the word "twice," in line 4, page 2, in order to insert the word "thrice." He agreed with his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Warton) that the clause was very peculiarly drawn. It was very difficult to interpret the clause, and he very distinctly recollected that his hon. Friend (Mr. Hibbert), when he introduced the Bill, said that the object of this clause was that the Chancery patients should be visited thrice a-year. His hon. Friend just now, in answer to his (Mr. Whitley's) observations, said he did not intend to convey that they should all be visited three times; but if his hon. Friend would agree to the introduction of the word "thrice," instead of "twice," the clause must apply to all classes of Chancery patients. He should be very glad that Chancery patients should be visited oftener, and he considered what was proposed was a great improvement on the present system. He also understood his hon. Friend to say that, instead of eight months, he would substitute five months, and if that were so it would be a great improvement.

Mr. WARTON said, he thought the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Hibbert) had now begun to see that the clause did not bear out what he himself had stated.

Mr. HIBBERT said, the Bill did not propose to limit the number of visits necessary to licensed houses or asylums; that was a matter of regulation under the authority of the Lord Chancellor. The Lord Chancellor proposed to make these visits twice a-year necessary, instead of once, and it was quite necessary to provide for it in the Bill.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON pointed out there were a certain number of persons who were under no protection whatever. These persons were in private houses, and it often happened that they were left absolutely without any medical attendance whatever. This Bill and this section proposed to take away a portion of even the small inspection that was now given to them by reducing it by one-third.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Mr. HIBBERT proposed, in line 5, page 2, to leave out the words "eight months," and insert "five months."

Amendment *agreed to.*

Mr. WARTON said, he now proposed to move an addendum to the clause. While those visited once were to be visited twice, no one would imagine such a provision was in the Bill. He proposed to add the words—

"And the said section shall be construed as if the word 'twice' had been inserted therein instead of the word 'once.'"

If they put in the word "twice," they would carry out the bargain arrived at. In the interests of humanity he should divide upon the Amendment, whether he had three supporters or 30.

Amendment proposed,

To add, at the end of the Clause—"And the said section shall be construed as if the word 'twice' had been inserted therein instead of the word 'once.'"—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir Farrer Herschell) said, he should certainly not yield to the hon. and learned Member as regarded any ideas of humanity. He was a Member of the Committee on which the hon. and learned Member served, and he paid a great deal of attention to the subject. He would point out to the hon. and learned Member that the words he proposed to add would not carry out the object he had in view. This Bill had been introduced by the Lord Chancellor, with the very object of securing the means of increasing the number of visits to those persons who were now only visited once a-year. There was no other purpose to be served by the Bill; but, at the same time, he did not know there would be any particular objection to inserting in the Bill a provision requiring that that should be carried out. He would undertake, before Report, that it should be considered whether the words could be introduced here, and whether it should be made obligatory to visit the persons in licensed houses twice in a year instead of once.

Mr. WARTON said, he did not see why the words should not be inserted now, because on Report they could be altered.

Mr. HIBBERT said, he hoped the hon. and learned Gentleman would not press his Amendment on the present occasion. The Government would see by Report how far they could meet the hon. and learned Gentleman's views.

Mr. WARTON said, he was satisfied with the assurance of the Solicitor General that words would be put in making it obligatory that the visits should be twice instead of once.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir Farrer Herschell) said, he did not promise that such words should be put in, but that the matter should be considered by Report. He was not in a position to pledge the Government. All he promised was, that the matter should be considered with the view of meeting the object of the hon. and learned Gentleman, and he thought by that course something more effectual would be gained than by pressing it now.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Preamble read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this be the Preamble of the Bill."

Mr. MONTAGUE SCOTT said, that, before the Chairman put the Preamble, he would like to make a few observations. The Solicitor General had said that it was intended to increase the number of visits. The greatest improvement in the Lunacy Laws would be the increase of the number of Commissioners. He begged to impress that, not only upon his hon. Friend (Mr. Hibbert), but upon the Committee generally. He hoped it would go forth to the country that this was a matter of economy — that the reason why more Commissioners were not appointed was that certain persons would not part with the £6,000 a-year which was obtained from the Chancery patients. Few in the House and in the country knew that the Chancery lunatics did not cost the country one halfpenny, but that they actually contributed by their insanity to the revenues of the country. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Gentlemen might laugh at that; but he did not think it was a laughing matter. There were some sources of revenue which a country ought to blush at, and this was one of them. This Bill would not have been asked for if the £6,000 a-year received from the Chancery lunatics were laid out to the benefit of those who paid it. He hoped the country would perfectly understand that there were only three Commissioners to inspect the Chancery lunatics. There were 62,000 lunatics throughout the country, independent of the Chancery lunatics, and there were only six Visitors for this large number. He asked the Committee if it was not a physical impossibility for six men to visit 62,000 persons every year?

Mr. RYLANDS said, if this Bill was a piece of economy, it was about the only piece of economy exercised by Her Majesty's Government during the present Session. He considered that the evidence before them showed that the number of gentlemen engaged as Commissioners was sufficient for the purpose.

The CHAIRMAN said, the present discussion would be a very proper one upon the second reading of the Bill; but it was hardly in Order upon the Preamble of this Bill.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

House *resumed.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Tuesday* next.

SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Resolutions [4th August] *reported.*

Mr. RAMSAY said, that he would have liked, if the Home Secretary had been in his place, to ask him when the Report of the Departmental Committee, which was appointed two years ago to consider and report as to the custody and treatment of criminal lunatics, would be laid before the House; but as the right hon. and learned Gentleman was not present, he would put a Question on the Paper for Monday.

Resolutions *agreed to.*

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY BILL.

(*Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland.*)

[BILL 264.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. TREVELYAN moved the second reading of the Bill. [Mr. Healy: Oh!] The hon. Member seemed startled; but it was quite in accordance with the interests of hon. Members opposite that he made the Motion. He extremely regretted that they should be called upon on a Saturday afternoon to consider a matter which necessarily required discussion. In the preliminary Committee he had made the speech he should have made upon the second reading, and he had no more observations to make He should, therefore, reserve further remarks until he heard the criticisms of hon. Members, and the points upon which explanation was required.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Trevelyan.*)

Mr. SEXTON said, the right hon. Gentleman had added nothing to the comparatively full explanation of the operations—he could not say provisions —of the Motion of which this Bill was the result. So far as the officers were concerned whose position they anticipated would be improved under the Bill, they had no information. The measure, in fact, was not so much an enacting as an enabling measure; and so far as regarded the pay, the enactments were extremely simple, for they made the Lord Lieutenant supreme controller of the subject, inasmuch as he was left to do exactly what he thought proper. He complained of the exceedingly fragmentary character of the measure. When the Notice of the Bill first appeared on the Paper they were led to expect that there would be embodied in it such proposals as would be necessary to deal with the Irish Constabulary as a whole. What, however, did they find? The Bill only dealt with a body of 300 or 400 men out of a total of 13,000 or 14,000 men, and it was to such fragmentary measures as this that the Government desired the House to assent. In making those observations he could not refrain from the remark that the claim of persons whose position it was supposed would be improved under it were men whose conduct during the past year the Irish Members had been compelled, in the severest terms, to criticize. There was County Inspector Smith, of Clare, whose Circular invited his men to commit homicide or murder; Sub-Inspector Ball, of Ballinrobe; Sub-Inspector Rogers, of Limerick, and many others who had been guilty of the greatest misconduct as regarded the use of the police against the popular rights of the people of Ireland. On every one of those cases hon. Members on that side of the House had put Questions, as they had done in numerous other cases; but in every instance had failed to obtain satisfaction, or that atonement for outraging public rights they were entitled to expect. Hon. Members were not so unreasonable as to suppose that, in consequence of this conduct, the whole class of County Inspectors and Sub-Inspector were to be discredited. At the same time, it was needful, even at this stage, that they should protest against the introduction of a measure in regard to the Constabulary Force in Ireland, professing, and professing only, to embrace that class amongst which were found those men whose conduct had provoked the gravest censure. He found that the increment would increase the public burden by £10,000, or something like that sum.

Mr. TREVELYAN: Hear, hear!

Mr. SEXTON: The right hon. Gentleman evidently agreed with the calculation.

Mr. TREVELYAN: I should state that the hon. Gentleman has calculated within £12 of the total increase.

Mr. SEXTON said, it was very singular, indeed, that the Government, in asking the House to deal with this matter, should have abstained from laying before them such proposals as they thought necessary and proper to make with regard to the general body. If they had no proposals to make, he did not wonder at their absence from the Government scheme; but they were told that the Government had, and they from Ireland were very curious and anxious to know what they were. He had a letter from Ireland, which stated that the proposal was to add 4*d.* a-day to the allowance. The Government should know that if they were only to learn what the exact proposals were at the last moment, hon. Members would be unable to give that calm consideration and criticism which such a matter required. If this information was at once given to them, when the Estimates came on they should be the better enabled to consider mutually the proposals and their bearings one upon the other. Besides, the state of affairs in the Constabulary itself rendered it extremely desirable that the Government should not delay giving information to the House. Two or three evenings ago, in reply to Questions, they were told that the reports as to the Irish Constabulary were exaggerated; but matters had since transpired which demanded their immediate attention. He had received numerous telegrams upon the subject, but the names of the senders were obviously withheld; but, still, they gave very important information as bearing upon the feeling amongst the Force. He was aware that in Limerick the men had met, had passed resolutions, and had appointed a committee to take care of their interests. They had forwarded a Petition to the Government upon the subject, and had issued a Circular to the Force in Ireland, stating their requirements, which were—More rapid promotion from the ranks, increase of pay, equalization of pensions, compulsory retirement at the end of 30 years' service, optional retirement at 25 years' service, and an allowance for lodgings at a higher rate than now. He thought that, considering this expression of opinion, every consideration should be given to this matter. It was a somewhat extraordinary proceeding to endeavour to force upon the House proposals dealing with the officer part of the Force only, whilst they ignored entirely for the present a vast body of men and their grievances; and more particularly must this be considered so when the Government selected as the proper time for dealing with the subject in such a piecemeal way the very moment when the men were pressing forward their grievances. There was, moreover, a striking incongruity in the provisions of this Bill. It dealt with the pay and also with the pensions of the officers. It specified the rate of pension to be given; but as to pay it proposed that the Lord Lieutenant, with the assent of the Treasury, should have absolute power to fix all the salaries of those officers. That involved a departure from the invariable rule heretofore followed in that matter, under which limits had been imposed on the discretion of the Lord Lieutenant, and precise figures and amounts had been laid down, beyond which the pay of those officers should not be allowed to go. Even in a Coercion Bill it was injurious and offensive to give despotic power to the Lord Lieutenant; but surely there could be no excuse for investing His Excellency with arbitrary authority in a measure of the present description. Unless provisions were inserted in this Bill limiting the discretion of the Lord Lieutenant in fixing the pay of the officers, the military character of the Irish Constabulary would be intensified, and the Force would lose all semblance of a Civil organization.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL thought that a Bill of that kind, which was intended to raise the pay of a public service in which strikes and combinations were threatened, required great watching. The hon. Member for Sligo was not satisfied with the measure, because it was not large enough, and wished to make it larger by taking into consideration the demands for increased pay put forward by a body, part of which appeared to be in a state of semi-mutiny. [Mr. SEXTON dissented.] He (Sir George Campbell), for one, would not grudge any sum which might be granted in order to increase the efficiency of the Irish Constabulary as a police body, and especially for detective purposes; but he was sorry to say the Constabulary were in no degree effective at this time for that purpose, and it seemed to him they were very dear for the money they cost the nation. He looked upon this proposal to increase the pay of the Inspectors with some jealousy, because the way in which they were officered was altogether inconsistent with efficiency. He knew no Department which more entirely depended upon special knowledge and experience, and special and peculiar fitness, than the Police Department; and if there was a Department in the Public Service which should be officered by men who had acquired experience, and gained credit and shown fitness in the lower ranks, it was this Department of the police. He understood that the opposite was the course followed. He understood that there was scarcely any promotion from the ranks. He understood that the superior ranks were filled by the appointment of young Irish gentlemen—[Mr. HEALY: English.]—or young gentlemen in Ireland. He need not remind the House that whatever Government might be in power, even if the Chief Secretary were an angel from Heaven, it was scarcely possible to avoid continual jobbing when the appointments were open to young gentlemen without any particular qualification. He believed that the present Chief Secretary was as near an angel from Heaven as they could get; but it must be remembered that the great mass of these officers were appointed under previous Administrations and under former Chief Secretaries—some of whom did not at all approach the character of an angel from Heaven. He believed that by far the greater number of the officers of these police were appointed under a system of jobbery and, to a certain extent, of despotism. They were not appointed under any system of selection from the ranks of men specially fitted for those duties. Before there was any increase granted to these officers there should be a complete re-organization of the Force, such as would insure that the officers would be promoted from men who had shown special aptitude for police duties, and especially for detective duties. It was only under these circumstances that he should think money well spent in increasing the pay of the officers.

Mr. LEWIS was exceedingly surprised at the opposition of the hon. Member for Sligo, for if he knew anything of his views and inclinations they were in favour of insisting on an increase rather than a reduction of salaries of this kind. All who were acquainted with the way in which the officers of the Irish Constabulary performed their duties would, he was convinced, confirm him when he said that they were a class of men of whom Ireland and the Government might be justly proud. He trusted that the Government would consider a subject which had been frequently brought before that House—namely, the position of the officers who retired previous to 1874; and unless that was done he should move the insertion of a clause placing persons to whom pensions were granted before the Act of 1874 in the same position as to right of pension and the rate as those who retired immediately afterwards. The difference of a day in this matter had made in more than one instance the difference of 100 per cent in the rate of pension.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, the hon. Member (Sir George Campbell) was mistaken in supposing that the Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors were appointed by the Executive for the time being in the manner he had suggested; but the vacancies were filled up by public Civil Service examinations, and he would have been perfectly correct in objecting to the manner in which the appointments took place even under this system. These officers ought to be recruited from the ranks, so that it might be certain that the experience and skill there shown would enable them to perform their duties satisfactorily. But, under the present system, these men were required to pass examinations in French, German, and other languages; and if they could throw one or two dead languages in so much the more fitted were they imagined to be to detect crime. What connection there possibly could be between Latin, Greek, French, or German and the duties of Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors was more than he could find out, and equally in doubt was he as to the total being made up of figures and their affinity with the detection of offences which these officers did not succeed in finding out. In Ireland at that moment they were in this position. They had open and fierce dissatisfaction on the part of the members of the Force; but, as far as the officers were concerned, the dissatisfaction rested upon the statement of the Chief Secretary. In the one case there was open, well-known, and active dissatisfaction; but in the other only tacit and negative dissatisfaction. The Government appeared willing to brave the mutinous dissatisfaction of 12,000 or 13,000 men, and, in fact, to add to that dissatisfaction, and allow it to grow until it became dangerous to the peace and tranquillity of the whole Force; whilst they did their utmost to appease the dissatisfaction of the officers, which only found its expression in Dublin Castle. It was not for him to dictate to the Chief Secretary as to the manner in which he should conduct his duties; but, nevertheless, it appeared to him that there never was a more absurd, more irrational, or a proposal more certain to defeat its own ends than that the dissatisfaction of 13,000 men should be allowed to ripen into mutiny before their grievances should be adjusted, rather than that a few officers should be required to wait. As to the officers, up to a month ago—or, he might say, within the last five weeks—had the Government any definite intention of introducing such a measure as this? Such a Bill was not mentioned in the Queen's Speech, or in any speech made up to a fortnight ago. It was only within the last fortnight that the Government had given effect to what they had heard from one side. The House would recollect that it was only within that time that the late Attorney General for Ireland, the Member for Dublin University (Mr. Gibson), put a Question to the Government as to what they intended to do for these officers. Thus was the mind of the Chief Secretary and the action of the Irish Executive stimulated to a consideration of this question. And until then the Executive of Dublin Castle never thought of dealing with this matter at all. What would the men say when they saw the success which had attended the active, energetic, and persistent efforts of the friends of the officers in that House? These officers, generally, were inclined to Conservative opinions; and what would the men say when they saw the demand for a consideration of the grievances of the officers conceded, whilst their own complaints were forgotten? Could there be anything more prejudicial to order in the Force, or à stronger or more serious reason for adding force to the dissatisfaction of the men? The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had given some inkling as to what the proposal of the Government would be; but beyond this they had no information whatever of what the intentions of the Government were. He was not going to attempt to judge of that which he had not officially heard of; but what he was justified in saying was that the subject should be dealt with in its entirety, or not at all. To attempt to deal with it piecemeal was to deal with it in a most objectionable and dangerous manner, and in a way which would give the men cause for increased dissatisfaction. In speaking against the police in Ireland it should be understood that their comments were not, nor never had been, directed against the men themselves, but only against the action and conduct of the officers. Often had he joined in those complaints; but in every instance the main complaints were against the officers, and not against the men. The Chief Secretary had frequently shown a disposition to meet the wishes of hon. Members on that side, which they desired to acknowledge in all sincerity; but he had departed from his rule entirely in this matter in taking up the case of the officers and neglecting that of the men. So strongly did he feel upon this subject that if the conduct of the Government was challenged he should vote against them.

Mr. HEALY said, he had hoped that when this Bill was introduced some reasons would have been given for its being pressed forward, and he was somewhat surprised that when a measure originating with the late Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Gibson) was brought forward he should have thought it necessary to be conspicuous by his absence. The Government had placed on the Estimates a Vote of £180,000 to meet the extra pay of the men. Immediately that this was done the right hon. and learned Gentleman cast about him to see what he could get for the officers, and he asked what was to become of them, and were they to get nothing of the plunder? The Chief Secretary evidently thought that it would not do to put a further sum on the Estimates, and so he endeavoured to blind the eyes of the people of Ireland by giving the Lord Lieutenant the whole of the discretion as to the increase. They ought to have the total placed on the Estimates. They ought to show how much the taxpayer would have to dip into his pocket for. The £180,000 for the men was to be only for three years; but this increase of the officers was to be for all time. Because the officers got none of the swag this Bill was to be introduced to give them an increase in their salary for all time. His hon. Friend (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had complained that these men were appointed by competitive examination, and also that they should be required to speak foreign languages; but he was not aware that this was for the purpose of keeping these officers as a kind of paddock in which the sons of the upper classes could trot about. The Government deprived the lower class of an academic education; they refused to provide for the Catholic class University education, in order that this might act as a bar to the advantage of the aristocrats of the country. In other words, the people who bore the burden and heat of the day were never promoted; but the offices were kept for young English gentlemen who were ground in London, or striped, or what they called it, and who were sent over full-fledged bantlings capable for duty because they could get so many marks. These were all the thief-catching abilities that these young gentlemen were expected to possess; but, of course, they must have plenty of suspicion, and that they had to use with great liberality, in order further to keep out Catholics. That applied alike to men and officers, for the Government professed to have special horror of secret societies; and, in order still further to wound the feelings of the Catholics, every man upon entering the Force was made to swear an oath, which was a distinct insult to the Catholic religion, that he would belong to no secret society, with the exception of Freemasonry. It was well known that the Catholic Church held Freemasonry in the greatest abhorrence. That was another instance of the extraordinary way in which the Government managed this body, and that being so they had good reason for objecting. These young gentlemen, whose marks for Latin and French so well fitted them for the offices of Inspector and Sub-Inspector, were put through a little drill in Phœnix Park and were then sent down to some country district, where they spent their time, he was creditably informed, indulging in nips of whiskey over the counter. He did not blame them very much for that. What were they to do? Here were these young gentlemen tossed off from society to mix with people who were, in their estimation, far below them, and what could they do? He was told that there was usually set up in those districts three grades of society—the first was that of the estate agents; the next that of the bank clerks; and the third of the Sub-Inspectors. Those were the three main elements forming the *ton.* They claimed to represent the proper feelings of the district, and it was certain that they could set the Government in motion in whatever direction they thought fit. They were the triumvirate of the society who manipulated whatever there was of local government in Ireland, and so controlled popular feeling, so-called, that they could compel the Executive to act in any direction they chose. Even if a Board of Guardians ventured to have an opinion upon political matters, the Chief Secretary sent his orders for a dissolution. He would invite the Chief Secretary to go into the districts and see for himself. In the first place, the dress of the young gentlemen was something ridiculous. There were the spiked helmets invented by Bismarck, or Moltke, or some of those people. They wore these spiked caps, perhaps, as symbolical of their military character; whilst in Court they took very great care that everyone else removed his hat. These Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors strutted about giving their orders right and left in their helmets, and played "such pranks before high Heaven as would make the angels weep"—if angels could be supposed to take any interest whatever in such a body as the Royal Irish Constabulary. In their districts these young gentlemen constantly interfered with the amusement of the small boys, and should the village band appear at once they issued orders to charge, and gave their men *carte blanche* to break the heads of the people who could not get out of their way. Their orders to fire on the people were issued as suited their intelligence. Questions were continually being put in that House of the way those men conducted themselves; but the gentlemen of Latin and French were in the right—it was always the people who gave the provocation. He could not help thinking that at this late period of the Session the House might have been occupying itself upon much more important matters than upon a Bill of this kind. There were many much more important measures awaiting their attention, whilst others had been abandoned altogether—Bills which had been mentioned in the Queen's Speech; but this measure had been sprung on the House at the fag-end of the Session, when many Irish Members were away; and here they were called upon at 5 o'clock on Saturday afternoon to enter into a full discussion of the subject. Why, he asked, had not the Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) Bill been put down to-day? On the two occasions on which it had appeared on the Notice Paper the Government moved the adjournment of the House, and the Irish Members knew how useless it was to fight against the battalions of the Government. That Bill would not have taken a minute to pass; but while the Chief Secretary had refused a stage to that useful and excellent measure, he did not scruple to bring them down to waste their time upon this

Bill dealing with the Constabulary in Ireland. Then he would point out that there was another measure before the House dealing with the pay of that important body which the Government appeared to be inclined to leave out in the cold. The hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone) brought in with a great flourish of trumpets early in the Session a measure dealing with the superannuation allowances of a very important Irish body much larger than this. That Bill was dropped, no facilities having been given for taking it. He (Mr. Healy) would give the House some idea of the character of the gentlemen whose pay it was proposed to increase. The district of Millstreet was for a very long time in a very disturbed state under the *régime* of the late Chief Secretary, and there was a Sub-Inspector there named Starkey. For nine months before the Government got the Coercion Act a ruffian named Connell went about ranging from one end of the country to the other, and disturbing the peace. He shot a man named Leary in a cool, brutal, and most cold-blooded manner. The police, in his (Mr. Healy's) opinion, knew very well who fired the shot; at all events, they knew now. Did not Sub-Inspector Starkey arrest this ruffian? No; he did nothing of the kind; but as soon as this ruffian and assassin turned Queen's evidence, Mr. Starkey brought him out dressed as a policeman to the Millstreet district. Having ascertained the names of all the best football players in the district, he took them down and indiscriminately handed them over to the police and swore against them, and Sub-Inspector Starkey—this young gentleman of five or six and twenty, very well up in his geometry and trigonometry—swept the district of Millstreet of all these young men, and they had been kept in Cork Gaol for the last nine months. Sub-Inspector Starkey imprisoned 65 men, and after keeping them in gaol for nine months in solitary confinement, in a cell 6 feet by 4, for 22 hours out of the 24, denying them the pleasure and solace of their own association, they were dismissed on their own recognizances and refused a trial. That was the discretion of Sub-Inspectors of the Irish police. It was the zeal of men like Sub-Inspector Starkey that this Bill proposed to reward. When measures of this kind were brought in they should have regard to the class of persons whose pay it was proposed to increase. The main body of the Irish police were entirely neglected by the Bill. He was not a particular admirer of the acts and conduct of the Irish police; but he did complain that a measure of this kind was brought forward dealing with the aristocratic section of the body. While the unfortunate men—Dan, Jack, Bill, and Harry—were denied any solid or permanent increase at all, the Alphonses, the Georges, and the Alberts, who had been brought over from England, were getting a solid increase of pay at the cost of the ratepayers. He would say nothing of the increase of the pay of either party—he should vote against both; but when measures were brought in for dealing with the aristocratic portion of the Force, it was too bad that the unfortunate rank-and-file should be left out in the cold. Seeing this Bill had been brought in at a time like the present, and upon a Saturday, he thought further time should be allowed for its discussion. They should not be asked to deal with this question piecemeal; and until they knew what it was that the Government were going to do for the police at large this measure should not be passed. On that account he begged to move that the debate be now adjourned.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

MR. CALLAN said, that during his 15 years' experience of the House he had never heard of a Bill being introduced under more misleading pretences than this one. When the Chief Secretary gave Notice to introduce a Bill for the Royal Irish Constabulary, he (Mr. Callan) anticipated that it was a Bill which dealt with the Royal Irish Constabulary. So satisfied was he of that, that he did not read the Bill until today. He differed, and had differed on all occasions, with that Party with which he had acted for the last two years with reference to the Royal Irish Constabulary. He had known them in almost every part of Ireland, and he knew them to be the sons of respectable labourers and of the smaller class of farmers. They were well educated for their rank in life, and they were a well-conducted class of men whom, physically and morally, he believed to be a credit to his country. He had never had occasion to bring the conduct of any member of the rank-and-file of the Constabulary before that House; but he could not say the same with regard to the officers. On looking at the Orders of the Day to introduce this Bill, he found that it did not exactly define the Bill as printed. It was a Bill to regulate the pay of certain officials, and for other purposes; but it was a Bill confined exclusively to the County and Sub-Inspectors. Yesterday, when he asked a Question of the Chief Secretary, and when, naturally irritated by the answer he received, which was not in consonance with the usual courtesy and his character of abstaining from imputing motives——

MR. TREVELYAN: I imputed no motives whatever. I said—not referring to the hon. Gentleman—that the complaints had been made much more from the outside——

MR. CALLAN: I do not complain of the Chief Secretary, for I knew the source from which the insinuation——

MR. TREVELYAN: I made no insinuation of any sort or kind.

MR. CALLAN said, he considered it as such, and he at once fixed upon the party who he believed suggested it; and he would advise the Chief Secretary, just for peace and order in the House, as well as peace and order in Ireland, that the less he had to do with the right hon. Gentleman the better, for "evil communications corrupted good manners." ["Name, name!"] The right hon. Gentleman suggested that the Chief Secretary should not condescend to answer his Question, or answer it in a sneering tone. ["Name!"] It was the Home Secretary, of course. He desired to say that he never, either directly or indirectly, advised the Royal Irish Constabulary to strike. He had received a number of telegrams and letters since the Irish papers had circulated throughout the country districts from members of the Force, and they showed how keenly the Royal Irish Constabulary felt with respect to the injustice done them, and the favouritism—he could speak of it in no other manner—that was practised in that branch of the Service—the County and Sub-Inspectors. He desired the Irish Press to notice this, as it would save him writing many letters—that members of the Force should be very careful not merely in telegraphing, but in writing letters. He found that letters were delivered 12 hours out of the ordinary course. Whether they had been manipulated under the warrant of the Home Secretary he could not say; but he would advise the men of the Royal Irish Constabulary in writing to Members of that House to be most careful. He would read a telegram he had received from a sub-constable, but he would not give his name. It was as follows:—

> "We heartily thank you for your kind advocacy of our claims, determined to stand up for them to a man; but for God's sake don't give our names."

That had come through the telegraph office, and the poor sub-constable's name was already in the hands of the Inspector General, or would be in a very short time. It was, he thought, a very humiliating thing for Irish Members that when any question affecting Ireland came forward their letters were tampered with. Having spoken of the conduct of Sub-Inspector O'Callaghan, the hon. Member proceeded to say that there was no promotion from the ranks. There was no body so admirable as the Dublin Metropolitan Police, and they were well officered, exclusively by members from the ranks. The Royal Irish Constabulary were officered, he might say, almost exclusively by young men who were not fit for anything else, and who had, in addition, to wear a uniform. By this Bill they were asked to increase the pay of Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors. What was the reason of that? Constables and sub-constables found it much more difficult now to live on their pay than they did five or ten years ago. It was not too late for the Chief Secretary to introduce a Bill dealing with the head-constables and constables in the same spirit that this Bill dealt with County and Sub-Inspectors. Such a measure would tend materially to do away with the strong feeling of dissatisfaction which existed in Ireland. Even if made now, at the eleventh hour, he believed it would be accepted. If the police asked his advice, he would advise them not to strike; but he would advise them to adopt strong measures, although by doing so he might place himself under the bann and even subject to the insolence of other officials.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, it was necessary that he should say two or three words on this very important matter after the speeches that had been made from the Opposition Benches, because those speeches in some respects were made, he thought, under a misunderstanding, and they gave colour to a measure which was not a political, but a strictly administrative one. The general burden of the speeches from the Opposition Benches was to the effect that there were two great classes among the Irish Constabulary. One class, whose position it was proposed to improve by this Bill, was the officers; whereas, on the other hand, the larger class of men were entirely excluded from the benefits of the Bill. Now, some of the statements made were very important statements, which, so far as the Bill was concerned, were perfectly true; but he was bound to say that if the hon. Member for Louth (Mr. Callan) had been present on Wednesday he would have seen that the Bill was only part of a great scheme for the purpose of rewarding the Royal Irish Constabulary officers and men for the extra exertions, and losses, and hardships which they had endured during the last three years, and for the purpose likewise of improving their position permanently. The measure was far too sweeping to call a thing unconstitutional which held good in the Army, the Navy, and the Civil Departments of the State. The Queen in Council could alter the pay of all classes in the Army and Navy at her pleasure. It was estimated that the yearly increase of pay to the officers would be—County Inspectors, £3,420; Sub-Inspectors, £3,125; other officers, £3,443; total, £9,988. With regard to the men, they would get in aid of marching money £3,500 more than now, under the head of extra pay when absent from their stations £3,800 more, which would be distributed like marching money, exactly as the men had extra hours of duty. In allowances to constables in charge of stations £4,600 more, for repair of certain articles £3,000, for stationery £1,000, and for other items £1,100 a-year. That was to say, while the annual advantages to officers would amount to, he might call it, £10,000 a-year, the annual advantage to the men would amount to £17,000 a-year.

Mr. CALLAN: How many officers and how many men?

Mr. TREVELYAN said, the officers were about 300, and the men 12,000 or 13,000.

Mr. SEXTON: That is an average of 25*s.* a-year to the constables.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, the recommendations of the Departmental Committee with respect to the men had been more than carried out. That Committee recommended that the allowances should be made retrospective during the last three years, which would involve an amount of £51,000. The Government thought it right to do more, and sanctioned a grant of £180,000 to be paid down at once. Now, if they gave the officers £10,000 a-year more and the men £17,000, besides a sum of £180,000 down, he could not see that this was a scheme wholly for the benefit of the aristocratic part of the Force, if hon. Gentlemen preferred so to characterize it. A great many remarks had been made in the course of the debate upon the mutinous condition of the Force. Now, it was an extremely delicate matter to talk of in public when even such an assertion was in the air; but he was about to repeat what he said yesterday, that the accounts they had from the officers of the Constabulary gave a very different picture of what was passing. He could not even imagine how anyone could praise the Royal Irish Constabulary in one sentence, and in another talk with some sort of satisfaction of what was called "striking" in order to obtain advantages from the public. The hon. Member for Louth said that the Royal Irish Constabulary were determined on a strike.

Mr. CALLAN: I did not say they they were determined on a strike. I said the Royal Irish Constabulary, feeling themselves aggrieved, were determined to exact terms which, if given voluntarily, would not create ill-feeling.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, if the conduct of the Constabulary was mutinous, the Government would be face to face with a situation, the gravity of which it would be impossible to overrate; because it was quite impossible that any Government that was in the least deserving of the name of a Government could give to any body of public servants, and still more a body of public servants in the position of the Royal Irish Constabulary, anything whatever under pressure. They did not for one moment believe that the Royal Irish Constabulary in any number were determined to resign in order to exact terms from the Government. If they were determined to resign, their resignations would be accepted. Terms would not be granted under these circumstances.

> "I do not believe," wrote the Inspector General, "that there is really any improper feeling existing in their minds"

—and he was referring to a certain number of them.

> "They are, however, no doubt, in a state of doubt and disappointment as to the non-receipt of their share of the proposed grant of £180,000, which they have long expected."

Now, he (Mr. Trevelyan) was sorry that the grant of £180,000 had been so long deferred; but they all knew what difficulty there was in the present state of Parliament, overburdened as it was with Business, in passing the Estimates, and how liable those Estimates were to be postponed to the very last moment. But he sincerely trusted that in the very first days of the next week Parliament would be enabled to vote that £180,000, if Parliament so chose, in order to give a very substantial recompense to the Royal Irish Constabulary for their labours and services during the last three years. The hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) had said that there was no promotion from the ranks. In answer to his latest inquiries, he was informed that one in four were promoted from the ranks. His own efforts for many years had been to establish open competition in the Public Service; and he and those engaged with him in the work were charged with the design of excluding the aristocracy. With regard to first appointments in the Irish Constabulary, he would examine into the question *con amore*, and see what could be done to regularize the system. As to the resignations, there were a good many among the recruits; but there was no serious increase of resignations or discontent among the men who stayed long enough in the Force to know what its advantages were. In 1879 the resignations in the counties—that was to say, among the established men of the Force—were 63; those of the depôt, 50; together, 113. In 1880, those in the counties were 89; in the depôt, 65; in all, 154. In the year 1881, the time when there was a very great increase in the number of police, the resignations rose largely. In the counties they were 193, and at the depôt, 159; in all, 352. But what they were speaking of was the present state of the Force; and if they went six months back, that would be a period for which they could judge very nearly as well as for a long period. In the last six months the number of resignations in the permanent Force had been 50. If the average of 1881 had been maintained, it would have been 100. In the auxiliaries, men who had not the advantages of the Force, who were temporarily employed, almost entirely, on special, arduous, and disagreeable duties, 46 resigned; from the Reserve Force of the depôt, 10; and from the recruits, 89. He could not say that the resignation of 50 men from the permanent Force, or an average of 100 in the course of the year, gave cause for any great fear, and that a member of the Royal Irish Constabulary, settled in the enjoyment of his pay, and with the prospect of his pension, was a man who had any great cause for discontent.

Mr. SEXTON: What is the total for the six months?

Mr. TREVELYAN said, it was 195; but 46 were auxiliary and 89 recruits. He did not know that he had anything to explain beyond this—that the Pension Clauses placed the pensions of the future officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary on the same footing as the great bulk of the Civil Servants of the Crown, and they would have the privilege of taking these new terms or of adhering to the old. The latter were better up to 36 years' service; but between 36 and 40 years the new terms would be more advantageous. In order to quicken promotion and increase efficiency, officers who had served for 40 years, County Inspectors who had reached the age of 65, and Sub-Inspectors who had reached the age of 60 would be retired compulsorily, but not so as to injure their prospects with regard to pension. The 6th clause might create a certain amount of suspicion among those who knew that the Deputy Inspector Generalship was not filled up; but it did not follow that that post would not be filled up very soon indeed, and that it would not be filled in a way which would, he thought, satisfy the feeling which had existed for a good while, and very largely spread, but which he would not more closely refer to.

Mr. REDMOND said, he was very glad for the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, because it explained some things of importance which he confessed he did not understand before. They had now explained to them that the Bill was part of a large scheme which it was proposed should deal with the men as well as the officers of the Force, and he regretted that the whole scheme could not be considered at once. When the Constabulary Votes had been under consideration he had voted against the Estimates; but he had never done so that his vote might imply a general objection to the Constabulary. His objection to the Constabulary was that it was a Military Force and unsuited for the work to which it should apply itself in Ireland, and also a special objection that the condition of the officers in charge of these men had been such that very grave injustice had resulted. He was unwilling to support any increased allowance or pay to the officers of the Constabulary Force; and he was all the more opposed to it after what the right hon. Gentleman had told them, that this was a scheme for rewarding the officers and men of the Constabulary for the special work in which they had been engaged for the last three or four years. The extra work had been work of a most objectionable kind, and he would not by his vote give his sanction to the voting of money to such as Sub-Inspector Smith, who brought about the death of two of the children of an unfortunate evicted family. At the same time, when the giving of the money proposed to be given to the men of the Constabulary was under their consideration, he would be much more inclined to deal leniently with them, and perhaps he might see his way not to oppose the Vote.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 8; Noes 53: Majority 45.—(Div. List, No. 317.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

UNION OFFICERS' SUPERANNUATION (IRELAND) BILL.—[Bill 75.]

(*Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Mr. William Edward Forster, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland.*)

NOMINATION OF SELECT COMMITTEE.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Select Committee do consist of Sixteen Members.—(*Mr. Herbert Gladstone.*)

Mr. BIGGAR asked that the appointment of the Committee might be postponed.

Mr. WARTON noticed that most of the Members of the Committee were Irish Members; and he thought this was another attempt on the part of the Government to tamper with the question of Home Rule.

Mr. HERBERT GLADSTONE appealed to hon. Members to allow the Committee to be appointed.

Mr. CALLAN was in favour of the appointment of the Committee; but he objected to the names of two Englishmen on it. He understood the Committee was to consist exclusively of Irish Members.

Motion *agreed to*.

Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Mr. Healy, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, nominated Members of the Committee.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Meldon be one other Member of the Committee."

Mr. BIGGAR objected to the hon. Member's name. He thought the Committee should consist of Members who were impartial. The hon. Member was very much interested in the people to be benefited by this Bill. He would offer the most decided opposition to the hon. Member's name, and, if necessary, divide the House.

Mr. HEALY appealed to the hon. Member for Cavan not to press his objection.

Mr. SEXTON remarked, that he supposed all the Members of the Committee had made up their minds on the Bill.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 42; Noes 1: Majority 41.—(Div. List, No. 318.)

Mr. Gibson, Mr. Fitzpatrick, Captain Aylmer, Mr. Biggar, Sir Patrick O'Brien, Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Colonel TOTTENHAM, nominated other Members of the Committee.

Motion made, and Question, "That Mr. Eugene Collins be one other Member of the Committee,"—(*Mr. Herbert Gladstone*,)—put, and *negatived*.

Mr. MULHOLLAND, Mr. CALLAN, Mr. GREER, Mr. FINDLATER, and Mr. DALY, nominated other Members of the Committee:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Five to be the quorum.

GOVERNMENT ANNUITIES AND INSURANCE [ANNUITIES, &C.]

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That it is expedient to charge the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom with all immediate Annuities granted, and with any Savings Bank Annuities or Insurances which may be varied or corrected, or the cancellation of which may have been revoked, under the provisions of any Act of the present Session relating to the purchase of small Government Annuities and to assuring payments of money on death, and also to authorise the payment by the National Debt Commissioners of all Expenses incurred by any Savings Banks in the execution of such Act.

Resolution to be reported upon *Monday* next.

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS BILL.

Resolutions [August 4] *reported*, and *agreed to*:—Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. COURTNEY and Mr. TREVELYAN.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 269.]

PRISON CHARITIES BILL.

On Motion of Secretary Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, Bill to make provision respecting certain Prison Charities, *ordered* to be brought in by Secretary Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT and Mr. HIBBERT.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 270.]

House adjourned at half after Six o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 7*th August*, 1882.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Bombay Civil Fund* (222); Parcel Post* (223); Reserve Forces Acts Consolidation* (224); Militia Acts Consolidation* (225); Turnpike Roads (South Wales)* (226); Isle of Man (Officers)* (227).

Second Reading—Municipal Corporations (140).

Second Reading—Committee negatived—Customs and Inland Revenue*.

Report—Turnpike Acts Continuance* (198).

Third Reading—Civil Imprisonment (Scotland)* (208), and *passed*.

INDIA—SUCHAIT SINGH.

MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY, in moving for copies of correspondence with the India Office in June and July last respecting Suchait Singh, said, that the case which he had to place before their Lordships was a lamentable one, not only of injustice, but also of breach of faith on the part of the India Office towards Suchait Singh and towards himself. Their Lordships would remember that in 1879 he brought the case of Suchait Singh before the House, and had been unable to obtain any redress for him; but a lawyer employed by Suchait Singh had come to an agreement with Sir Owen Burne on behalf of the India Office. The chief points in this agreement were that Suchait Singh was to have an allowance of £2,000 a-year, instead of £500 originally offered to him on his dispossession, but none of which had he yet received, and that he was to have the rank and honours of a Rajput Prince. Suchait Singh went back to India in the spring of 1881, but could not get his affairs settled, and he returned here in the spring of this year, when, to his astonishment, he (Lord Stanley of Alderley) was told that the India Office now said that no agreement had ever been made between Sir Owen Burne and Mr. Bradford, Suchait Singh's lawyer. Upon this he went to see Mr. Bradford, to ascertain what he had to say upon the subject. He learned that his bill of costs—amounting to some £135—had been paid him by the India Office, and that this agreement, the existence of which was now denied, had been mentioned in it; moreover, that the India Office had later refused to pay him £150 which he had advanced to Suchait Singh at the written request of an India Office official, and that he was bringing an action against the India Office for this money, and that the India Office solicitor had accepted service. This action would come off in November, unless, as several persons had assured him would be the case, the India Office avoided it by paying the money into Court. But the India Office had placed itself in this dilemma—that if the action proceeded the conduct of one of its permanent officials would be exposed in a not very creditable manner; and if the Office avoided the action it would be discredited by having refused to pay a debt until threatened with an action, and it would become apparent that Sir Owen Burne was not prepared to state on oath that which the Under Secretary of State had been made to say in an official letter. He must now go back to what took place last year in India, when Suchait Singh returned there full of hopes of a speedy settlement of his affairs. After waiting a long time at Bombay getting no settlement he wrote to him (Lord Stanley of Alderley). He then complained at the India Office of these delays, and was told that the Indian officials could not settle his affairs at Bombay, and that they wished Suchait Singh to go to head-quarters. He accordingly wrote to him in that sense, and he proceeded to Calcutta. When there he was not allowed to see the Viceroy, nor could he even see a junior Under Secretary of the Foreign Office. He was driven from pillar to post, and at last got a letter offering him only the pittance which had been originally offered, and in despair he returned to this country. Now, was this the way to govern India, and to carry out the Queen's Proclamation, which was reiterated in Lord Canning's two Charters? An arrangement was made which satisfied all parties, but which had been set aside by chicanery, with no other apparent advantage than that of gratifying the spite of some subordinate officials and of punishing a man for having dared to appeal to the Secretary of State, and for having brought his case to this country. The Indian bureaucracy had the pretension that all their members were infallible, and when driven to rectify an error they did it in a hidden and secret manner—for instance, after he had complained of Mr. Burney, the second Resident at Chumba, and of his enormous salary, though what he said was scoffed at, Mr. Burney was removed, or promoted if they so liked to call it, but his successor was appointed with only half his salary. The Indian officials were masters in the arts of delay; they put by a letter and left it unanswered for a long time, and then called procrastination deliberation. It had often happened that they sent home to the Secretary of State their own view, and delayed for some time to send the document which was in opposition to them. Not only the Secretary of State, but the Viceroy also, was hoodwinked by these officials, and he was prevented from seeing and judging for himself. How was it that Suchait Singh had never been able to see a single Viceroy? How was it to be explained that the present Viceroy passed such a Bill as the Assam Coolie Bill, and that the Secretary of State could not do more than promise an annual Report upon it, though it was pointed out to him that two high retired Indian officials had been allowed, in the laxity which had succeeded the stricter government of the East India Company, to become President and Vice President of the Tea Planters' Association? Now that the check of the Board of Control over the Court of Directors no longer existed abuses, injustice, and tyranny must increase if the Secretary of State did not exercise greater vigilance over the Indian officials.

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for correspondence with the India Office in June and July last respecting Suchait Singh."—(*The Lord Stanley of Alderley.*)

Lord ELLENBOROUGH thought that it would be of great advantage to our Indian Empire for it to be known that all grievances of Natives, whether well-founded or otherwise, were brought under the notice of Parliament, and that no real grievance would long remain unredressed. Sir Owen Burne had been referred to; but he could not do otherwise than as he was authorized. The whole question was whether anything of the kind referred to by the noble Lord took place. Of his (Lord Ellenborough's) own knowledge Sir Owen Burne had always acted as he was authorized, and no real complaint could be made of his conduct.

Viscount ENFIELD said, that the noble Lord who had commenced this discussion had rather embarrassed him by introducing into his speech a number of topics which were not included in the Notice he had placed upon the Paper; therefore, he would address himself only to the complaint which the noble Lord had made and to his Motion for Correspondence. He must state at once that he was not authorized to grant the production of the Correspondence which the noble Lord wished for. The noble Lord desired to restrict himself to the Correspondence of June and July last; but it certainly would not be advisable to give the Correspondence which extended over only two months, as that would create an unfair impression of the whole case, which really extended over a period of 12 years. As to the claims of Suchait Singh, they had been repeatedly considered by successive Secretaries of State for India and adversely decided against. He hoped the Motion would not be pressed.

The Earl of NORTHBROOK entirely concurred in the observations of the noble Lord who had just sat down.

Lord STANLEY of ALDERLEY said, he would withdraw his Motion.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS BILL.

(*The Earl of Rosebery.*)

(No. 214.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

The Earl of ROSEBERY, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that it consolidated no less than 69 Statutes, and would prove to be of great convenience.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Earl of Rosebery.*)

Motion *agreed to*; Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

House adjourned at Five o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 7th August, 1882.

MINUTES.]—Select Committee—*Report*—Contagious Diseases Acts [No. 340].

Supply—*considered in Committee*—Army Estimates, Votes 7 to 25; Army (Indian Home Charges), £1,100,000; Afghan War (Grant in Aid), £500,000; Civil Service Estimates, Class III.—Law and Justice, Votes 22 to 35.

Public Bills—*Second Reading*—Prison Charities * [270]; Public Works Loans * [269]; Expiring Laws Continuance * [266]; Citation Amendment (Scotland) * [267].

Committee—Royal Irish Constabulary [264]—R.P.

Committee—Report—Revenue, Friendly Societies, and National Debt [260]; Government Annuities and Assurance * [190]; Merchant Shipping (Mercantile Marine Fund) [256]; Somersham Rectory * [222]; County Courts (Advocates' Costs) * [188].

Committee — Report — Third Reading—Pensions Commutation * [252], and *passed.*

Considered as amended — Third Reading—Artizans' Dwellings [255]; Intermediate Education (Ireland) * [258], and *passed.*

Withdrawn — Municipal Corporations (Unreformed) * [220].

QUESTIONS.

THE MAGISTRACY (SCOTLAND)—THE PROVOST OF DINGWALL.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Lord Advocate, If his attention has been drawn to the fact that Mr. D. G. Ross, Provost of Dingwall, has been convicted and fined £1, with £3 3*s.* expenses, for travelling on a Railway without a ticket; and, whether, under the circumstances, he should not be removed from the magisterial bench?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): On inquiry, I find that in 1877 Mr. Ross, now Provost of Dingwall, pleaded guilty to a charge of travelling on a railway without a ticket, and that he was fined in the sum mentioned in the Question. It appears that he had had a season ticket, which had shortly before expired, and it was stated on his behalf that on the occasion referred to he had no intention to defraud. Since this occurrence Mr. Ross has been elected a member of the Town Council by his fellow-townsmen, and he has been by the Town Council unanimously elected Provost. The Government do not intend, therefore, to take any steps in the matter.

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—ALLEGED SEARCHES FOR ARMS.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, on or about 21st July, Constable Young, of Ballyhaise, accompanied with a number of other policemen without producing any warrant, entered during the night, on the pretence of searching for arms, the houses of

James McCabe, Widow Ellen Reilly, Widow Ellen Corcoran, in the townland of Cullatra, parish of Drung, county Cavan, also of Pat Smyth, Cornegal, same parish; whether these policemen went into the sleeping apartments of the females of the different families; and, whether, for the time to come, he will punish any police who enter houses, on the pretence of searching for arms, without having legal warrant to do so?

MR. TREVELYAN: Constable Young, accompanied by three sub-constables, entered the houses of the persons referred to in this Question, not under any pretence of searching for arms, but under warrant issued by the Resident Magistrate on the information of a summons-server to the effect that he had been assaulted and intimidated by a party of five men when serving summonses for poor rates. The police did not enter the sleeping apartments of the females. The police were in search of the perpetrators of this outrage. There was no pretence of searching for arms, and they had a legal warrant for their action.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—DETENTION OF PERSONS ARRESTED UNDER THE ACT—PATRICK CURLEY AND OTHERS.

MR. REDMOND (for Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If there be any reason for the further detention of Patrick Curley and his son John Curley, the one confined in Naas and the other in Kilmainham Gaol, since the 27th January; and, whether Patrick Curley is not an old man seventy years of age, and disabled?

MR. TREVELYAN: The cases of both these men were considered on the 28th ultimo, when His Excellency decided that they should be detained for the present. Patrick Curley is reported to be 50 years of age; I have no information about his being disabled.

MR. REDMOND (for Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the time has arrived for the release of Thomas and James Morrissey, who have now been subjected to a lengthened period of imprisonment?

MR. TREVELYAN: There is no person named James Morrissey in custody. Thomas and Patrick Morrissey are in custody on reasonable suspicion of being accessory to murder. Their cases will come up for reconsideration on the 15th instant, and meanwhile they cannot be released.

MR. REDMOND (for Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he will cause particular inquiry to be made into the case of James M'Dermott, now detained in Kilmainham Prison, and arrested with twenty-two others on the 4th of July in Loughrea; and, whether, Mr. M'Dermott, being a newspaper correspondent, there is any truth in the prevalent opinion in his district that he owes his arrest to his supposed exposure in the local press of police misconduct?

MR. TREVELYAN: His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant examined into this case, and was satisfied that sufficient grounds existed for the arrest of James M'Dermott as being reasonably suspected of being accessory to murder. There is no ground for the idea that his arrest was in any way owing to the fact of his being a newspaper correspondent.

FISHERIES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM—DIGEST OF STATUTES AND REGULATIONS OF FISHERY BOARDS, WITH INDEX.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR asked the Lord Advocate, If he will cause a thoroughly good digest to be made in the ensuing Recess of all the many Laws and guiding regulations relating to all fisheries, sea and fresh water, also about the Fishery Board, with useful indexes by subjects and in alphabetical arrangement?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): I am afraid I cannot undertake to cause so large and important a literary work to be prepared in my own Department during the Recess. There already exists, in a convenient form, a compilation of the Herring and Sea Fishery Acts, prepared by the present Fishery Board, showing what Acts are repealed and what are still in force. If we are enabled to pass the Fishery Board Bill, and establish the new Board, that Board will naturally address itself to the preparation of such a digest of the Fishery Laws as my hon. and gallant Friend desires.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR: I would ask, in the event of the Fishery

Board Bill not being passed, whether the right hon. and learned Gentleman will undertake to make a digest?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): We will consider that.

COAL MINES—REPORTS OF THE RECENT EXPLOSIONS.

MR. BURT asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he can state when the Reports of the special inquiries, which he authorised to be made, into the colliery explosions at Trimdon Grange, Tudhoe, West Stanley, and Whitehaven, will be in the hands of Members?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: In reference to the two first explosions to which my hon. Friend refers, the Reports will be delivered to Members this week. The other Reports are in a forward state of preparation.

STATE OF IRELAND — ALLEGED MOLESTATION AT HILLYON, CO. MEATH.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (for Mr. SHEIL) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he will take care that Patrick Halpin and others, of Hillyon, in the county of Meath, are allowed to carry on their business unmolested?

MR. TREVELYAN: I have drawn the attention of the local Constabulary to the Question of the hon. Member.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT—PROSECUTIONS UNDER THE ACT.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he has observed that in every one of the five prosecutions which have taken place in the King's County under the Crime Prevention Act the persons accused have been discharged by the magistrates; whether, in a case tried at Birr on Thursday last, in which the police accused two men, Michael Kenny and William Dorrley, the latter an "ex-suspect," with having been on the public road at eleven o'clock at night—

> "Under circumstances giving rise to a reasonable suspicion of their being about to commit a criminal act,"

the magistrates discharged the prisoners, Mr. McSheehy, R.M. observing that—

> "The Legislature did not contemplate, in passing the Act, that it would be used to terrorise the people, and he trusted those entrusted with the carrying of it out would use all due discretion in future;"

and, whether, in view of this and similar cases since the passing of the Act, the Irish Executive will instruct the Police to use the power of arrest with more discretion?

MR. TREVELYAN: There were two cases only tried under the Prevention of Crime Act in the King's County, and both of these were dismissed by the magistrates. Mr. M'Sheehy did not use the expression "terrorize" attributed to him in the second paragraph of the Question. He informs me that what he said was that it was not the intention of Government that the Act should be carried out oppressively. Attention will be called to the necessity of exercising discretion in making arrests under the Act.

NAVY—THE MEDITERRANEAN FLEET —ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGYMEN.

MR. MOORE asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, What steps have been taken to carry out the Minute of 7th June 1878 in the Squadrons at Alexandria and Port Said; and, whether, in the event of ships being used for hospital purposes, he will take care that the sick and dying soldiers and sailors of the Roman Catholic Church are not left without consolation of religion?

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN: Sir, I have been in communication with Dr. Virtue, Bishop of Portsmouth, and with my hon. Friend himself, on this subject. The result is, that as there is some doubt whether there is, especially on the Suez Canal, an adequate provision of Catholic clerymen for the seamen of the Fleet, the Admiralty have arranged with the War Office to send out an additional priest above the number to be sent for the Army—and the services of this additional priest will be available for the Fleet.

EGYPT (MILITARY EXPEDITION) — SERVICES OF THE MARINES — TURKISH MILITARY INTERVENTION.

MR. HOPWOOD asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether there has been any honourable mention made by Sir Beauchamp Seymour in his Despatches of the services of the Marines, who form a large proportion of the fighting force under his command; and, whether the propriety of appointing a Brigadier and Staff to the Marine force in Egypt has been considered?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The despatches received from Sir Beauchamp Seymour refer only to the action of July 11 at Alexandria, and no special mention is made in them of the services of the Royal Marines, although the Admiral speaks most highly of all the officers and men—including, of course, the Marines—under his command. The second Question addressed to me by my hon. and learned Friend I have already on two occasions answered. The Marines now on active service are attached to the ships of the Fleet, and it is not thought necessary to appoint a special Brigadier General and Staff for the part of the Force serving on shore.

Mr. GORST asked whether the Royal Marines and Royal Marine Artillery did not form at least one-half of the Naval Force engaged at the bombardment of Alexandria?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I have already stated that Sir Beauchamp Seymour's remarks, no doubt, applied to the Marines as much as to seamen; but they were then engaged in performing their duties on board ship. What the proportion of Marines to seamen was I cannot say.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Firman of August 1879, investing Tewfik Pasha with the Khediviat, which, before promulgation, was communicated to and accepted by the Governments of England and France, forms one of the "International engagements" of the Sultan; whether the Egyptian tribute of £T.750,000, payable to the Sultan, is fixed by that Firman; and, whether the Plenipotentiaries at Constantinople are taking measures to ascertain if the Sultan adheres to that engagement?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Yes, Sir; the Firman, as communicated by the Porte to the English and French Ambassadors, is an international engagement on the part of the Sultan. It fixes the tribute at £T.750,000. I am not aware that any measures have been taken by the Conference to ascertain if the Sultan adheres to that engagement. But it has been frequently referred to by Her Majesty's Government as one of the international engagements which it is a part of their policy to maintain.

Mr. BOURKE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he will state what the conditions of the negotiations are respecting Turkish Military intervention in Egypt; if Turkish troops are to go to Egypt, what steps will be taken to secure unity of action on the part of the Military commanders; whether the Conference will control or interfere with the Military action of England; what flag is treated as the territorial flag at Suez and elsewhere when British troops are in occupation, and in whose name is civil authority exercised in those places; what is the nature of the agreement respecting the protectorate of the Suez Canal; and, has the neutralisation of the Suez Canal been discussed at the Conference, or between Her Majesty's Government and any other Foreign Power?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: In reply to my right hon. Friend's first and second Questions, I have to state that the negotiations respecting Turkish military intervention have not reached a stage at which I can make any statement in regard to them. As regards his third Question, I have no reason to believe that the Conference "will control or interfere with" the military action of England. In reply to the fourth Question, Her Majesty's Government consider that the flag of the Khedive is the flag to be flown in Egypt when British troops are in occupation, and civil authority is exercised in the Khedive's name. In reply to the fifth and sixth Questions, I have to state that no agreement has been come to for any "protectorate of the Suez Canal." The only proposal that has been made is one for securing the safety of a free passage through the Canal by arrangements in which all the Powers should be invited to take part. Her Majesty's Ambassador has been instructed that any agreement at present for this purpose should be confined to temporary arrangements, having reference to existing circumstances.

Mr. BOURKE: Are we to understand that the Government has departed from the recent declaration of the Prime Minister that any questions relating to the Suez Canal are outside the purview of the Conference?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: The Prime Minister has already stated in the

House that he never made that statement. The statement that I made, and which the Prime Minister repeated, was that the neutralization of the Canal was outside the purview of the Conference. The Prime Minister inserted guarded words in his remarks, to the report of which I may refer the right hon. Gentleman.

Mr. BOURKE: Perhaps the hon. Gentleman would inform the House whether there is any truth in the report which appears in one of the morning journals that an Ultimatum has been received by the Porte respecting the despatch of other troops?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: No Ultimatum has been delivered to the Porte, and the statement to which the right hon. Gentleman refers is quite inaccurate in stating that there is any threat to withdraw our Ambassador from Constantinople.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON: Will prisoners taken from the Egyptian Forces be treated as rebels or as belligerents?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: That is a Question which should be addressed to the Secretary of State for War.

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If any proposal has been submitted to the British Government, or to the Conference, for the neutralisation of the Suez Canal, or for placing it under the direction of a Commission appointed by the Great Powers?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: I have already replied to my hon. Friend's Question in the answer which I have just given to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Lynn Regis.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT—THE MISSES BUCKLEY.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he has yet examined the circumstances connected with the trial and imprisonment of a number of persons at Gunsborough, county Kerry, under the Crime Prevention Act, on a charge of unlawful assembly and assault on the police; and, whether, under all the circumstances, the Government think it expedient, especially with regard to the three Misses Buckley, that the sentences inflicted in this case should be endured in full?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I have examined into the circumstances of the cases referred to in the Question; but I find no reason to recommend the Lord Lieutenant to interfere with the course of the law. The facts are briefly as follows:—The police at a neighbouring protection post received private information that two women who are living with a "Boycotted" woman near Gunsborough would be assaulted when returning from Listowel. Two sub-constables were consequently sent out on patrol duty, and on reaching the neighbourhood of Mr. Buckley's house they saw a crowd of 20 or 30 persons assembled, who hooted them, cheered for the Land League, and threw stones after them. The police, however, succeeded in getting the crowd to disperse, and returned to barracks; but later in the evening the two women for whose protection they had gone out were assaulted and struck with stones at the very same place. Seven men were convicted of having taken part in an unlawful assembly, and were sentenced by the magistrates to one month's imprisonment with hard labour, and the three girls, daughters of Mr. Lawrence Buckley, a farmer, were sentenced to a fortnight's imprisonment without hard labour. The "Boycotted" woman referred to has since been threatened, and is now under police protection.

EGYPT (MILITARY AFFAIRS)—TURKISH MILITARY INTERVENTION.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is the fact, as stated in to-day's papers, that on the 3rd instant three Turkish transports with artillery and stores started for Alexandria; and, whether the Porte has yet proclaimed Arabi Pacha a rebel; if not, whether Her Majesty's Government have decided no longer to insist upon such proclamation as a condition precedent to the landing of Turkish troops in Egypt?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: No Turkish troops have been despatched to Alexandria, and we have been informed by the Porte that the destination of those already embarked is Crete.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS: The hon. Gentleman has not answered the last part of my Question.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: I thought the last part of the Question depended on the answer to the first, which assumed the truth of the statement that troops were on their way to Egypt. Of course, Her Majesty's Government have not changed their position in regard to the issue of the Proclamation.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the other Powers had asked us to proclaim Arabi, or whether the Conference had done so?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: The statement I made had reference to the Conference.

Mr. HEALY: How far is Crete from Alexandria?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: The hon. Member can see for himself if he looks at the map.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—THE O'CONNELL STATUE—CIRCULAR TO THE POLICE.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the circular published in the "Freeman's Journal" of Saturday, purporting to be addressed by the Executive to County Inspectors of Constabulary in Ireland, is an authentic document; if so, why the Government have desired the inspectors to report whether large numbers of persons intend coming from their respective counties to Dublin on the occasion of the unveiling of the O'Connell statue and opening of the Irish Industrial Exhibition; what classes of persons so intend, and whether certain agitators and ex-suspects, whose names are given, may be expected in Dublin on the occasion; and, whether the Government have any intention of impeding the celebrations in Dublin on the 15th instant, or of interfering, in any particular cases, with the right of individuals in any part of Ireland to participate in those celebrations?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Confidential Circulars can only get abroad by a breach of confidence; and I cannot answer any Question about them in the House. The Government have no intention of impeding the celebrations in Dublin, or of interfering with the rights of any person who keeps within the law.

LAW AND JUSTICE—CRIMINAL LUNATICS—REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE.

Mr. RAMSAY asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, When the Report of the Departmental Committee, appointed to consider and report as to the custody and treatment of criminal lunatics, will be laid before Parliament?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, he had received this Report only two days ago, and had not yet had time to study it. It would afterwards have to go to the Treasury. He would then consider whether it could properly be laid before Parliament.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—OCCUPATION OF THE SUEZ CANAL—PROTESTS OF M. DE LESSEPS.

Mr. GOURLEY asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If he will be good enough to inform the House, if his attention has been called to the protests alleged to have been lodged by M. de Lesseps against the landing of British Troops on the property of the Suez Canal Company; and, if the ownership of the Canal is subject to the Suzerain rights of the Porte; if so, whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to negotiate for the purchase of the Sultan's monetary rights, with the intention eventually of arranging with the European Powers that the navigation of the Canal shall be that of an International Ocean-highway in times of peace as well as of war?

Mr. GLADSTONE: We are cognizant of the fact that certain protests, as they are called, have been made by M. de Lesseps on the subject of the landing of British troops; but M. de Lesseps does not, as we have ascertained, act in any way except as a private individual, and consequently we have not thought it necessary to take any steps with regard to these so-called protests. With respect to the question of the ownership of the Canal, and the intentions of the Government, it is our opinion that the only matter which can be considered with advantage at this moment is its present condition and the possibilities of its remaining open. The Canal is open, and therefore we are not disposed to raise any of these questions at the present moment.

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—ALLEGED DISCONTENT.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he did not wish to press the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant; but it might be satisfactory to the country if the right hon. Gentleman could inform the House whether the reports with regard to the Constabulary were correct or exaggerated?

Mr. TREVELYAN: There are very long accounts in various papers, and some of them are considerably exaggerated. But the movement is strong in one part of the country. I believe the report with regard to Mr. Clifford Lloyd is, as far as I can gather from a comparison of papers and from the accounts of Colonel Bruce, has been greatly exaggerated. The most important rumour was that some of the police had refused to go on duty. That, I am glad to say, is not correct. Colonel Bruce, in a letter, said—

> "I am satisfied that the Constabulary are as perfectly loyal at this moment, and as ready to perform any duty required of them, as ever. The combination has undoubtedly spread more or less over the country."

Further on he said—

> "I would again say I believe the spirit of the men is at present perfectly loyal and faithful; but it is true that they are smarting under the feeling of disappointment at the delay which has occurred in the distribution of the £180,000 promised to them."

Full and mature inquiry will be made into the complaints of the men; but the Government will not entertain any representations as long as the present attitude exists, which is opposed to discipline, and seriously discredits the Force. That I know to be the intention of the Irish Government. I regret very much that the necessity of passing the Constabulary Bill, and the Vote of £180,000 mentioned in the Inspector General's Report, keeps me from going to Ireland to take part in the business.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR asked whether it was a fact, as stated in some of the newspapers, that Mr. Clifford Lloyd had an interview with the police, which was, to say the least of it, of an unpleasant character, and the police declared that they would not parade again if called upon to do so by Mr. Clifford Lloyd; and whether Colonel Bruce, instead of Mr. Clifford Lloyd, was present at the parade?

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he would want Notice of the Question, because he had got no information about it. All he could say was that the attitude of Mr. Clifford Lloyd had been extremely different from that ascribed to him in the newspapers, and he had seen several letters from him. He would obtain information on that point, however; but would use his own judgment in giving it to the House. Whatever the men did was done anterior to the interview with Mr. Clifford Lloyd.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, the right hon. Gentleman had not answered the latter part of his Question.

Mr. SEXTON: I beg to give Notice that I will ask the right hon. Gentleman this Question to-morrow, when, perhaps, he will be able to answer it.

Mr. TREVELYAN: I shall certainly be able to answer it; but, so far as the action of Mr. Clifford Lloyd is concerned, he simply endeavoured to bring the police to a proper sense of their duty.

Mr. CALLAN said, he wished to ask the Chief Secretary a Question relating to a telegram which he had received from that "anonymous," but he thought very real body, the Royal Irish Constabulary. The telegram stated that the Head Constables seized the men's Memorial to-day and placed Constable Murphy under arrest, charged with having an illegal document in his possession, and requested him to ask the Chief Secretary a Question on this point. He wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether his attention had been directed to a paragraph which appeared in *The Standard* newspaper to-day from *The Standard* correspondent at Cork, stating that an extraordinary occurrence happened there to-day in connection with the police agitation. The paragraph he referred to contained the particulars relating to the seizure of the Memorial and the arrest of the constable having it in his possession. He wished to know whether that action had the approbation and sanction of the Chief Secretary; and whether he would be good enough to state under what Act or Rule of the Constabulary Code the Head Constable had acted; whether the right hon. Gentleman was still of opinion that the reports in the newspapers, with regard to this movement, were characterized by extraordinary exaggeration, and that the present agitation was largely due to causes outside the Police Force; and whether he was now of opinion that it was due to internal causes in the Police Force; and whether the course taken by Colonel Bruce was not improper and unwise in the extreme?

MR. TREVELYAN said, he should require Notice of the Question.

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—THE VOTE OF COMPENSATION.

In reply to Mr. LEWIS,

MR. TREVELYAN said, that if the Army Estimates closed at a sufficiently early period of the evening, he proposed to proceed with the Constabulary Vote.

MR. HEALY: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, in addition to proceeding with the Constabulary Vote, he intends to go on with the Royal Irish Constabulary Bill? If so, I beg to give Notice that I will move to report Progress, as it is important that the country should understand that while the men are neglected it is proposed that the officers' pay should be increased.

MR. TREVELYAN ventured to say that hon. Members opposite would meet the wishes of the Government half way. After getting some Votes in Committee he was disposed to go on with the Bill; but he would communicate with the hon. Member beforehand.

CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT—OUT-DOOR OFFICERS.

MR. EDWARD CLARKE asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the petition of the outport outdoor officers of Her Majesty's Customs has been considered; and, whether the Lords of the Treasury will take into consideration the period of service of outdoor officers of from ten to thirty years' standing, who are only in receipt of £66 10*s.* per annum, whereas boatmen of less than 10 years' service are receiving £70 per annum?

MR. COURTNEY: The Board of Customs have not recommended any modification in the new scale for Customs' out-door officers, and the Treasury have no reason for thinking that any change is required. I cannot admit comparisons between the rate of promotion in different branches of the Service, such as that suggested in the latter part of the Question.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—TREATMENT OF PRISONERS.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON asked the Secretary of State for War, whether the prisoners who were taken from Arabi Pasha's Army would be treated as rebels or as prisoners of war?

MR. CHILDERS said, he had got no Notice of the Question; but he had no doubt they would be treated as prisoners of war.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON asked the Prime Minister whether a declaration of war had been made against anybody?

MR. GLADSTONE: No.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked whether Arabi Pasha, if captured, would be treated as a rebel or as a prisoner of war?

[No answer was given.]

MR. BOURKE said, as some of his Questions on military intervention in Egypt had not been answered, he would put them again on Thursday.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

ARMY (INDIA)—ROMAN CATHOLIC CHAPLAINS.—OBSERVATIONS.

MR. MOORE rose to draw attention to the inadequate remuneration of Roman Catholic chaplains ministering to the Imperial Forces in India. The hon. Member represented that in every way the remuneration was cut down to the very lowest possible point, it being limited to actual service with the troops, and no allowance being granted when passing from one point to another, and neither furlough, pension, nor passage home being granted. It was objected that they did not serve continuously; but to give some idea of their services he mentioned that four chaplains had served 20 years in Bengal, five had served 25 years, and three had served 30 years, or a period of service which, in nearly every other Department of the State, would be recognized by some remuneration which would place the recipient beyond dependence. If the argument was used that these chaplains would continue to do the work whether paid or not, he would admit that that was the fact; but he did not think that an argument worthy of a great Government. In conclusion, he asked what provision had been made for the Roman Catholic soldiers in the Indian Contingent in Egypt?

Mr. BLAKE agreed with the hon. Member that the position of Roman Catholic chaplains in India was such as to call for improvement. When lately in India, he had devoted some time in investigating the grievances which the Catholic chaplains attached to the Army suffered under. In addition to communicating personally with a number of the chaplains, he had interviews on the subject with the Archbishop of Calcutta, the Bishops of Agra and Bombay, and the Vicar General of Madras. The complaints against the system might be classed under four heads—1. The absence of regular appointments, similar to the Protestant chaplains. 2. Inadequate pay. 3. No furloughs. 4. No pensions. Whilst the Catholic chaplains did, to say the least, fully as much work as the Protestant, there was not the same official recognition of them. The Protestants had often four times as much pay—never less than double—and were, besides, granted sick leave when they required it—and the usual periodic leave of absence, and, above all, were entitled to very liberal retiring pensions, after 17 years' service, amounting to £1 a-day —and for less service in proportion. The Catholic chaplain, out of his wretched allowance, if prevented by illness from attending temporarily to his duties, had to pay for a substitute, and was not allowed a day's leave of absence without his pay being stopped. No matter how long he served, how broken down he might be, and unfit for further clerical duties, no pension was granted to him. When he went into the field and served, as he often did, under fire, only half the "batta," or extra allowance, was granted to him that was granted to the Protestant chaplain. He (Mr. Blake) had seen some very aged Catholic chaplains, who had attended the troops for 30 years and upwards, who would be compelled, when unfit for further duty, to become the recipients of the charity of their Bishops. Fully half the European troops serving in India appeared to be Irish or of Irish parentage, and with few exceptions were Catholics. Numbers of them and their wives had strongly complained to him that many of their chaplains could hardly speak English—they were nearly all Italians, French, or Belgians, or occasionally Portuguese. This arose from the Bishops, and most of the governing ecclesiastics, belonging to the four nationalities—and they naturally gave preference to their own countrymen. Some of the Italian priests were glad to get away to avoid the conscription, which did not respect their holy office, and were content to live on the most scanty allowance. Some of the priests were of the mixed or Eurasian race, and could subsist on much less than English or Irish priests. But foreigners, as a rule, could not in the way of instruction, or when attending the dying, administer as satisfactorily as the soldiers' own countrymen, and it was difficult to obtain them unless they were more liberally dealt with. One reason assigned for the much smaller pay given to the Catholic chaplain was that, as they had neither wives nor children, and did not indulge in the gaieties of society, they did not require so much pay. No doubt there was something in that; but only giving them a fourth as much was making too large an allowance for the cost of wives and children, and other social enjoyments, which the Catholic chaplains refrained from. The noble Marquess would also probably say, as some of his Predecessors had said before him, that the Catholic chaplains were not so much under the control of the military authorities as the Protestant, and that, therefore, the Government could not be expected to deal with them in the same way. Now, this objection had no practical weight. It was true that the Bishops insisted on having the chaplains under their control; but that was all the better for ecclesiastical purposes; and he had the assurance of the Bishops having the greatest number of military cantonments in their diocese, that they always endeavoured to carry out the suggestions of commanding officers with regard to the chaplains, and attended to every reasonable complaint, and never allowed, when it was practicable, the Catholic military to be without spiritual aid—although often at extra cost—as whilst the Protestant chaplain was allowed a *carte-blanche* as regarded expenses in attending out stations to perform Divine service on Sundays, no matter how small the number of Protestant soldiers at them, the Catholic chaplain, if he attended, could only obtain his expenses if the soldiers attending Mass amounted to a certain number; and, rather than the soldiers should not have Mass, the priests frequently paid their expenses themselves. Apart from the extreme unfairness, it was most impolitic for the Government to allow the Catholic soldiers to see their clergy treated in an exceptionally unjust manner. England had to depend for the maintenance of her Indian Empire quite as much on the Catholic soldier as on the Protestant—indeed, rather more so, as the bulk of the Christian Native soldiers were Catholics. It was unworthy of the Government to try to escape paying the Catholic chaplains properly, and denying them the privileges given to the Protestant, as regarded furlough and pension, on the grounds usually advanced. As he had a strong belief in the sense of justice and the generous promptings of the present Secretary of State for India, he hoped to hear from him a more satisfactory reply to the hon. Member for Clonmel than those usually given by his Predecessors, when similar appeals had been made.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON, in reply, said, there had been a considerable amount of official Correspondence between the Government of India and the Home Government and persons interested in the question, which Correspondence was laid on the Table and printed. In consequence of the attention which was called to the subject at various times from 1872 to 1876, the Government of India, in 1876, made certain suggestions for the improvement of the condition of Roman Catholic chaplains in India. These proposals involved an additional cost of 85,000 rupees, the former amount expended on Roman Catholic chaplains in India, exclusive of the Bishops, having been 1 lakh and 62,000 rupees, which was thus raised to 2 lakhs and 48,000 rupees. Those proposals were accepted in their entirety by the then Secretary of State for India (Lord Salisbury); and, so far as he (the Marquess of Hartington) was aware, from that time to this there had been no official representation, nor representation of any other character, on the subject. Therefore, he was of opinion that what was done at that time had been considered fairly satisfactory to the Roman Catholic chaplains. He had not the slightest doubt, however, that any representations which might be made to the Government of India upon the subject would receive very careful consideration; and if they were of opinion that substantial injustice was being done, or hardship being inflicted, he thought they would not be indisposed to take steps with the view of effecting a remedy. The Government of India could hardly be expected to take the initiative, and to proceed to increase the salaries of these chaplains, until it was brought prominently and clearly before their notice that there was some grievance of which they were entitled to complain. The two hon. Members who had spoken had touched upon much the same points as were dwelt upon in the years to which he had referred. They had spoken of low pay, want of pension, and want of furlough, and had shown how, with respect to those three matters, the Roman Catholic chaplains were at a disadvantage when compared with Protestant chaplains. The fact was that there was no comparison whatever to be made between the Roman Catholic chaplains, who were not under the orders of the Government of India, and who only received a grant in aid, and the persons who were personally engaged by the Government, and were subject to its orders. The comparison could only fairly be made between two sets of chaplains serving under the same conditions. He did not understand that hon. Members were prepared to advocate putting Roman Catholic chaplains in the position of paid Government chaplains. Nor was he at all aware whether such a proposition would be acceptable to the heads of the Roman Catholic Church; but until that was done no comparison could be made as regarded pay and position between persons serving under totally different conditions. Supposing it were desired by the Roman Catholic authorities, the desirability of placing chaplains of that faith in the position of ordinary Government chaplains was certainly a fair subject for discussion. The right hon. Member for Montrose (Mr. Baxter) had called the attention of the Government of India on more than one occasion to what he considered was the excessive provision by the Government of India for the religious wants of Protestants, and the representations he had made were now under the consideration of the Government of India. They were considering whether it would not be possible to make some reduction in the establishment of Protestant chaplains, and perhaps the present was not, therefore, a favourable moment for opening the question of the creation of a new religious establishment. But, while no comparison between chaplains serving under totally different conditions could be made, it was a perfectly fair subject for discussion as to whether the remuneration given to the Roman Catholic chaplains by the grant in aid was sufficient for their proper maintenance. He was informed, as a matter of fact, that their remuneration did not compare unfavourably with that which was received by Roman Catholic clergy who were engaged in other duties. He thought, therefore, that there was no strong case made out for the increase of these grants; because no one could contend that it was the duty of the taxpayers of India to pay a larger price for the remuneration of the Roman Catholic chaplains than was sufficient to maintain the services of competent men when they were engaged on other duties. If it was suggested that this remuneration was absolutely inadequate, and if such suggestions were brought to his notice in any tangible form, he should be most happy to have these allegations examined into. He did not think that the Government of India could be accused of neglecting the subject, for no representations had hitherto been brought to their notice. The hon. Member for Clonmel had asked him if he could state what provision had been made for the religious necessities of Roman Catholic troops coming from India to Egypt? The only information the India Office had received was entirely telegraphic, and this was one of the details on which he was not yet able to give the House any information. He had no doubt, however, that it was a subject that had not been overlooked by the Government of India.

Colonel NOLAN maintained that the pay received by Roman Catholic clergymen ministering to the Forces in India was totally inadequate to keep them in the comfort necessary for their health in the climate of India. The fact was that the rate of pay for Roman Catholic clergy in India was lowered by the existence of a Roman Catholic Portuguese Colony. Those men had become acclimatized, and were able to live on a lower rate of pay than persons coming direct from Europe. They ought not to be satisfied until the Roman Catholic clergy were on an equality with the Protestant clergy. The present state of things was due to the influence exercised by the Established Church.

Mr. MACFARLANE said, the Government of India knew that such was the zeal of the Roman Catholic clergymen that they would work for nothing rather than let their people be neglected, and the Government had taken advantage of that zeal. He hoped they would be dealt with fairly and honestly. If the Government were not disposed to grant them pensions, he would suggest that their pay should be increased, leaving the pensions to be provided by themselves.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he could bear testimony to the admirable manner in which the Roman Catholic chaplains discharged their duties. But he wished to point out that their salaries had of late years been very considerably raised. They were now, in his opinion, adequately paid, and he agreed with the noble Marquess that, as compared with other persons in similar positions, they were well paid. The real question, he thought, was not so much whether the salaries of the Roman Catholic chaplains should be increased, as whether the salaries of the Protestant chaplains should not be cut down.

Mr. SEXTON said, no one could complain of the general tone of the observations that had been made as to the manner in which the Roman Catholic chaplains discharged their duties, and he hoped their claims would receive due attention. Although they received only a quarter of the salary received by the Protestant chaplains, they had to perform the same duties. It was said that the Protestant chaplains were often married men, and, therefore, required larger salaries; but it seemed that they received the same salaries whether they were married or single. The objection that the Protestant chaplains were Government officials, whereas the Roman Catholics were not, was merely technical; and he hoped that the Government would not rely on such a technical plea as an excuse for not placing all the chaplains on an equal footing as regards salary.

ARMY—LONG AND SHORT SERVICE.

OBSERVATIONS.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL, who had given Notice of the following Motion :—

> "That experience shows that no system will provide adequately for the military requirements of the British Empire which does not provide for two distinct classes of soldiers, short service men to stay at home and form a reserve for defence, and long service men to form a professional army to serve in India and distant Foreign possessions,"

said, that, in the present state of Business, he would not now attempt to raise so large a question. He only hoped the Secretary of State for War would take into consideration the question which his Notice raised. He quite admitted that the right hon. Gentleman had made changes which went somewhat in the direction indicated; and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman might go further some day. He did not think we would have a sufficient army in India until we allowed those who were suited by clime and taste to remain in India as long as they liked.

EGYPT (MILITARY EXPEDITION)—OFFICERS HOLDING STAFF APPOINTMENTS.

OBSERVATIONS.

COLONEL ALEXANDER rose to call the attention of the House to the circumstances under which certain Officers proceeding with the Expeditionary Force to Egypt have been allowed to retain staff appointments at home. The hon. and gallant Gentleman said : It may be said, probably will be said, that the course which I am taking with respect to this question is somewhat exceptional and unusual. I admit, Sir, that it is unusual, and, perhaps, also inconvenient; but then the circumstances which induce me to take this course are also very exceptional and unusual. An Expeditionary Force is sent to Egypt, and no fewer than 16 of the officers composing that Force hold, at the same time, high appointments at home. That, perhaps, may not of itself be a very remarkable coincidence; but when I add that all the officers in question are allowed to retain those appointments, you have a state of things which, I venture to pronounce, is unique and unprecedented in the annals of the British Army. Possibly the right hon. Gentleman may be able to point to one or two instances in which officers proceeding abroad have been allowed to retain appointments on the Staff at home; but of this I am quite sure—that never before has the practice been reduced to a system, never before has it been carried out in so wholesale and, I am bound to add, so audacious and unblushing a manner. If I might offer a suggestion to the right hon. Gentleman, it would be that he should inscribe in letters of gold over the portals of the War Office the words, *Beati possidentes*, for no motto could be more appropriate in a building where the Scriptural maxim is literally carried out—"To him that hath to him shall be given, and he shall have it more abundantly." Pluralities have disappeared from the Church; but the system, it would appear, is to be revived in the Army. Perhaps the House will allow me to relate an anecdote more familiar to men of the last than to those of this generation. During the Crimean War, Lord Panmure, then Secretary of State for War, anxious to promote the interests of his nephew, Major Dowbiggin, sent the following curt but significant message to Lord Raglan—"Take care of Dowb." The phrase—"Take care of Dowb," has since passed into a proverb. The right hon. Gentleman has improved on the practice of his Predecessor, for he takes care, not of one, but of 16 Dowbs. It is curious to note the tendency of history to repeat itself, and to observe how, when Liberal Governments are in power, Dowbs multiply and abound. The right hon. Gentleman excuses his action in this matter on the assumption that the expedition will probably return three months hence; but on what grounds does the right hon. Gentleman base this assumption? On grounds probably as substantial as those which induced the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in 1854, to lay on the Table of the House an Estimate for taking the Guards to Malta and back. But, even assuming the prophecy of the right hon. Gentleman to be fulfilled, is that any reason why, during the next three months, all the Military Departments of the State should be undermanned and, in some cases, deprived of their responsible heads? The right hon. Gentleman will not deny that, during a great war, and especially at the outset of a great war, the labour devolving on those Departments is enormously increased; and yet this is precisely the time chosen by him for crippling and enfeebling their action. The right hon. Gentleman is in this dilemma. If the services of the Adjutant General and his Colleagues were required three months ago, *à fortiori* they are required now; and, if they can be dispensed with now, they can equally be dispensed with three months hence. The right hon. Gentleman told me the other day that he could not send General Feilding to Egypt because his services were required at Malta; but I would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the services of the distinguished officer who now commands the troops which General Feilding trained were not equally required in the Intelligence Department at home? The right hon. Gentleman may possibly say that in many of these Departments there is an excellent *locum tenens*; but I need hardly remind the House that work performed by a *locum tenens* is never so satisfactory as work undertaken by a responsible head. I am told, although I can scarcely believe it, that the right hon. Gentleman defends the grace of three months accorded to these fortunate officers on the ground that a similar indulgence is granted to officers appointed to the Staff before being seconded from their regiments. There is, however, no analogy between the two cases—a period of three months is granted to an officer before being seconded in his regiment, to enable him to make choice between Regimental and Staff Service; but surely the right hon. Gentleman does not mean to apply this principle as between one Staff appointment and another—surely he does not mean to lay down the rule that a man, having accepted one Staff appointment, is to have three months in which to say whether he would not like another better. Besides, some of these officers have already been seconded from their regiments, and have had one period of grace given them; but now the right hon. Gentleman actually proposes to give them another. The right hon. Gentleman is departing from all the principles which he laid down last year when fixing the new Establishment of General Officers. On June 24, 1881, the right hon. Gentleman said—

> "We have fixed the number of General Officers at about double the average number who will be employed in ordinary times, leaving, therefore, ample margin for times of great wars. . . . . We have brought that number down to what is considered by those who advise me on this subject an efficient number with respect to the requirements of the Service." — [3 *Hansard*, cclxii. 1233.]

When the right hon. Gentleman said this he could not have intended that one man should occupy two places, for in that case the number of General Officers proposed would be unnecessarily large. Sir, I have asked myself, over and over again, what do these favoured officers require? Is it not enough to be commissioned to sustain the honour of the country abroad—to receive, perhaps, the thanks of both Houses of Parliament—to be created, it may be, Lord Rosetta or Lord Damietta—to return home in a blaze of glory and constellations—is not all this enough, without requiring unfortunate officers at home to act as their warming-pans? These officers are well known in the Service as the "Mutual Admiration Society," from the mutual respect they entertain for each other's talents and abilities. Their doctrine is that—"Outside the Ashantee ring there is no salvation." If I might give advice to a young man entering the Army, it would be to cultivate the Ashantee ring —their favour is the *via prima salutis*, the only sure road to honour and preferment. They are more formidable than the most formidable Caucus, for they ruthlessly "Boycott" all who do not share the opinions they espouse. If they pronounce in favour of short service, you must carefully conceal your preference for long, otherwise you will be relegated to honourable banishment, like Sir Frederick Roberts, or hopelessly shelved, like Sir Lintorn Simmons. Let not the right hon. Gentleman deceive himself. Let him not think, because discipline prevents the expression of discontent, that no discontent exists. On the contrary, a feeling of profound dissatisfaction prevails with respect to a system which bars every road to promotion; which blocks every avenue to preferment; which foils the honourable ambition of an officer abroad; which disappoints his legitimate expectations at home; and which condemns him, while yet in the prime of life, to premature supersession, which he feels to be unmerited, and which he knows to be unjust.

MR. CHILDERS said, that under cover of complaining of certain arrangements which had been made as to the temporary employment of certain officers, the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Alexander) had thought fit to make a violent attack upon Sir Garnet Wolseley, and had spoken of the "Ashantee ring;" and everybody who knew what the gossip of the Clubs was, knew that that only meant the distinguished officers who were classed with Sir Garnet Wolseley. He did not think the House would be led aside by the remarks of the hon. and gallant Gentleman to sanction any attack on one of the most distinguished officers of the present day. The hon. and gallant Member had asserted that Sir Frederick Roberts was relegated to honourable banishment; but the hon. and gallant Member knew perfectly well that Sir Frederick was offered the second best Staff office in the British Army, and that he preferred to retain the appointment which he now held at Madras. It was, therefore, the greatest act of injustice that the hon. and gallant Gentleman had done the Government and himself (Mr. Childers) in insinuating that he was unwilling to have to propose to Her Majesty that Sir Frederick Roberts' services should be at her disposal in this country, when he knew that he had been offered the second greatest post in this country. He thought he had reason to complain that the hon. and gallant Gentleman had, under cover of remarks on another subject, introduced this matter, and then made a statement with regard to Sir Frederick Roberts, the true facts of whose case were perfectly in his possession at the time. The hon. and gallant Gentleman said that on this occasion they had sanctioned a system under which a certain number of officers had been employed on an Expedition in Egypt, and that they, when they returned, would be allowed to go back to their Staff appointments. He had already very frankly stated to the House that, with respect to some of those officers, that was the case. It was not anticipated that the Expedition to Egypt would be a long one; and if it should prove such, the circumstances under which these officers had been allowed to expect to return to their offices would, of course, be reconsidered. It was only in consideration that the Expedition would be a short one that Sir Garnet Wolseley—who, of course, was the object of the hon. and gallant Gentleman's attack—would be allowed to retain the office in question. The hon. and gallant Gentleman had asked him the other day why they had not employed General Feilding, and he had replied that that was not a matter which should be discussed in that House, and that General Feilding would have quite sufficient duty at Malta. The hon. and gallant Gentleman now asked how it was that Sir Archibald Alison had been allowed to retain the prospect of returning to the head of the Intelligence Department, although he had gone to Egypt. He had already explained that when Sir Archibald Alison ceased to hold that office, it would not be filled up, and that the Quartermaster General could very well superintend the Intelligence Department. The hon. and gallant Gentleman seemed to think that there was something very unusual in the present arrangements; but, without raising any question as between one Government and another, it would be found there was no reason for the suggestion on comparing what was done now with what had been done previously. When Sir Garnet Wolseley went out with the Ashantee Expedition he was allowed to retain his office at home; and the only difference was that he returned to a considerably higher office, and was made Inspector General of the Auxiliary Forces. In the same way his Predecessor allowed General Newdigate, on returning from South Africa, to revert to his former appointment.

COLONEL ALEXANDER said, he did not say that instances could not be quoted. His contention was that these cases had never occurred in such a wholesale manner before.

MR. CHILDERS said, he did not think that this time the numbers were by comparison excessive; but when the service abroad was expected to be a short one it was never understood that there was any objection to the arrangement. There seemed to be a misapprehension as to what had really been done. As in the case of the Zulu War, now, in every instance except one, a *locum tenens* had been appointed, and the officer abroad would receive only the emoluments of one office. He could not find anything approaching to the number suggested unless it were intended to include aides-de-camp and officers of that rank—

[Colonel Alexander: No, no!]—to whom the epithet used could be applied. No doubt, Sir Archibald Alison was in Ashantee; but he belonged to a different Army school from Sir Garnet Wolseley. He did not think there was a single one of the General Officers who had been appointed who could be said to have been appointed under the influence which he thought the hon. and gallant Gentleman had qualified in a manner that was very unusual in this House. But this he wished to say distinctly, that if the Expedition to Egypt should last longer than they expected when they sent it out, the whole of those temporary arrangements would be reviewed, as they would have been reviewed, no doubt, in 1879, when similar arrangements were made. But he could not think it would be for the benefit of the Public Service if, in some of the highest places in the Army, those who were capable of administering those offices with the greatest success were compelled to resign until it was quite clear that the Expedition would not be the very short one that they at present anticipated. On these grounds, he hoped the House would allow that in the arrangements they had made they had done what was best for the Public Service.

Lord EUSTACE CECIL said, he did not wish to prolong the discussion of a painful subject; but he thought the right hon. Gentleman had been a little hard on the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Alexander), whose object was of a public and not of a private character, and who had no intention to reflect on any of the gallant officers sent out on high command in the Egyptian Expedition. If the hon. and gallant Member did mention the fact that a certain name had been given to the officers of the Ashantee Expedition, it was more with the idea of giving force to his argument on public grounds than with the view of making any reflection on these officers. Without saying a word against them individually or collectively, while there were many officers who had equal claims to service of this kind, it was right on public grounds that something should be said in regard to the extraordinary appointments of officers that had been made by the War Office. He had understood, from the reply to a Question he had put, that the officers were to receive the pay of two offices; but he was glad to hear it was not so. Offices of the nature of Adjutant General and of Surveyor of Ordnance were very important in time of peace, and it was a hazardous thing to put them in commission when operations were going on. The precedent was one which could not be followed with advantage to the Public Service. The number of officers taken out of *The Army List*, and as they stood now at the War Office, were no less than six, and there were at least five or six more who had recently held appointments at the War Office. There were officers anxious to place their services at the will of the Government, and it was very hard that they should find themselves ousted out of these appointments by gentlemen, however gallant and capable, who already held at headquarters important offices, the duties of which, in time of war, it was most desirable they should discharge. When Lord Cardwell's scheme was under debate it was said that in the future appointments would be made by seniority tempered by selection, and it was replied that in practice the system might become stagnation tempered by jobbery. As regarded some of these appointments, they did seem to be within a measurable distance of jobbery. It was against the system, and not against the officers, that his remarks were directed. It was necessary, in the interests of the Army, that officers who had claims based on long and meritorious services should not be made to feel that the only avenue to promotion was through the War Office, where officers were brought under the immediate notice of the highest authorities.

Lord ELCHO said, that two questions had been raised by his hon. and gallant Friend—the one a personal question, the other a question of principle. With regard to the first, he regretted that his hon. and gallant Friend, though, no doubt, in the public interest, had used expressions that possibly might be liable to misconstruction, for there was no doubt there was an ugly ring about the expressions he had used with regard to Sir Garnet Wolseley. No doubt, public opinion regarded Sir Garnet Wolseley as one of our best Generals; and when his hon. and gallant Friend talked of the "Ashantee Ring," that was merely bringing into that House expressions which he had often heard used outside on the part of those who were not the friends, or who did not belong to the Staff of Sir Garnet Wolseley. He had often thought it unjust to accuse Sir Garnet Wolseley of having fostered around him a ring of officers who always went with him. What would a man naturally do? Even his hon. and gallant Friend, who, he was sure, would make a good General, would do the same. Sir Garnet Wolseley had found officers who, in Ashantee, had done their duty efficiently, and he naturally liked to have men whom he could trust around him, and not to have others thrust upon him. But, then, the question of principle was a very different matter, and that was whether officers who held most important posts, for which, presumably, they were the most fit that could be obtained at the time, should be taken away and sent to fill other more important posts. If Sir Garnet Wolseley and Sir John Adye were the most efficient men for the posts from which they were taken, it was more necessary now than at any other time that, instead of going to take the command of troops in the field, they should help at home in the management of the war.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, that his hon. and gallant Friend was led away by his soldierly feeling when he stated that some men received all the rewards, while others were left out in the cold. There was no doubt that officers in the Army felt strongly that men serving in the War Office had a very great pull over them, however good their service might be. If Sir Garnet Wolseley, Adjutant General; Sir John Adye, Surveyor General of Ordnance; and Sir Archibald Alison, head of the Intelligence Department, were so admirably fitted for these posts, why take them away in a time of war, when it must be far more necessary to work out all the details? But, then, the Secretary of State for War said they were the best men to send out to Egypt. Now, he had always advocated that men commanding forces in the field should be connected with those forces. He did not believe that one of those officers who had gone out to command had ever seen any of the men that would be under them. But officers who had commanded brigades, who knew the men, and whom the men had confidence in, were left at home. A grave responsibility rested upon the Secretary of State for War, as he had got to consider, not only those about him and whom he knew personally, but all other officers whose claims were equally great and who were not brought personally under his notice. He had himself known many officers left, he might say, to perish in out-of-the-way places, though they were as capable as any others. He hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would endeavour to make his selections as fair and as much in the general interest of the Army as he was able.

Sir ROBERT LOYD LINDSAY said, his hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Alexander) felt strongly on this matter, and had been tempted to make use of expressions which he would probably regret when he saw them in to-morrow's report. What the Secretary of State for War had to do was to select the best men for the service; and although a man might have been at the Adjutant General's Department and fulfilled important duties there, it would be very wrong, in the interests of the country and the Army, to say that on that account he was not to be Commander-in-Chief of an expedition. To proceed on such a hard-and-fast rule would tie one's hands most unwisely. He did not say that there were not other Generals who might perform the important task of commanding our Armies in the East as well as Sir Garnet Wolseley. He might point to that gallant officer, Sir Daniel Lysons. But the rule in question would cut off Sir Daniel Lysons, who was now commanding at Aldershot. He thought it would be rather hard to say that immediately a man was sent on service he should be removed from the appointment he held. If the war went on it would be clearly impossible in a few months' time for these appointments still to be retained. He was unwilling to sit there, having himself been recently at the War Office and seen the very thing done which his hon. and gallant Friend had called attention to, without making those few remarks. He hoped his hon. and gallant Friend would explain that he did not mean anything personal to General Officers, such as Generals Alison, with whom he had served in the Crimea, Willis, and Adye, all of whom were, he believed, friends of his hon. and gallant Friend.

Colonel **ALEXANDER** desired to withdraw any expression which might be considered offensive to Sir Garnet Wolseley, and he withdrew unreservedly the words "Ashantee Ring." He did not object to the appointment of Sir Garnet Wolseley as Commander of the Expedition; but that his place as Adjutant General should not be filled up at a time when the duties were more onerous than usual. With reference to what his hon. and gallant Friend (Sir Robert Loyd Lindsay) had said about Sir Archibald Alison, the last thing he should think of would be to reflect upon the distinguished services of that officer.

Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—ARMY ESTIMATES.

Supply—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) £562,700, Volunteer Corps.

(2.) £229,500, Army Reserve Force.

Sir **WALTER B. BARTTELOT** said, that it was a very difficult thing, at this period of the Session, to go at any length into the story of the Army Reserve in the present state of the Army. It would be admitted, he thought, that on the 7th of August to have a Vote of such great importance brought before the Committee was a matter which deserved the serious consideration of any Government, be that Government what it might. If hon. Members would look round at the present condition of the Committee they would see that it was impossible for a person to make those remarks upon such a Vote as this which he would have been willing and anxious to make at an earlier period of the Session. But he was bound to say it appeared to him necessary, notwithstanding all the difficulty of the case, and notwithstanding his great desire to say nothing which might reflect in any way upon the present condition of the Army, that he should refer to one or two points. In doing so, however, he would avoid raising any of those great questions which, he would venture to say, could not be left to sleep very much longer, but would have to be raised, and raised in very strong terms, at some future time. He should like to point out for one moment that whereas Lord Cardwell—then Mr. Cardwell—who first introduced the present system 12 years ago, had promised them that by this time they would have a very large Army Reserve—50,000, or, he rather thought, 60,000 men—[Lord Elcho: 80,000.]—it appeared that they only had 26,000. The premises on which Mr. Cardwell started were very fallacious; but, be that as it might, Lord Cranbrook, who succeeded him, and the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for North Lancashire (Colonel Stanley), who was also Secretary of State for War in the last Parliament, most honestly, and, he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) thought, too faithfully, carried out those provisions which Mr. Cardwell inaugurated in 1870. This was a question which they could talk about and deal with in no Party sense, because the right hon. Gentleman the present Secretary of State for War (Mr. Childers) had only steadily followed the same lines on which those who had preceded him had gone. If, however, hon. Members would look at the results as they had been attained up to the present time, they would not be able to say that they had been a great success. If they remembered what they were promised, and if they inquired what had been the result, they would naturally inquire why those promises had not been fulfilled. In the first place, he must state—and he did not suppose the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War would contradict him—that the right hon. Gentleman had the other day declared that nine-tenths of the Army at home must always be under one years' service. That was a very grave and serious statement for a War Minister to make. When the right hon. Gentleman told them he was going to form a First Army Corps, which corps was to be complete in all its details, and when they recollected that our system had been derived, more or less, from the German system, and when they remembered the Army the Germans mobilized in less than a fortnight, and when they saw the time it had taken the right hon. Gentleman to send out the present Army Corps to Egypt, they had, he thought, some reason to think that their system was not absolutely perfect. He remembered that the right hon. Gentleman stated that he had gradations of regiments which could be easily filled up; but he found that it took 10,000 men of the Reserve—the very flower of the Reserve, as he understood it, because they were men who had been put in the Reserve since 1881—to complete the First Army Corps. The country might very well have expected that a First Army Corps could by this time have been sent abroad absolutely perfect, and that any vacancies could have been filled up without having recourse to the Reserve. What was the meaning of "Reserve?" Why, it meant that the men were in reservation, and not that they should be made the very first to be sent out in the First Army Corps. If this war in Egypt should turn out not to be the easy military promenade through the country that some people seemed to think it would be, and if they should have to send out another Army Corps, where, he would ask the Secretary of State for War, was that Army Corps? No doubt they had it on paper; but an Army Corps on paper was of no use to us as a nation. What they wanted to see was that a Second Army Corps was absolutely preparing; and he should say that if there was likely to be a difficulty, and if it was probable that the war would be of some duration, the rest of the Reserves ought at once to be called out, so that if it was absolutely necessary the Second Army Corps could be sent to Egypt without delay. If that Second Army Corps was to be—as it ought to be—formed, it should be formed at Aldershot, and placed under the officers who would have to command it in the field, so that the officers might know the troops they had to deal with, and the men might know the officers. There was another point on which he wished to speak, although he did not desire to go too closely into it. What had the right hon. Gentleman been obliged to do in the Mediterranean? Had he been able to send out men who were 20 years of age—absolutely 20 years of age—and had he sent out none that were under that age? That was a question which he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) thought he had a right to ask, because so much had been said on that point. If he were rightly informed—of course he was liable to err, but he had taken every means in his power to test the accuracy of the information—it was the fact that if the men had had the proper chest-measurement, and had been absolutely effective in other ways, their age had not been taken into account at all, and they had been sent out as fit and proper soldiers, capable of doing soldier's duty. That was a point on which they ought to have some answer from the right hon. Gentleman. He did not raise the question because he feared that their men would not fight well. He was convinced they would fight well, and that they would do their duty well and properly; but it was their age that would be against them, and anyone who knew anything about a campaign would agree with him that in a climate like that of Egypt, with the quantity they would have to carry and the work they would have to perform, none but seasoned troops ought to be called upon. It might be, and he hoped it was, that these men were not at present to go beyond the stations of Gibraltar and Malta; but even if that were the case a time would probably come before long when they would have to be sent on to Egypt. Or he might put it this way—that it was not the intention of the right hon. Gentleman to send these young fellows beyond Gibraltar and Malta; but they might have to be sent on, and then what would become of all the precautions that had been taken hitherto as to the age of these men? This was a very serious question, and one upon which he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would be able to say that the information which had been given to him (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) was inaccurate. Then they had a little reason to complain, he thought, of the number of men who had been sent out in the regiments, because, as he understood it, it took four regiments to make a brigade instead of three. The meaning of that was that the regiments were not up to their strength, and that four had to be used where three only ought to be necessary. These were points which showed that they had not so many men to dispose of as they had formerly. He would not go into many of the details on which he had informed himself, because, on the present occasion, his only desire, in the interest of the Service, was that they should know exactly that they had men fit to cope with all the difficulties and dangers in their way. It was not his desire to throw difficulties in the way of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War. There was one thing he could not point out too strongly. He had pointed it out often before, and he would venture to point it out again, and it was this—that much as the right hon. Gentleman had done—and he would give him credit for two important things—namely, re-enlistment of non-commissioned officers, and increasing the length of Service from six to eight years—he had not gone far enough in his modification of the short service system. He (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) was sure the right hon. Gentleman would have to increase the length of service to 10 years. He trusted the Committee would believe him when he said that in a Service such as ours, with duty to perform all over the world, the best men to perform that duty were men who stayed 10 years with the Colours and then five years with the Reserve. If such were the term of service they should have a real Army Reserve in time. They talked of drawing the Militia regiments close to the regiments of the Line; but he was at a loss to see how they were effecting it. He should recommend that they should send the men, after service in the Line, into the Militia battalions. He had also strongly urged before, and he would even do it now, that every Militiaman should be in the Militia Reserve. They would then have a real Reserve, and the man would, for a small annual allowance, be glad, should he be called upon, to serve in any part of the world to which he might be sent. A force composed of such men as these would be most reliable. The country would be able to depend on them; and, besides, this method of forming an Army Reserve would be simple and efficacious. At present, if they were engaged in a war of any duration, they could not be said to possess a Reserve at all. Then he had a word to say on the subject of Cavalry—especially the Cavalry horses. It had taken nearly two regiments to make one full regiment of Cavalry. The Government had never seemed to think of what would happen in war time. They had never had any Cavalry regiments prepared for war. They had had horses that were not fit to go on service. All the old horses, he understood, had been obliged to be got rid of, and they had had very nearly to denude one or two regiments that remained at home, in order to make up the complement of horses for one regiment going abroad. Then, this was what he could not understand—he had the greatest admiration for the Life Guards, the Blues, and the 4th Dragoon Guards. Gallant they all knew they were—they all knew they would do their duty and serve their country to the best of their ability; but to send to a country like Egypt their biggest men and their finest horses was one of the most inexplicable things he ever heard of. What Cavalry was it expected that their men would have to contend with? They would have to pursue the Bedouins into the desert, and what was required was a camel corps, or some Native Indian regiments acclimatized and accustomed to this kind of warfare. Such men as they had sent out would, no doubt, have distinguished themselves admirably on the Continent of Europe, and so they would, no doubt, in an African desert; but at what a cost! There was the scheme for the re-organization of the Cavalry, which the right hon. Gentleman had said he did not mean to look at for a year. With regard to that, he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) would now say what he thought, for if he waited until next year he might be too late. The scheme was, for the formation of a Cavalry Reserve, the most fallacious thing that could possibly be, for everyone knowing what a Cavalry soldier was, was aware that, unless a man rode every year, and had to go through the whole of his duties continuously, he would be of very little use as a Cavalry soldier. To brigade three Cavalry regiments together, as proposed, would mean that they were going to destroy the usefulness of nine Cavalry regiments in the Service, and it would assuredly be a blot on the escutcheon of anyone who brought about such a system. It might be decided to let a certain number of men go into the Cavalry Reserve—namely, called out every year—but do not let the individuality of each regiment be interfered with. If the right hon. Gentleman broke up the regiments, he would not only not have an efficient Reserve, but he would destroy that *esprit de corps* that had made the British Cavalry the finest in the world. He (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) had made these few remarks now because he would have no other opportunity, and because he considered it so important that our Army should be in an efficient state—which he was sure was also the view of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War.

Mr. CHILDERS said, that no one would for a moment dream of blaming the hon. and gallant Baronet if he had gone a little beyond the Vote before the Committee, for he had been prevented on a former occasion from expressing his views on the subjects to which he had adverted. Besides, hon. Members always listened with satisfaction to the remarks which fell from the hon. and gallant Baronet on these questions. The Committee would remember that though he (Mr. Childers) had laid on the Table a proposal with regard to the Cavalry, which had emanated from three of the most distinguished Cavalry officers, he was far from satisfied that the subject had been fully exhausted, and he had undertaken to look into it, and compare it with certain other proposals which had been alluded to before next year's Estimate. The hon. and gallant Baronet said they should not have a Cavalry Reserve; but with the short service system it appeared desirable, and unless they retained the short service system in some form—and as the hon. and gallant Baronet had, in justice to the Government, pointed out, it had been somewhat extended—they would not get soldiers at all. If they did get soldiers, it was necessary to retain them, so that their services would be at their disposal after the men had left the Colours. He (Mr. Childers), therefore, would be no party to throwing away the chance of forming an efficient Reserve; but he had not yet thoroughly considered the matter, consequently he would leave it for the present. In the same way he would pass over the suggestion that some of the Cavalry sent to Egypt were too heavy. They had sent three regiments of Native Cavalry from India to be associated with our own Cavalry, so that some would be light and some heavy. He did not by any means think it was an unwise measure to send certain squadrons of the Household Cavalry to Egypt, and those who were only accustomed to see these troops and horses in all their trappings would be surprised if they were told how considerably their weight had been reduced before they were sent out. No doubt it was necessary that they should have some light Cavalry in Egypt; but it was by no means inconsistent with other expeditions made in that country that they should have a certain proportion of heavy Cavalry. And now he would refer to what the hon. and gallant Baronet had said with regard to the Reserves. The hon. and gallant Baronet had not quite accurately quoted what he (Mr. Childers) had said with regard to the necessity, under the present system—and almost under any system—of their having in the regiments a large number of young soldiers. Let the Committee remember the great change in this matter which had been gradually effected during the last few years. Formerly the Government used to sent out regiments to India pretty much as they were made up, containing a large proportion of young soldiers. A great deal of pressure had been put on the Government in that House and in India not to send young soldiers there, and after considerable discussion it was decided that no soldier should go to India as a recruit who was under a year's service, or under 20 years of age. But it was obvious that as the strength of the Line in England and abroad was about the same, if they sent none of the young soldiers to India they would have double their proportion at home. If they had formerly in the Army one-fifth young soldiers, when they cut the Army in two, and said in one half there should be no young soldiers, in the other half there must be two-fifths young soldiers, or double the number that it ought to have. The proportion of young soldiers in the Army at home was not nine-tenths, but two-fifths. Then the hon. and gallant Baronet very rightly complained that the state of the First Army Corps was not now, in the middle of 1882, what he had said last year he would bring it up to. But he had explained distinctly —he could almost remember the words he had used—that they could only raise battalions 600 strong to 1,000 strong by volunteering from other regiments, or by adding a certain number of recruits; and it was evident that as they had only had eight or nine months to build up their First Class Army Corps, till next year there must be an undue proportion of young soldiers. Every month, however, that state of things would be improved—as the year went on the number of young soldiers in the regiments of the

First Army Corps steadily diminished, and by this time next year the regiments would have reached their normal satisfactory condition. Those regiments at the top would have no recruits, and those below only a small proportion. But they could not do that all at once, and as they had to add men to bring the regiments up to their proper strength it was inevitable that they must at this moment have somewhat more young soldiers in the regiments than they would have when the regiments reached their normal condition. Even now, however, they had been able to send out to Egypt a First Army Corps without by any means taking 10,000 men from the Second Corps. The number of men it had been necessary to send out to Egypt to strengthen the regiments of the First Army Corps was under 2,000, and not 6,000, so that they had 10,000 men to depend upon — and he was happy to say that they turned out 99 per cent of the whole number. They would be able to send out between 2,000 and 3,000 men—besides these 2,000 he had mentioned—to form a Reserve in the Mediterranean to fill up gaps in the regiments they had sent out. Therefore, of the 10,000 men they had called out they would have 5,000 to fill up the regiments that would constitute the next Army Corps, if it were found necessary to form and send out another. They had been carefully preparing for the formation of the Second Army Corps should it be found necessary to put another Division in the field, and they would be able, out of the 5,000 men, to entirely fill up the gaps in the regiments forming that Division, still leaving a number of Army Reserve men to fill up any other Divisions that might have to be formed. They had called out about 10,000 men in the First Army Corps, which would be sufficient for their present purposes, leaving about 18,000 more for a Second Corps if it became necessary to embody two Army Corps and to send more troops to the East. In addition to these men there was the Militia Reserve. That Reserve had not yet been touched, and, of course, it would not be touched until the First Army Reserve had been exhausted. The Militia Reserve approached something like 10,000 men, available for filling up the ranks of the Line. That would give something like 30,000 men; and then there was the Militia itself, comprising something like 50,000. He quite agreed with his hon. and gallant Friend as to the Militia itself, and he believed they had done several things which were in the right direction. The Militia at the present moment was in a most satisfactory condition, and he regarded it as a very valuable Reserve indeed. As to the Vote itself, his hon. and gallant Friend said Lord Cardwell had promised that by the year 1882 the strength of the Reserves should be 80,000 men. He had heard similar statements made before, and he had searched all through Lord Cardwell's speeches to find any confirmation of it; but he had been unable to find that on any occasion Lord Cardwell had promised that there should be anything of the kind. And for the very best reason; it was contrary to the nature of the Reserve system. Under that system, as administered by Lord Cardwell, they had as yet hardly a single Reserve man from the Artillery, and hardly a single Reserve man from the Cavalry; and the Line alone, up to the present moment, had fed the Reserve. He was happy to say that they had now reached a substantial condition, and that the 28,000 men of the Reserve had enabled them to complete all the arrangements for the East with satisfaction. There was one word which fell from his hon. and gallant Friend which he felt bound to dispute. His hon. and gallant Friend spoke of the long time the Government had taken to call out the Reserves. Now, he would remind the Committee that, if he was not mistaken, it was only on that day fortnight that the Vote of Credit was proposed, and it would only be upon Wednesday fortnight that Her Majesty's Proclamation calling out the Reserves was issued. Therefore, within a fortnight a great deal had been done. Those who spoke of Germany and other great Continental nations forgot the fact that in those countries the conscription existed, and that it was not necessary to send out the troops by sea. Their mechanism was the simplest in the world; everybody was bound to serve; everybody's address was known, and an Army Corps could be got together at a very short notice. But in this country it was necessary to accumulate large stores to equip the men, and to hire transports. Sixty transports had been sent out and would be sent out to the East during last week and this, and it required a very complicated machinery to move a fully-equipped army to such a country as Egypt, 3,000 miles away. That machinery involved difficulties which were absolutely unknown to any foreign country. He had no wish to make any invidious comparison; but it would be remembered that France experienced extreme difficulty in mobilizing a small force for the Tunis Expedition a year ago, and an immense outcry was raised from one end of France to the other. It ought to be admitted, therefore, that in this country the War Office, with all the disadvantages they had to contend with, had been able, without friction and without noise, and with considerable rapidity, to send out to the East such an expedition as the necessities of the case demanded. He hoped he would be allowed to add that the Reserves ought not by any means to be depreciated, for they had undoubtedly in a time of trial proved to be eminently successful. Notwithstanding the comparatively small extent of the force of Reserves, it had been steadily increasing year by year, and at the present time its condition was entirely satisfactory. He trusted that now he had answered the questions which had been put to him by his hon. and gallant Friend the Committee would be allowed to proceed to the Vote.

SIR HENRY TYLER desired to say a word or two as to the strength of the Essex Rifles, a question in which his own constituents were very much interested. The head-quarters of the regiment had been moved from Colchester to Warley, 40 or 50 miles away. The consequence was that the officers had great difficulty in keeping up the strength of the regiment. In consequence of the barracks at Warley being at so great a distance from the homes of the men, they found themselves unable to get recruits as they formerly did, and they considered their prospects in the future very bad, so far as the keeping up of their strength was concerned. They feared that it might dwindle away to very small dimensions indeed. The strength of the regiment in 1879-80 was 793; in 1880-1 it was 753; and in 1881-2 it had fallen to 699. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would take the question into consideration, and be able to arrange that the head-quarters of the regiment should be removed back again from Warley to Colchester. He was satisfied that if that were done the regiment would soon recover its former strength. The men had always borne a most excellent character, and he certainly thought the case was one which was worthy of the attention of the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. CHILDERS said, there was one question of his hon. and gallant Friend (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) which he had omitted to answer. His hon. and gallant Friend inquired whether the men who had been sent out to the Mediterranean for active service included men who were under 20 years of age? He was glad to be able to say that there was not a single instance of the kind, and the battalions equipped for service in the field had gone out without a man under 20 years of age. It was, however, the fact that, as formerly, men under 20 had been sent out for garrison duty in the Mediterranean, at Malta and Gibraltar. No men had been sent out for active service in the field who were not seasoned soldiers.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, he was sorry to hear his hon. and gallant Friend (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) complain of the manner in which the Expedition to the East had been sent out. Personally, he felt bound to say, on this occasion, that he did not remember any Expedition that had been fitted out with more rapidity and been carried out with more ability, more smoothness, more carefulness, and more general satisfaction than the present one. Considering the shortness of the time since the War Office received the first warning that it might be actually necessary to move an Expeditionary Force and the period at which the actual removal was ordered to be effected, the Government deserved the highest commendation for the promptness in carrying out the orders. For some time after the intimation was first conveyed that it might be necessary to despatch troops to the Mediterranean, there was still the hope that the necessity for carrying out the Expedition would not arise, and that the steps which were being taken would prove to be sufficient as simply measures of a precautionary character; but, on this idea not being realized, the men and horses were forthwith despatched in a state of greater completeness than on former occasions. The hon. and gallant Member opposite had made some detracting remarks in reference to the Reserves. Now, he was bound to admit that he was not one of those who had ever taken a sanguine view in favour of Lord Cardwell's proposition. He thought a better plan would have been to adapt the arrangements for forming an Army Reserve to one more closely approaching the German system, without really resorting to the conscription. He had never believed that the Reserves would be got together in the rapid manner some persons anticipated. At the same time, he was now bound to say that the Reserves were even more considerable than he had ever expected; and the country had certainly never previously possessed a Reserve of men available for filling up the ranks of the Army to such an extent as they now had found under the working of Lord Cardwell's scheme. He was, therefore, now of opinion that Lord Cardwell deserved credit for his proposals, and the least the House of Commons could do was to give him credit for their fitness, as the present emergency proved. But he did not think the Reserves would go on increasing at any very rapid rate. The number of the Reserves must depend on the existence of quiet, and facilities for sending men out of active service. He did not believe that the recent changes in the time of service, both in India and at home, would enable them to keep up the supply of Reserves that was desirable for the Regular Army, and it was now an important question to consider whether some plan could not be devised for filling up more efficiently the strength of battalions. Those were kept up in a very attenuated state, ready, no doubt, to be raised to their full established strength, if men could be found. The waste of cadres was now very great, for we had 141 battalions, divided into 1,410 companies, with only about 97,000 privates; and of those fully 14,000 are withdrawn for lance-corporals, band, pioneers, and other employments, leaving only 83,000 privates, and of those there were many inefficient. He was informed, by the Army Estimates, that 48 of the battalions at present at home were under 560 privates in established strength; and out of that number 37 battalions had only an average of 410 privates. And so long as we maintained upwards of 70 battalions in India and the Colonies, it was absolutely necessary to keep up the battalions at home at a higher standard than that at present fixed for the 48 battalions. On that ground alone, he had always been in favour of temporarily adding a large number of men to the Army, because he knew that in battalions of only 560 and 410 men they could not count upon having more than 460 and 300 effective. He maintained that no battalion at home ought to be kept with fewer than 600 privates effective for guard duties, exclusive of employed men—band, pioneers, acting corporals, and others. Hence he was of opinion that it would be a wise policy on the part of the House of Commons to increase, even if only for one year, the number of men set down for the present ordinary year's supply. They ought not to regard the cost, because in the state of Europe none of them could say how soon the services of every man they could get for the Army might not be required. He further hoped that the Secretary of State would make ample provision for securing the health and comfort of the soldiers in the field, and to this end that followers be attached to regiments in the field by employing men so readily obtainable in Egypt. By this means the waste of our costly soldiers from being saved from fatigue duties in the burning sun of Egypt would be prevented; and he must now conclude by stating that he had certainly no fault to find at present with the War Office in connection with the present arrangements. He had never seen an Expedition carried out with such regularity and order as the present one.

Lord EUSTACE CECIL said, there were parts of the speech of the Secretary of State for War which he had been very glad to listen to. He was glad to hear that the Army was in such an efficient state, and that it had been possible to bring together an Army Corps of 30,000 men with such expedition. He was also glad to hear that no man had been sent on active service who was under 20 years of age. That was a question in which he had taken special interest for some years, and he was much gratified at the announcement which had been made. At the same time, he felt bound to express the disappointment with which he had listened to one part of the speech of the Secretary of State for War. The right hon. Gentleman told them the number of men who were about to go to Egypt, and the number of Reserve men who were to go into the Force; but he had not told them how the men who were sent to Egypt were to be replaced. It must be borne in mind that the men sent to Egypt were all men taken from the fighting strength of the country; and he wished to draw the attention of his right hon. Friend to the position in which the Army was in 1879, and that in which it was in 1881, and now. He did not know whether he had given these figures before; but he had placed them on paper with the intention of bringing them forward upon a Vote of this kind, either in regard to the Reserves or to the Militia. He found that the number of Militia in training in 1879 was 115,000; in 1881 it was only 89,000, showing a difference of 26,000 to the bad. The number of Reserve men in 1880-1 of the First Class was 23,000, and of Class 2, 24,000, making a total of 47,000; whereas, in 1881, the total number of both classes was only 35,600, showing a difference of 11,400 men to the bad as compared with 1879. It would thus be seen that, taking the Reserve men and the Militia together, our resources, so far as the fighting strength of the country was concerned, had been reduced, since 1879, by no less than 37,000 men. No doubt his right hon. Friend would say that the Irish Militia had something to do with this result. He knew perfectly well that the Irish Militia had not been called out and trained. He would not go into the reason why they had not been called out and trained; but, such being the fact, he thought Parliament was bound to have full regard to that fact; and now that they were sending out a Force to Egypt, and, possibly, might be beginning a war, although he hoped the necessity for actual war would not arise—still, they knew in regard to Ireland that the country was very much in the condition it was six months ago, to say nothing of the troubles with the Constabulary, which they had heard of that day, and which he sincerely trusted would not be of long continuance. Under all these circumstances, he certainly thought the Government were bound to take into careful consideration any step that would have the effect of diminishing the fighting strength of the country. What he thought the Secretary of State for War should have told them was that the Government were about to take steps either to embody the Militia, or to call out some more of the Reserve men. He was quite aware that that was a question of pounds, shillings, and pence; but he was quite aware, also, that the sum of £2,300,000 which the Government had asked for was a small sum indeed to cover all the expenses he was afraid the country would be put to during the next three months. But, however that might be—however the calculations of the Government might have been made—there was one calculation which he thought was more necessary than any other, and that was whether they were in a position to hold their own at home and abroad. He was, therefore, somewhat disappointed that his right hon. Friend had not stated that he was prepared—indeed, that he had already made arrangements for calling out a certain number of Militia regiments. It might be that their services might not be wanted; but he thought that they should be prepared at all points, and it was not sufficient to be satisfied with what had already been done. They should not be satisfied unless they had another Army Corps ready to take the field. He should like to draw the attention of his right hon. Friend to a very remarkable article which appeared in *The Times* newspaper not very long ago. He did not propose to read the article, although he had extracts from it in his hand. It appeared in *The Times* on the 4th of July, and it stated with regard to the Second Army Corps that of the 13 regiments which were to compose the Corps there were not more than 200 effective men in each. Now, that was a very serious statement indeed; but there were a great many serious statements contained in the article, and it had evidently been written under the inspiration of somebody who knew something about the matter, and who desired to make a revelation as to the actual state of things. He only hoped that the information contained in the article would turn out not to be true. But, however that might be, what had occurred at home and abroad since then, and the position in which they found themselves at that moment, really necessitated some consideration of the difficulty they would experience if any further calls were made upon their fighting force. He trusted that either now or to-morrow, when his right hon. and gallant Friend the Member for North Lancashire (Colonel Stanley) put his Question on the subject of the Militia, his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War would be prepared to make a statement which would satisfy everybody that, at all events, he was fully alive to the very critical position in which the country was placed.

Mr. CHILDERS said, he would reply to the questions of his noble Friend at once. In regard to the Militia, he would be able to give some facts in reply to the right hon. and gallant Member for North Lancashire (Colonel Stanley) to-morrow which would show how close they had at hand a force which they could at once embody in the case of necessity. With respect to the Army Reserve, he thought the noble Lord had forgotten what the rule now was. The Second Army Reserve consisted practically of the old enrolled pensioners, and they had run down in number very considerably of late years. They had been allowed to run down, because by law every pensioner was now liable to be called out; and it was, therefore, quite unnecessary to keep up a mere paper Second Class Reserve. On the other hand, the First Class Army Reserve had increased very considerably. Under the system which he had explained last year they were now sending into the Reserve a large number of men after four or five years' service who would not be eligible for service abroad. If it were necessary, the Government would not scruple to advise Her Majesty to call out both the Militia Reserve and the rest of the First Class Army Reserve, which would place at the disposal of the country some 40,000 to 50,000 men.

Sir HARRY VERNEY remarked, that the country was now engaged in what might become a very serious war; and he was sure that everyone who was anxious for the welfare of the Army would give a careful consideration to every point of importance. The Medical Department of the Army had shown neglect, and ought to be carefully provided; and one of the most important subjects for consideration was that medical men should be attached to the regiments, and not to the stations. Nothing could be of higher importance to the welfare and health of the Army than to make some provision of that kind.

The CHAIRMAN: I must point out to the hon. Baronet that the Vote now before the Committee is that for the Army Reserve Force, and not the Medical Vote at all.

Sir HARRY VERNEY: Then it would be irregular to raise any question in regard to the services of the Medical Staff upon this Vote?

The CHAIRMAN: Yes; we are not at present upon the Medical Vote.

Sir ROBERT LOYD LINDSAY said, it was no doubt the fact, as had been pointed out by his hon. and gallant Friend behind him (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), that the Army Reserve did not grow up as fast as they had hoped it would. He had always contended that this principle of having an Army Reserve was the right principle. In these days it was essential it should be placed upon such a footing that it could be rapidly expanded in the event of war. His own feeling in the matter was that in the course of a few years they ought to have an Army Reserve of at least 50,000 men. At one time he thought that that result was highly probable; but, unfortunately, the national emergency which had come upon them had dispelled his hopes. Carrying his recollection back to the time when troops were sent out to South Africa, he found that precisely the same thing happened then. The Army Reserves were called out, and again their hopes of seeing the Army Reserve grow were dispelled. The principle was, nevertheless, a sound principle, and he trusted that some mode would yet be adopted by which the Reserve might be further expanded. Before now, he had ventured, both inside and outside the House, to recommend that in the existing Volunteer Force a certain Reserve would be found which would be a most valuable force in the event of an emergency arising. Personally, he had the strongest conviction on the point; but he regretted to say that his brother Volunteer officers did not share in that feeling. Indeed, he knew that his noble Friend on his left (Lord Elcho) had taken a most unreasonable view of the matter. He regretted to say that many other Volunteer officers had followed his noble Friend, and he was obliged to confess that he had not received much support in the view he had put forward as to the Volunteers forming a Reserve. Therefore he would not enlarge further upon the matter now, but would wait until his noble Friend, and those who thought with him, became a little more sensible in regard to the matter. There was another question which he was also desirous of raising. The first source from which the Army Reserve was supplied was men who had served six or seven years with the Colours; the second source to which they looked for a Reserve was the Militia. To the Militia he should like to be able to add the Volunteers; but, not being able to do that, he asked the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War to consider whether it was not expedient to feed this Reserve from some other source, and, if so, then the source of which he might well avail himself was the open market. Let any man who could pass an examination in drill, who could show a good physique, and come up to a certain standard in drill, had a good constitution, and should show a good character, appear before any officer the Commander-in-Chief chose to name, —perhaps the colonels commanding the regimental districts—and if they could show that they had been fairly instructed and had a good physique, there was no reason whatever why they should not be included in the Army Reserve. They would draw, he presumed, the pay which an Army Reserve man had, of 6*d*. a-day, and such men would have the advantage of being able to carry on the ordinary businesses of life. Of course, it was essential that they should not take away men from their ordinary occupations to serve in the Army if there was any help for it. In this way he was quite satisfied that they would be able to get the services of a class of men whom it would be most useful in case of an emergency to pass into the Army. They had, all over the country, a most perfect system of drill instruction, with most intelligent men as colonels, and under them most able adjutants, and a large number of efficient non-commissioned officers, now engaged in instructing the Militia and instructing the Volunteers. If men of this kind were passed into the Army Reserve, they would soon have a very large force, and he believed there would be no difficulty in getting persons who were desirous of doing so to join the Army Reserve in the way he had suggested. There was one advantage in this system —namely, that if the right hon. Gentleman could only show a Reserve of 50,000 men, he would be able still further to extend the period of service, with the Colours. The service at present with the Colours was seven years, and by the adoption of this plan they would be able to add another year's service, which, he believed, would be hailed by a number of Members of that House, who were officers in the Army, as a great boon. As there were so many advantages to be derived from service with the Colours, he thought the Government might go one step further, and make the service with the Colours eight years instead of seven. He could see no drawback to the proposal. The only reason why it was found necessary to send men so early into the Reserve from the Colours was that they wanted the Reserves to grow up. If, however, they could obtain men for the Reserves from other sources, the necessity which now existed of sending men early into the Reserves would be done away with. He did not think it was creditable to their Army administration that, with the large expenditure of £15,000,000 or £16,000,000 a-year upon the Army, it should require any great exertion to send out an Army Corps, properly equipped, for the war. No doubt, as the right hon. Gentleman said, the Second Army Corps was gradually coming forward, and might soon be in a condition to be sent out, and even a Second Army Corps would be but a very small proportion for the Army to be able to put in the field. He believed there was no more economical way of largely extending their Reserves, and not only was it the most economical way, but it was the most efficient. He was delighted to find that the Reserves were coming up as they were. The men came up most zealously, and in some cases men who had not even been called up had appeared. He thought this was a most encouraging fact; and, for his own part, he was pleased to see it. He must, however, admit that the Army Reserve grew up at an extremely slow pace, and unless something was done to feed it, it would never reach the strength it ought to be. The difficulty lay in the question of strengthening the Reserves, and he believed the plan he had mentioned would be found to work satisfactorily.

Lord ELCHO remarked, that if he had not been referred to by his hon. and gallant Friend who had just sat down, and by the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Sir George Balfour), he did not think he should have troubled the Committee with any remarks. He considered it necessary, however, to say a word in reference to what had fallen from them. In the first place, he thought the Committee were greatly indebted to his hon. and gallant Friend behind him (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) for having brought these subjects before the Committee. As the Secretary of State said, the Committee were always glad to hear what his hon. and gallant Friend had to say in regard to the Army, because the remarks of his hon. and gallant Friend, as a rule, were most instructive. The first point raised by his hon. and gallant Friend was the question of the employment in Egypt of big horses; and he (Lord Elcho) had been glad to hear what the Secretary of State had to say about the Life Guards and Blues. The horses had been a subject of much comment, and even of a caricature in St. James Street along with other remarkable caricatures. He had heard men belonging to the Horse Artillery say that, owing to the stride of the horses and their strength, the Blues and Guards worked more quickly with the artillery than any other mounted regiments. Whether they would be able to do that in a climate so materially different from that of this country he did not pretend to say. They were large men and large horses; but the public must not run away with the idea that they were not active and not up to their work. The present discussion had turned upon the question of the Reserves. That really was the whole Army question at this moment. In the year 1870, when Lord Cardwell introduced his reforms, he practically, in a great measure, got rid of the first line with a view of forming a second line. He maintained that Lord Cardwell had promised them that in the year 1882 they should have a Reserve of 80,000 men. It might not be in *Hansard,* but he was as certain as he could be of anything that he had heard Lord Cardwell state in that House that the actuaries, by an actuarial calculation, which was a favourite term of Lord Cardwell, had clearly shown that by a certain year—and his impression was that it was the year in which he was now speaking, 1882, although he would not say it was not even 1880—they would have 80,000 men in the Reserves. But whether it was 80,000 or only half that number — namely, 40,000 — the intentions of Lord Cardwell had been defeated, and the Reserves, so far as the numbers were concerned, were a signal failure. At the outside, they had only at this moment 26,000 or 28,000. [Mr. Childers dissented.] The right hon. Gentleman shook his head; but they had heard that statement distinctly from the right hon. Gentleman himself, that the Reserves of the Army proper were 28,000. The reason why the scheme had not proved successful was because it had been begun on a wrong footing. If Lord Cardwell had wished the Army Reserves to grow rapidly, what was it he should have done? He should have filled up every existing regiment to its full normal complement, so as to have something from which the Reserves could grow; instead of which, the regiments had been cut down to 500 men as their greatest strength. They had not even been acting like the Irishman who cut off one end of his blanket in order to lengthen the other, for Lord Cardwell had cut off the numerical strength at one end and had not put it on the other. The hon. and gallant General opposite (Sir George Balfour) confessed that he had been somewhat disappointed in the result, and believed that the only satisfactory way would be to adopt the system of conscription. [Sir George Balfour: No.] Well, the hon. and gallant Gentleman referred to that result, and was understood to say that he (Lord Elcho) was in favour of conscription. Now, he wished to state that he had never said a word in that House at any time, although he had taken great interest in Army matters, in favour of conscription. He believed that conscription for the Army was utterly impossible, and was never to be thought of in connection with this country. What he had advocated, and still advocated, and what he believed to be the only sound basis of any system of

Army Reserve, was not conscription, but the enforcement of the old military law of the country for home service in the Militia, accompanied by voluntary enlistment into the Army. Whatever they did as regards Army service, they must still look to the Militia as the real basis and backbone of the British Army, and service in the Militia should be made compulsory. Until the Secretary of State for War had the courage to come down to the House with a proposition to revive the old military law of compulsory service in the Militia, and until the ex-Secretary of State for War agreed not to oppose the right hon. Gentleman if he made that proposition, they never would have an efficient Army Reserve. His impression was that the old system was a just one, and that with an extensive Militia Reserve they would soon have an Army of sufficient magnitude for any purpose they could desire. He did not believe they would ever have a sound and sufficient Army Reserve until they adopted some such system. The right hon. Gentleman had promised to look into the whole question. Of course, a time of actual war was not the time for endeavouring to show where their system was not effective; but he hoped his right hon. Friend would carefully inquire into the subject whether he adopted the system of ballot or not. He believed the right hon. Gentleman would soon find that the Militia was the real Reserve for keeping up the strength of the Army, and in order to render it available they must keep it up to its full strength, which unquestionably it was not at the present moment. He had nothing further to say except to refer to what had been said by his hon. and gallant Friend on his right (Sir Robert Loyd Lindsay). There was no more gallant Officer or more efficient Volunteer, or one better acquainted with Volunteer matters than his hon. and gallant Friend; but upon this question of obtaining a Reserve for the Army by getting a certain number of Volunteers to inscribe their names either as regiments or individuals as willing to join the Army when occasion might require, he (Lord Elcho) entirely differed. He admitted that they might get together some 10,000 or 20,000; but they would run the risk of losing 200,000 who were serving for home defence. He would greatly prefer that matters should stand as they did. His hon. and gallant Friend said that he did not propose at present to press this point, but that he would wait until his brother Volunteer officers became more reasonable on this question. He (Lord Elcho) did not think, as far as he knew their feeling, that the Volunteer officers were likely to come round to the view of his hon. and gallant Friend. At any rate, any hon. Member who took an interest in the question would find that it had been thoroughly threshed out before the Committee on which his hon. and gallant Friend sat; and he (Lord Elcho), as he had been put through his facings by that Committee, was perfectly prepared to abide by the decision at which they had arrived.

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER said, the hon. and gallant Member for Harwich (Sir Henry Tyler) had asked the reason of the transfer of the Essex Rifles from Colchester to Warley. The reason was that they should have the same depôt centre as their relief battalions, the 22nd and the 44th. The hon. and gallant Gentleman said that the transference had been injurious to the recruiting. No such result had been reported to the War Office by General Bulwer. It was found that out of the total number of recruits raised last year, about 58 per cent were raised in the territorial districts; and the reason was that the regiments which the recruits joined formed part of a territorial system, each regiment being identified with a particular district. The Report went on to state that it was intended to follow up the same system with regard to the Artillery and the Cavalry. It was found necessary, in order to complete the territorial system in Essex, to transfer the Essex Rifles from Colchester to Warley, in order to amalgamate the regimental head-quarters with their linked battalion. The transfer had been made in accordance with the recommendation of the Committee of 1872.

SIR HENRY TYLER said, he quite understood that it was part of the general plan; but this particular regiment was practically raised from the Eastern Division of the county in which it had its head-quarters, but it had now been moved to the Western Division of the county, with which it had previously had no connection; and the result, he was informed, had been very injurious to the recruiting.

Mr. ONSLOW wished to put one question to the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War. He was sorry he was not in the House when the right hon. Gentleman made his speech; but he understood that the right hon. Gentleman had stated that 26,000 or 28,000 Reserves had been called out. [Mr. Childers: No, no!] Was that the whole strength of the Reserves? [Mr. Childers: Yes.] Then he should be glad to know how many of these 26,000 or 28,000 men would actually come out?

Mr. CHILDERS said, he had already stated the number who had responded to the call made upon them; and the response had been in the highest degree satisfactory.

Mr. ONSLOW could only repeat that he was very sorry he was absent when the right hon. Gentleman made his speech.

Mr. CHILDERS said, the Government had called out the other day all those who had joined the Reserves since 1881, with the exception of certain men belonging to the Irish Constabulary, and a few others whom it would have been inconvenient to call upon. Out of the whole number called out, 11,300, or, to be strictly accurate, 11,297 had joined. A number of these would join the Colours in Egypt, and a certain number would be employed in making up the strength of other regiments left at home.

Mr. ONSLOW wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman if he could not see his way to require that more of the Army Reserve men should actually join the Colours for service abroad? It had come to his knowledge that many of those who had been called out in the Reserves would join the depôts of their regiments, and would, in all probability, never be sent to Egypt or anywhere else. It appeared to him that they should get the best soldiers they could, and that they should not send young and inexperienced troops to the front. He would, therefore, ask the right hon. Gentleman if he would not provide that men who were being called out for the Army Reserve should not stop at home in this country with the depôts or go to Ireland, but should at once be sent out to join the Colours in Egypt. There was another thing it was also necessary he should mention. He happened to know, of his own personal knowledge, that many of those who had joined the Army Reserve fully believed that they were only going to join for 38, or, at the most, 56 days. How such a report had got spread abroad he could not make out; but it was a fact which he knew of his own knowledge. Many of the Reserve men believed that they were not to be called to the front at all, but that they would either have to join their regiment—it might be in Ireland or in some other part of the country—or have to stop with their depôt. Now he maintained that it would be far better to send all the men of the Army Reserve, who were men of experience, to the front, and do away with some of the young soldiers. It would be most unfortunate if the country were deprived of the services and the inestimable value of men who had had ample training and were thoroughly seasoned soldiers. The young soldiers might be kept in this country for further training.

Mr. CHILDERS said, he could only repeat what he had expressly stated before, that no young soldiers would be sent for active service to Egypt. The battalions which were now going to Egypt had been very well constituted. Two thousand of the Reserves who had been called out would go to the Mediterranean at once. Of the rest, a considerable portion would go to their own county regiments, which was a very popular matter with the Reserve. There was nothing a Reserve man liked so much as to find himself in his own county regiment. All the details of the employment of the Reserves had been elaborated with great care, and everything had been done which would tend to popularize the calling out of the Reserves.

Mr. ANDERSON said, he had not intended to say anything in the course of the debate, and he should not have done so but for the remarks of the noble Lord opposite (Lord Elcho), who recommended the establishment of compulsory service for the Militia. He felt bound to enter his strongest protest against any such scheme as that. So far as he was acquainted with the working men of this country in the large constituencies, he knew very well that they would not tolerate anything of the kind. They were not only not enamoured of the principle of compulsory service, but he was satisfied they would never tolerate it; and if the time ever came, which he hoped it would not, when the services of the people were needed for coast defence, such a thing as compulsory service or conscription would not be at all necessary. In such an emergency working men would be quite ready to turn out, without being compelled to do so. He could not believe the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Childers) had any such idea, or that even the right hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Colonel Stanley) entertained such an idea; but he begged to say that if they had they would receive the most strenuous opposition from the working men of the country.

Colonel CARINGTON remarked, that he happened to go into the Post Office the other day, when he saw a Circular inviting the Reserve men to volunteer for the Colonies. Now, he thought that that was by no means a wise course, because, as far as he could make out, all the men who responded to the invitation would necessarily be taken from the Queen's Service and placed under the Colonial authorities. It rather sanctioned the belief, and there could be nothing more unfavourable for them, that the Reserve men experienced great difficulty in obtaining employment in civil life. Nothing, in his opinion, could be more injurious to the Service generally.

Mr. CHILDERS said, his answer to his hon. and gallant Friend was that the Circular referred to was sanctioned with a view of encouraging the Cape Colony in the very great sacrifices it was now making in regard to its military arrangements, towards the expense of which this country was not called upon to contribute one farthing. It was considered desirable that there should be a nucleus formed out of the Reserve for a local Force at the Cape. Three hundred men out of the 28,000 which constituted the Reserve were allowed to volunteer for service at the Cape, and leave had already been given to about 200.

Vote *agreed to.*

(3.) £394,300, Commissariat, Transport, and Ordnance Store Establishments.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he wished to put a question to the Secretary of State for War upon this Vote in connection with the present Expedition. In almost every one of the Expeditions of the last half century there had been, at first, at any rate, a breakdown in the Transport Service. In the first Afghan War, in the Afghan War of more recent occurrence, in the War at the Cape, in the Crimean War, and in almost every Expedition of any size, with the exception of the Red River Expedition and Lord Napier's advance upon Abyssinia, there had been a lamentable breakdown of the Transport Service. There could be no place in which the Transport Service was of more consequence than in Egypt, especially at this particular time of the year. So far the Service appeared to have performed its duty very well; but he was somewhat at a loss to ascertain how it could be known that the present Expedition was thoroughly equipped with everything necessary for an efficient Transport Service if the troops were to be left on the coast of the Mediterranean in the North of Egypt, with a large portion of the country flooded, it might be, by the action of the Egyptians? If such a thing occurred, they would find themselves detained in one of the most unhealthy places in the world, and many of them, in the end, would die in these Porbonian bogs. The present week or the next 10 days would be of the utmost consequence in the matter of transport, and he believed there were many officers in England at this moment who had evil forebodings as to the satisfactory working of the Transport Service which had been provided for the Army.

Mr. CHILDERS said, he thought it would be imprudent on his part to enter into any explanation of the steps which had been taken by the Government to secure the efficient working of the Transport Service, in the constitution of which peculiar difficulties were anticipated.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would bear in mind the necessity of providing proper means of transport during the operations about to take place in

Egypt. Those who were practically acquainted with that country would know perfectly well the great need there was of having a sufficient number of camels for transport purposes. All would remember the many thousands of camels which the Bedouin Tribes supplied for the transport of the goods and luggage before the Railway and Canal were opened. He therefore tendered the advice to the War Office that they should get early possession of a large number of those animals, by entering into timely contracts with the Chiefs of the Tribes, who, formerly, and he understood still, were most friendly to the English. Good rates paid for camels for use, and compensation money for deaths, would attract ample supplies of those useful animals.

Lord EUSTACE CECIL said, his experience always caused him a considerable amount of anxiety at times like the present, with regard to the Commissariat and Transport Departments. So much depended upon the wants of the Army in this respect being efficiently supplied that he trusted the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War would be able to make a satisfactory statement to the Committee as to the working of the new Commissariat system, under which, as it was decided a short time ago, Army officers were to be admitted to this branch of the Service. He desired to know whether, under that system, good and efficient Army officers were coming forward in the requisite numbers? The subject was an important one, for this reason—if they did not secure the services of a sufficient number of Army officers, that was to say, if Army officers did not come forward in sufficient numbers at a critical time like the present, through their services being required in the regiments to which they belonged, our Commissariat and Transport Services would run great risk of breaking down. He remembered that in the time of the Crimean War a great deal of difficulty arose from the fact that a number of officers who had been asked to serve in the Commissariat felt it their duty to resign their commissions in that branch and join their regiments, which were ordered to the front. He hoped that nothing of that kind would be allowed to occur again in any expedition in which we were engaged. He again expressed the hope that Army officers were coming forward in sufficient numbers for the Service, and that it was clearly understood they were to remain with the new Service they had elected to join instead of rejoining their old regiments.

Mr. CHILDERS said, he was able to assure the noble Lord opposite that the new Commissariat system was working very well. There was no difficulty whatever with regard to obtaining the services of an adequate number of Army officers for this branch; of course, on the understanding with the officers that they would not be allowed to change their minds, and go back to the regiments they had left.

Colonel NOLAN said, the noble Lord the Member for West Essex (Lord Eustace Cecil) had drawn attention to an important point in connection with the officers of the Commissariat branch. The present Vote afforded also the opportunity of calling the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War to the position of another class of officers, who were very generally neglected by the authorities at the War Office. He referred to the officers of the Ordnance Store Establishment, a body of men having almost the same duties to perform as the officers of the Commissariat, the only difference being that the former were responsible for the supply of food, and the latter for the supply of ammunition and other *matériel* to the Army. There was no doubt that these officers had been very much neglected; and he believed the reason of this was that, unlike the Commissariat Establishment, who had a representative officer at the War Office, they had no officer to look after their interests. Everyone knew, and he had always found it to be the case in practice, that where a body of officers of any corps had a representative at the War Office, they were sure to get more consideration shown to them than officers who had no such representative. The subject to which he called attention was not a new one, and it had already been brought forward in that House, and the neglect complained of had extended over the last 21 years. In 1877 an inquiry had been instituted into the position of the Ordnance Store officers, and the Committee reported strongly in favour of the redress of the grievance which was acknowledged to exist. He (Colonel Nolan) brought the matter before the House in 1879. At the time it was admitted by the Surveyor General that the officers had a reasonable ground of complaint; that a feeling of soreness had been raised with respect to several matters, and that the authorities would remove the grievances of the officers as far as possible. A promise was actually made that the grievance, which consisted chiefly in the fact that the Ordnance Store officers received a less rate of pay and lower rank than the officers in the Commissariat, should be redressed. He admitted that the noble Lord (Lord Eustace Cecil) had taken some very considerable steps in that direction; but he was bound to say he had not gone far enough, and that he had left a great deal to be done by the present Secretary of State for War; and he thought that right hon. Gentleman should go thoroughly into the case of the officers in question, which had been looked after by the Surveyor General under the late Administration. The difficulty with regard to the Surveyor General's plan of dealing with the subject was that under it the men of the Service had to serve so long that they were in a lower position than the officers of the Commissariat Department; and, consequently, when he gave them the same rank as the Commissariat officers, they were still receiving much less pay than the latter. In May, 1882, there were 55 Commissariat officers of eight and a-half years' service as compared with 48 Ordnance Store officers; the number of officers of the equivalent rank of captain being pretty nearly equal. But at the next step a great change took place, and it appeared that there were in the Commissariat 43 officers having the equivalent rank of major, drawing 18*s*. a-day, as compared with 27 officers only in the Ordnance Store Establishment of the same rank. Moreover, the latter had 27 years' service, as compared with 23 years in the case of the Commissariat officers. Then in the case of the equivalent rank of lieutenant colonel the disparity was enormous, because there were 18 officers of this rank in the Commissariat, and five only in the Ordnance Store branch. It was clear from this statement that it took the Ordnance Store officer a much longer time than it did the Commissariat officer to get to the ranks where he would be better paid. He acknowledged that this grievance would die out in about 20 years under the arrangement effected by the noble Lord opposite; but his point was that a very great disparity existed between the officers of the two Establishments at the present time, which, in his opinion, it was desirable in the interest of the Service to remove. Not only was the question of pay involved in these disparities, but the question of pensions also; and, as matters now stood, the officers in the Ordnance Department would be retired at a lower rank than the officers of the Commissariat, and would consequently receive smaller pensions. He had no desire unduly to occupy the time of the Committee in calling attention to this subject; but he regarded the grievance of the Ordnance Store officers as one of a special character, which should be brought before the Secretary of State for War in the hope that he would do something to remedy it. He admitted that when the country was at war it was not exactly the time to look into these matters; but, on the other hand, in times of peace, the interest of the soldier was very little thought about, so perhaps, after all, the moment was not inopportune for bringing forward this well-founded grievance. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War would compare the conditions of service in the two corps, and consider whether, in respect of pay and promotion, they might not now be placed on an equal footing. As far as he was aware, there was no reason why any difference should exist to the disadvantage of the Ordnance Store officers, inasmuch as the stores they had to look after were, if anything, more important than those under the control of the officers of the Commissiariat Establishment.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, his hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Nolan) had called the attention of the Committee and the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War to a subject which he (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) had brought forward in Committee last year. On that occasion the Secretary of State for War promised that he would make inquiries and endeavour to secure the carrying out of the promises of the Surveyor General and the noble Lord on the Front Opposition Bench (Lord Eustace Cecil). He did not know whether anything had been done in that direction or not. But the grievances complained of were just as real and substantial now as they were when last brought forward; and on comparing the two branches, whose services were very much of the same kind, he found that the officers of the Commissariat who had only eight and a-half years' service were receiving as much pay as the officers of the Ordnance Store Establishment who had served considerably longer; that whereas Commissariat officers of 18 years' service were receiving 18*s.* a-day, Ordnance Store officers who had served five years longer were only receiving the same rate of pay. Again, an officer of the Ordnance Store Department who had 27½ years' service did not get more than 22*s.* a-day; but 27 years' service in the Commissariat branch would secure a man 30*s.* a-day and the rank of lieutenant colonel, which was a grade higher than the same period of service would secure for an officer in the Ordnance Corps. It could not, he thought, be denied that these disparities constituted a great and substantial grievance, and called for attention and redress on the part of the authorities at the War Office. But there was another point as to which the Ordnance Store officers complained, and complained now with very great reason, seeing that the country was engaged in war—they complained that they were deprived of titular rank. As an outsider, he was, perhaps, not able to realize the amount of importance which a military man attached to a matter of that kind; but he believed the officers of the Ordnance branch were very sore from the refusal of the authorities to extend to them this titular as well as regimental rank. There were men of long military service in charge of most important branches of the Establishment—men of the rank of major in the Army, who, under the present system, were allowed only the title of "Mr." Now, that must not only create a natural feeling of disappointment in the minds of the officers concerned, but, as many military officers, Sir Garnet Wolseley amongst others, concurred in stating, the system carried with it some serious disadvantages in connection with discipline. Soldiers did not recognize the title of "Mr.;" but they would recognize a title which showed at once that the possessor of it was a man of military rank. Having shown, following upon the speech of the hon. and gallant Member opposite (Colonel Nolan), that there still existed well-founded causes of complaint on the part of the Ordnance Store officers, he held that in both these respects they were entitled to demand some substantial fulfilment of the promises given by the late Surveyor General, and to this subject he invited the serious attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War.

Mr. CHILDERS said, it was necessarily extremely difficult, in matters of this kind, to give complete satisfaction to those interested; but he had always taken care, where two branches of the Service were concerned whose duties were of a similar character, to see that the various ranks were fairly apportioned between the two Establishments. Now, it was precisely on that principle that the regulations with regard to the officers in the Commissariat and those in the Ordnance Store branch had been made, although he was obliged to admit that if any difference whatever existed between the two Corps in this respect, the officers in the Ordnance Store Establishment had rather the advantage. The pay was the same and the relative rank was the same in both Corps; and, that being so, he was unable to perceive what change could be made. No doubt there was this difficulty, that in adding to the Ordnance Corps older men presented themselves than in the case of the Commissariat Corps. But this was a matter of accident, which must be left to adjust itself. He could not agree to the principle that a higher rate of pay should be given in a Department because the officers engaged in it were older than the officers in another Department receiving the same amount of pay. If that were admitted, the authorities would be called upon to alter the rates of pay in other branches of the Service. He was bound to say, having given the subject due attention, that he could see no remedy for this portion of the complaints put forward by the hon.

and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan) and the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) that would not produce greater evil than it was intended to remove. With regard to the question of titular rank, although he knew that officers performing duties of this kind as a rule had no titular rank, the direction indicated by the hon. Member for Queen's County was not one in which he should like to move, because, speaking from recollection of what had taken place in the last 20 years, his impression was that already too much had been done in the way of applying military titles to civilians engaged in various branches of the Service.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL said, he had sympathized very much with the officers of the Ordnance Store Department, and under the late Administration a great portion of his time and that of gentlemen under him had been taken up in endeavouring to ascertain, and, if possible, to remedy the grievances in question. Now, with reference to the question of titular rank, there was a strong feeling at the time in the Army itself that gentlemen employed in civil duties ought not to possess military titles, and it was felt that if these titles were extended to persons employed in the Ordnance Store Department they must also be extended to other civil branches of the Army. For instance, there was no reason why, on this principle, doctors and chaplains in the Army should not have titular rank; if it was extended in one direction there was no reason why it should not be extended in another. He was entirely in favour of Army officers maintaining their military rank, and it was fully recognized under the late Administration that the titles which Army officers in the Ordnance Department possessed should not be taken away from them. But the case of pure civilians who had no such rank was entirely a different matter. It was felt—and his experience confirmed it—that neither in the British Army nor in any other Army could titular rank be held by civilians; and, therefore, the only thing that could be done under the circumstances was to confirm the relative rank.

COLONEL ALEXANDER said, he had listened with interest to the arguments advanced for and against giving titular rank to officers in the Ordnance Store Department, and he was bound to say he was unable to agree with the view expressed by the noble Lord who had just spoken. On the other hand, he felt very much the truth of what had been said by the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor). He believed that it was desirable in the interest of the Service that titular rank should be conferred in the case of officers who had duties to discharge of the kind which belonged to the officers of the Ordnance Store Department; and he had, moreover, been frequently assured by quartermasters that titular rank was regarded as even of more importance than increase of pay.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL said, the hon. and gallant Member for South Ayrshire (Colonel Alexander), in referring to quartermasters, was speaking of men who belonged to the Army. His statement was that in the case of civilians there was no reason for giving titular rank.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he wished to add one or two observations to the discussion before the Vote was finally put from the Chair. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War, in replying upon this question of the Ordnance Store officers, had stated that the number of men in the lower ranks of the Commissariat and Ordnance Departments being the same, the disparity of promotion as between the two Corps would in the course of time disappear. He quite agreed that this might be the case, and it was very desirable that the right hon. Gentleman's expectation should prove to be correct; but the prospect afforded little or no consolation to men who were now debarred from promotion by the causes he had pointed out. The figures he had quoted showed that the Ordnance Corps had only five men of the relative rank of lieutenant colonel as against 13 men of the same rank in the Commissariat; they were a conclusive proof that the Ordnance Store officers were very much in arrear at the present time in the matter of promotion, and consequently in respect of pay. He had shown that a feeling of soreness existed amongst the men, and that this arose partly from their being kept so long in inferior positions while changes were made above them. But, besides that, it had been the custom to bring into the Ordnance Corps a certain number of Army officers from other Corps and to place them in the higher ranks. For instance, three officers had been brought in from the Artillery at one time, and although he did not mean to say that it was not right to do so, yet the Committee would understand that the practice necessarily interfered with promotion so far as the other officers of the Corps were concerned. Now, nothing of that kind ever occurred in the Commissariat; all who joined that Corps went into the bottom ranks. This circumstance, taken in connection with the figures he had laid before the Committee, showed that the officers of the Ordnance Corps were very much in arrear in point of promotion and pay; and, therefore, he trusted the fact would not be lost sight of by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War.

Vote *agreed to.*

(4.) £734,000, Clothing Establishments, Services, and Supplies.

Lord ELCHO believed he was correct in saying that the English troops sent to Egypt were clothed in red, but that if the authorities had had the material they would have been sent out in grey. If he remembered rightly, the troops that served in India were not dressed in red, but in a dust-coloured material called karkee; and he could not help thinking it would be desirable that the Ordnance Stores Department should keep a supply of this cloth for future use, so that when our troops were sent to hot climates they might be clothed in a manner suited to the country in which they had to serve.

Lord EUSTACE CECIL asked if there was any intention on the part of the War Office authorities to alter the colour of the Army dress?

Mr. CHILDERS said, the Committee which sat to consider the colour of the Army dress had not yet made their Report; and, therefore, no decision had been arrived at upon the question suggested by the noble Lord the Member for West Essex (Lord Eustace Cecil). With regard to the point raised by the noble Lord the Member for Haddingtonshire, the subject had not been overlooked, and he believed a large quantity of karkee had been sent out.

Lord ELCHO said, he felt some anxiety also about the fit of the uniform. It was most desirable that a soldier should be able to move without splitting his clothes.

Mr. CHILDERS assured the noble Lord the uniform fitted much more loosely than it used to do.

Vote *agreed to.*

(5.) £1,289,500, Supply, Manufacture, and Repair of Warlike Stores.

Mr. W. H. SMITH desired to have some information as to the supply of Naval guns provided for under this Vote. It would be in the recollection of the Committee that, at an earlier period of the Session, in the discussion which took place on the Army Estimates this matter had been very lightly touched upon, the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War merely remarking, with regard to the large sum for which provision was made in the Estimate, that it would hereafter be the subject of a statement to be made by the right hon. Gentleman the present Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. As a matter of fact, the right hon. Gentleman left to the Chief Secretary the duty of explaining in detail the provision made in the Military Estimates for guns to be supplied to the Navy. But when the Navy Estimates came forward in Committee a few nights ago, the hon. Gentleman in charge of them, while stating that provision had been made for the Navy ordnance in the Army Estimates, could give him little or no information on the subject. It would be in the recollection of his right hon. Friend that provision was made last year for 119 guns, 103 of which were 6-inch guns, eight of 11½ tons, and eight of them guns of 18 tons. But he understood that out of the whole 119 only 32 had been delivered, and that these were 6-inch guns, none of the 11½-ton or 18 ton guns having been supplied. He regarded this as a most unfortunate circumstance, and he believed he was right in saying that not a single new gun had been placed on board any of the ships which had taken part in the late engagement with the forts at Alexandria. The country was, therefore, without what would have constituted a most valuable practical test of the efficiency of the guns in question, and he could not but feel that in this respect the Service had been very unfortunate. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War whether the large provision made for ordnance in the Estimates before the Committee included an amount for other guns than those he had referred to, or whether it was, practically, a re-Vote of the money taken last year? Might the Committee calculate on the sum asked for in the present Estimates being actually expended, and the guns delivered to the Navy in the course of the current financial year? He need hardly say that this was a matter of great importance in view of the service expected from the Navy, and in view of their recent experience of the delay in obtaining guns for the Service. There was another matter to which he desired to call the attention of the Committee. When the late Administration left Office, a 43-ton gun was in hand; indeed, he might say that it had made considerable progress towards completion. He believed, however, that it had remained since then very much in an experimental condition. His right hon. Friend (Mr. Trevelyan) had stated in April last that three 43-ton guns would be supplied in December next for the *Conqueror*—that was to say, that two of these guns would be mounted on board the vessel in December, 1882, and that one would remain in store. They were also told by his right hon. Friend that two of these guns would be ready in March, and six more in July, 1883, so that the eight guns required for arming the *Colossus* and the other vessel for which they were intended were promised as soon as the ships were in a state to receive them. His right hon. Friend, moreover, said that 10 9-inch 18-ton guns would be ready in July next to be mounted in the turret of the *Rupert* and on board the *Hercules.* He sincerely trusted this would be the case; but he had some fear that the expectation of his right hon. Friend might not be realized. He was very anxious to know whether the final trials of the 43-ton gun had been completed, or if that gun was still only in the experimental stage; whether the engagement which was made in April last with regard to the delivery of three 43-ton guns for the *Conqueror* would be kept; whether the other guns promised would be ready for the *Edinburgh* and the *Colossus;* whether the 21 11½-ton guns which were promised for July last, and the 10 18-ton guns also promised for that month, were delivered and were complete; and, further, whether his right hon. Friend was satisfied that the other portion of his engagement with regard to Naval guns would be completed during the course of the present financial year? There was one other point to which he wished to allude. He referred to the carriages for these guns, the manufacture of which was undertaken also by the War Department, and the subject seemed to him to be of great importance. The Admiralty, he believed, were consulted, and had a great deal to say as to the pattern of the carriages to be used; but he was not quite satisfied that the very best carriage was fixed upon in every case, and although he understood that experiments were going on, yet he could not but feel it was a matter of regret that they should extend over such a long period of time. He had, on a former occasion, remarked that as the result of recent conditions the life of a gun at the present time was clearly ascertained to be shortened, and that owing to the heavy charges now in use it had really come to this—that they might wear out the guns they now had before they could get settled the type of the new guns that were to take their place. It was clear that these very large charges did effect a more rapid deterioration of the gun than formerly was thought probable, or even possible. They had to face, not only the necessity for providing guns which were to be at least equal, if not superior, to those in use in the Navies of other countries—which would be at least equal to the guns that had been used by the Navies of the South American Republics during the last four years, but they had also to provide for the wear and tear of the guns, which would in future be very considerable. He urged these considerations upon the attention of Her Majesty's Government, because anyone of experience in these matters knew that the delay in the completion of ships, caused by the delay in the settlement, first of all, of the guns themselves, then of the charges to be put into them, and, finally, of the other details connected with them, was something almost beyond ordinary conception. His noble Friend the Member for Haddingtonshire (Lord Elcho) had mentioned that the delay in the production of guns was due to the appointment of a number of Committees to consider and report upon them. He (Mr. Smith) did not wish in the slightest degree to cast any reflection upon the labours of Committees whose Reports had, in many cases, been most serviceable and useful to the Governments who appointed them; but he confessed to feeling some alarm when his hon. Friend, two years ago, said he would constitute a new Committee to take charge of this important question, and advise the Government with reference to it. His apprehension was that the result of this decision would be that the new Committee would have to go through everything that had occurred before in connection with the question, and that further delay would follow. He was afraid that delay had resulted from the appointment of the Committee. Great as was the experience of its Members, fully entitled as they were to the confidence of the House and the Service, still he believed the kind of work they had to do, the duties thrown upon them, and the immense number of questions put to them, had resulted in delaying the attainment of the great object in view, which was to secure the best gun they could get in practice—not the best gun that could be conceived—and which, within a reasonable time, could be mounted on board Her Majesty's ships. He said it would be a great misfortune if their ships were delayed simply because the guns for which they were being constructed were not ready for them—because gentlemen, whose mechanical skill was very great, and whose experience entitled them to great respect, could not arrive at a decision on points as to which he believed a manufacturer, whose reputation depended on producing the best possible article, would have decided in his own mind long ago.

Mr. CHILDERS said, he was happy to say that Her Majesty's Government had largely increased the provision made in the Department, and the fact that the Vote had been raised was an earnest of what they intended to do in the matter of ordnance. He did not think it would have been possible to avoid appointing a Board to advise the Government on this subject. The whole question of gunnery during the last five or six years had gone through a process of transformation, and the result had been an endless controversy amongst the experts, inventors, and manufacturers; and he believed the Government would not have been able to deal with these movements, if he might call them so, coming from all parts of the scientific world, unless they had been able to avail themselves of the advice of the Board appointed two years ago. They had been obliged to listen to persons who made all sorts of proposals, and to examine their plans, which, as his right hon. Friend would know very well, was a matter of considerable difficulty. The examination of the merits of the Government gun as compared with the gun of the manufacturer had, no doubt, created some delay; but the work of the Board in this respect had been expedited by the introduction of two most able outside engineers, men of the greatest capacity, who could look at the question from the point of view of the manufacturer. On the whole, although he entirely agreed that time should not be unduly expended in deciding upon the type of our guns, he thought the period which had been occupied by the investigations had been more than compensated for by the advantages gained. He might mention to the Committee the great change that had taken place in the gun of the present day as compared with that of a few years ago. The necessity of having a longer gun made it necessary to use large powder and large chambers, and this, in its turn, made it necessary to load at the breech instead of the muzzle. The application of this principle had entirely revolutionized the form of construction of our guns. The consequence of all this was that pressure arose at different points which rendered experiments and a certain amount of delay unavoidable. It did not follow, even if the Estimates were largely increased, or even doubled, as in the present instance, that they could be quite worked up to. He would not go into the details of the question of carriages. His right hon. Friend knew the controversy that had been raised on this subject. It was a matter of dispute when his right hon. Friend presided at the Admiralty, and it had been so ever since, which Department should supply the gun carriages. That question still remained unsettled, and it was one that a good deal of difficulty surrounded. If the Admiralty made the carriages there might, perhaps, be greater speed in production; on the other hand, he did not think it by any means clear that the completion of the whole operation between the two

Departments would be expedited. However that might be, he wished to be understood on that occasion not to commit himself to any opinion as to what might hereafter be done. Having made this statement with regard to a practical difficulty that had to be met, he would now reply to the general question of his right hon. Friend as to when the guns would be ready, merely remarking that he did not think that the Service had yet suffered by delay. He believed that by June, 1883, all the 6-inch guns and 8-inch guns that were included in the programme of this year and last year would be completed, and that in all probability the whole of the order for the 9-inch guns would be completed by the end of the financial year. With respect to the 43-ton gun, there were questions of the greatest importance both as to the construction and the carriage for the gun, and he did not think they were in a position to state that all the 43-ton guns that were promised would be completed within the financial year. On the other hand, he believed that the two guns which were promised for the *Conqueror* next year would be delivered in such time that the vessel would not be delayed. Taking the guns all round, the delay, he thought, had not been of a serious character, and he could assure his right hon. Friend that the arrear which existed had not been caused by any neglect on the part of the War Office, or any delay on the part of the Ordnance Select Committee. It was due solely to the necessity of proceeding with extreme care in the production of guns which were of novel construction; and so far as the guns were concerned, he thought there was every reason for congratulation at the results which had been arrived at.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he understood his right hon. Friend to say that the 18-ton guns and 11½-ton guns, which were to be delivered in July last, were not yet complete, but that he hoped to get them in June next year.

Mr. CHILDERS signified assent.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR remarked that this was the second time within a few days that the question of the guns of the Navy had been brought forward in that House. Indeed, it was a resumption of the same discussion raised last year about the same guns, in number and calibre. Moreover, a discussion upon the subject of Naval guns always took place when the Army Estimates were under consideration. Since he had been in Parliament he could not remember that any Session had passed without the supply of guns for the Navy being discussed, and invariably raised by Members who were usually most interested in the Navy. These repeated challenges proved the existence of a serious defect—that of having the Naval Department dependent on the War Office for their ordnance. When they considered the statement of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. W. H. Smith), calling attention to the present state of affairs in respect to the failures of the War Office to provide guns for the Navy, he thought that all must feel a certain amount of anxiety with regard to the state of the armament of the Navy. The right hon. Gentleman had referred to guns which, although long promised, and on several occasions, yet had not been supplied, and to gun carriages, which were supposed to be made sometimes by the Admiralty, and sometimes by the War Office, but which were not yet ready for the ships. Now, the delay in respect of those carriages, his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War said, was due to various causes. He would, however, take one cause not mentioned, which appeared to him to be at the bottom of the whole difficulty—namely, that the Admiralty looked to the War Office not only to make, but even to pay for, the guns and all equipments required in the Navy; and, no matter what the cost might be, or however urgent or vast the demand, yet the whole expenditure was thrown upon the Army Estimates, and the entire responsibility for prompt compliance with demands was placed on the Secretary of State. Now, he appealed to anyone who knew what the present cost of the Army was to say whether it was fair and just that the Army Estimates should be called upon to bear the expenditure incurred on account of the Navy for their guns, carriages, projectiles, and ammunition of all kinds, even including the new weapon—torpedoes? It was beyond the range of reasonable expectation that unlimited demands by one branch of the Service could be met and paid for by another branch. It was the old story of riding your neighbour's horse with your own spurs. No wonder, then, that there was delay in the production of the guns and all the vast war material for our ships. But the evil went further than this. This pernicious system, which had been so long in operation, had a tendency to render the officers of the Navy indifferent to certain questions of importance connected with the armament of the ships; it also prevented them giving that attention to the subject of the fitness of the guns for the ships, which was so necessary on the part both of officers and men For his own part, he maintained that it was impossible for any Military Department to be efficient unless the whole of the arrangements connected with the organization, the equipment, supplies, and cost of ordnance stores and ammunition were kept under the head of the Service, and unless the officers were qualified to say what was and what was not good work in the armament of stores. One of the results of this present system was a considerable deficiency of knowledge amongst Naval officers on the subject of guns, and their suitableness for the ships. His right hon. Friend would, no doubt, have had opportunities of knowing perfectly well that vessels had been planned without due consideration having been given to the kind of guns they would have to carry—in fact, guns had been made of lengths, dimensions, and form to suit the vessels, instead of the vessels being formed to receive the guns of the most efficient calibre. Further, so little did the two Departments work in harmony that the changes of construction found to be necessary when their armament was completed had cost the country considerable sums of money. With these views, he said it was impossible to have ffiecient armaments in the Navy so long as Naval officers went to the War Office for the guns for the Fleet, and had the accounting and auditing of stores, guns, &c., dependent on the War Office. With regard to the question of carriages, the right hon. Gentleman knew perfectly well that these also had been allowed to be built in the Dockyards of the Navy at the expense of the War Office, and the same remarks applied to them as applied to the guns, with this addition—that these same gun-carriages, planned and made up by the Navy, did not give satisfaction. He believed that neither with regard to pattern nor cost could any satisfactory gun-carriage be provided for the Navy so long as this false system continued; and, therefore, he said, let the Navy supply themselves with guns and carriages—let them, by all means, as the late First Lord had suggested, go into the open market if they thought fit, and buy the whole of the Naval armaments; but let them, above all things, pay for their own guns and carriages, projectiles, ammunition, and stores. The sooner that system were adopted the better, and the House would then get rid of a dispute that had existed for 20 years as to the pattern of gun and carriage to be used. In this period four changes in the Naval armament had taken place in a sudden manner, and ordered to be carried out with a rapidity that no Supply Department could meet. They would then not only get efficiency, but economy, because he was sure, when the charge was put upon the Navy Estimates, and the cost of the Naval armaments for the first time fully known, then the Department would find it necessary to economize by looking after their stores in a far more efficient manner than they had hitherto done. Along with this change must follow the custody of the guns and stores by the Naval authorities. The warrant officers of the Navy would supply admirable storekeepers, of a far higher training for the duties than the War Office could obtain, so that no difficulties need be anticipated in the safe custody of the stores on shore.

Lord EUSTACE CECIL said, he should be glad enough to see the Navy finding its own guns; but he believed there were two difficulties to be overcome—first of all, there was the difficulty of uniformity, which could only be arranged by mutual understanding; and, secondly, there was another difficulty as regarded economy. Upon the latter question he had no desire to set up his own opinion against so high an authority as the hon. and gallant Member for Kincardineshire (Sir George Balfour); but if there were to be two arsenals instead of one he was afraid there would not be much economy. He had risen, however, principally to say that the Committee and the country generally were much indebted to his right hon. Friend sitting near him (Mr. W. H. Smith), and to his right hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Childers) for the interesting statements they had made in regard to the guns, and he hoped that progress might be reported, in another sense, before long. For some years this question of guns had been in hand, and he thought the time had arrived when they should come to some conclusion as to the sort of gun they ought to have, so that they might have it manufactured in sufficient quantities, not only to arm the ships, but to protect the land forts if necessary. His hon. and gallant Friend said that the existing guns were falling off. But that was a question of the powder supplied, and it was very much in consequence of the changes in the invention of powder that they were obliged to change the armament of their guns. He did not say this in any way on his own authority, but on that of Colonel Maitland, who delivered a lecture upon the subject before the Society of Arts a short time ago. Touching the question of powder, he should like the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War to state briefly what quantity of the new kind of powder they had for the operations of war. That was a very important matter at this moment, and it would, no doubt, be of much interest to the Committee to learn whether, in the opinion of the Government, they really had a sufficient store of the new kind of pebble powder for the operations of war. When the late Government left Office they left behind them no less than 310,000 barrels of gunpowder, and he hoped now that a good deal more was in store, and available if required. All he asked for was a general assurance from the right hon. Gentleman on this subject. He trusted, also, that something was being done in regard to the manufacture of Martini-Henry rifles. He knew that there had been a considerable issue of Martini-Henry rifles to the Militia, which, of course, would have diminished the number in store to a considerable extent; but he wanted to know if the manufactory at Woolwich was working extra time, in order to make up the deficiency and to turn out more rifles than were being supplied some weeks or months ago. In his opinion, it was most requisite that there should be an adequate supply of rifles, not only in store, but for defence purposes, and for actual wear-and-tear. Then, again, nothing had been said as to the Nordenfeldt and Gatling guns. He took it that, as a matter of fact, the Nordenfeldt gun had greatly superseded the Gatling gun. Whether it had superseded it for land purposes he could not say; but for Naval purposes, he believed, there was no doubt about the fact. He should, therefore, be glad to hear whether, as far as regarded Nordenfeldt guns, they were in a good position both in respect to their land as well as to their sea forces. His noble Friend below the Gangway (Lord Elcho) was very much interested in the question of rifled carbines. He did not know what number of rifled carbines they had in store, nor of any of the new patterns which had been lately introduced; but, perhaps, the right hon. Gentleman would kindly inform the Committee. He should also be glad to hear if anything had been done in regard to the magazine rifle, or whether the idea had been completely given up. He was told that a great many authorities differed on the point. Many supposed that the magazine rifle, however ingenious and clever it might be, was not a practical arm capable of being placed in the hands of the troops. Whether that was so or not he did not pretend to say. A Committee had been sitting upon it and upon other matters, and he should be glad to know what the nature of their Report had been. Indeed, he should be most glad to receive any information which the right hon. Gentleman could give on that and the other points to which he had called attention.

Lord ELCHO said, he had listened with much interest to the remarks of his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Kincardineshire (Sir George Balfour), who had questioned both the efficiency and economy of the system under which the Army manufactured guns for the Navy. Unquestionably, the British taxpayer believed that we were a great inventing and gun-making nation. He must feel that we ought to be at the head of the gun manufacture of the world, and that any gun that was used by our Navy or our Army should not be inferior to that of any other nation. Now such, unfortunately, was not the case. He (Lord Elcho) spoke with some knowledge upon the point, because the fact had been stated to him that the conclusion come to by some of our most experienced Naval officers of the Gunnery Department at the historical Concert held at Dulcigno, in reference to the guns of our Navy, was that of all the Naval Powers there representing the

Concert of Europe, with one exception, the worst Naval guns were those of the British Fleet. He was, therefore, glad to hear from his right hon. Friend who once held the position of First Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. W. H. Smith) that one thing which had been elucidated was that there was some prospect of securing an improved gun for the Navy. When his right hon. Friend was speaking, he (Lord Elcho) had whispered the word "Committee." Now, he quite admitted the necessity of the Secretary of State for War being advised on such questions by a Departmental Committee; but he could not help expressing his opinion that the Committee system was being carried to far too large an extent in the Army. He believed he was right in saying that no other nation now adopted the muzzle-loading system, either in reference to the field gun or the gun for Naval warfare. Originally, we had ourselves adopted the breech-loading system; but a Departmental Committee recommended its absolute abandonment, and, notwithstanding that we had spent large sums of money on breech-loading guns, we returned to the muzzle-loading system. It was manifest in the case of the breech-loading guns that the men in charge of them were less exposed than men who were required to load a gun at the muzzle. If the guns were properly placed in the field, the muzzle only was visible, and a gunner charging a gun at the breech need expose his person hardly at all; whereas the gunner who loaded at the muzzle must necessarily expose his arms and his head, and there was, consequently, greater risk of the loss of life in the case of the muzzle-loading gun than of the breech-loader. Reference had been made to Committees appointed to advise the Secretary of State. He did not know what the result of the inquiries of the most recent Committee was; and he was unable to say whether the Secretary of State had decided that in the case of field-guns they were now to adopt the breech-loading system which other nations had adopted. To a certain extent there was considerable disadvantage in the private inquiries that were now made through the medium of official Committees. He was afraid that it was often the practice of the Secretary of State to appoint a Committee, where, by a little inquiry on his own part, and the exercise of the intelligence which fitted him for the position he held as Secretary of State at the head of the War Office, he would be able to form a judgment for himself. At any rate, in many cases great delay was occasioned by the appointment of a Committee, and much good work was thus prevented from being carried out which might otherwise have been more rapidly accomplished. He thought, also, that when a Committee was appointed, it ought either to be a secret Committee to advise the Secretary of State; or if it was to take evidence, and that evidence was afterwards to be submitted in the shape of a Blue Book, it should be wholly public. The facts should either be kept strictly private within the discretion of the Secretary of State, or should be published in their full entirety. God forbid that he should say the system had been maintained for the purpose of deception; but it would be seen at a glance that it was capable of the grossest abuse. The Secretary of State might appoint a Committee which was half a private and half a public Committee, and might give to the public only that part of the Report which suited his own purposes, keeping back whatever might not suit his own purposes. He did not mean to say that such a thing had ever been done; but he did say that this half-and-half system of public and private inquiry was capable of abuse, and was, therefore, a thing to be avoided. Before he went into the question of small arms, which had been touched upon by his noble Friend (Lord Eustace Cecil), who held the Office of Surveyor General in the late Government, he wished to say a word about gun-carriages. Those who had read the accounts of the bombardment of Alexandria must have observed that the batteries which best stood the heavy fire to which all the batteries were subjected were those which were mounted on the Moncreiff system. By that system the guns were elevated when they were fired, and the recoil brought them down afterwards to a position in which they were out of sight. The Committee would readily see that, if the system were sound, the guns worked in accordance with it possessed a great advantage in regard to the protection afforded to the men and the endurance of the batteries, over the ordinary system of mounting guns, whether in parapet or embrasure. They would all have read that the guns of the enemy which showed the most resistance and stood the longest were guns mounted on the Moncreiff system. He hoped that a complete Report of the result would be sent in by the Government, and that all the facts relating to the matter would be placed before Parliament and the country. He trusted that his right hon. Friend would fully appreciate the value of such a Report. And now with regard to small arms, and the various matters which related to them. His noble Friend who filled the Office of Surveyor General of the Ordnance in the late Government (Lord Eustace Cecil), had referred to the interest which he (Lord Elcho) had taken in rifled carbines. He was inclined to think that his noble Friend had made a mistake as to the nature of his interest in these carbines. He was afraid his noble Friend would think his interest was in having carbines manufactured. It was quite the reverse, because he had sat upon a Committee some years ago respecting this arm of the Service; and they came to the conclusion that it was desirable to have one arm, and one arm only, for the whole Service, whether for the Navy, the Army, the Artillery, or the Cavalry. They were further of opinion that the best arm would be a long rifle, and that it should be carried by the Cavalry instead of the carbine. He presumed that his right hon. and gallant Friend the late Secretary of State for War (Colonel Stanley) was of a different opinion, because when in Office he had spent £45,000 or £50,000 a-year in the manufacture of carbines. He would he sorry to say anything behind the back of his right hon. and gallant Friend which he would not say to his face; but he had already told his right hon. and gallant Friend often enough that to spend £45,000 in manufacturing carbines in the present day was very much like spending the same sum in the manufacture of bows and arrows; for, though accurate at 500 or even 800 yards, they were of no use at all at a distance of 2,000 yards. At long ranges the carbine was altogether useless; and it was, therefore, absurd to go on manufacturing carbines and arming our Cavalry with a useless weapon, when they might be armed and carry with great convenience another weapon which would be efficient at much longer ranges. He believed, if his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War would make an inquiry, he would find that the opinion of competent persons who had considered the subject was that if our Cavalry were armed with a long rifle, similar to the ordinary Infantry rifle, it could be easily carried, and would give them a great advantage over an enemy's Cavalry, at long-range fire, who were only armed with carbines; and against Infantry they would also be better able to hold their own. Whenever they were dismounted they would be on an equality with the Infantry of the enemy; and mounted they would possess an advantage. If the War Office continued to arm our Cavalry with carbines, and some day we found ourselves opposed to Cavalry in the field armed with the long rifle, we should be placed at enormous disadvantage. Therefore, when they were constantly speaking of the good work done by Mounted Infantry, and were seeking to create more Mounted Infantry, it was ridiculous to continue the old system of arming the Cavalry with carbines—an antiquated and comparatively useless weapon. So much with reference to the matter of carbines. He saw in the Vote an item of which he was greatly inclined to move a reduction—namely, the item of £500 for small arms for experimental services. He was inclined to think that this item meant that another Committee had recommended a rifle of a different bore, a totally different rifle to the one which was now in the hands of the Army. He had been long interested in rifle shooting, and no one would accuse him of wishing to see their troops armed with an inferior rifle. He knew the value of the present arm; he knew what it could do. He knew they had been gradually manufacturing them till there was a hope of the present arm being the arm of all the Forces of the Crown—the arm of the Regulars, the Militia, the Volunteers, and the Reserve Forces. He could not conceive a greater waste of money than would take place in producing a new rifle. The new rifle that the Committee had recommended being of a different bore to the present one, new ammunition would be required. He would, therefore, in the strongest way he possibly could, make an appeal to his right hon. Friend to exercise his own judgment in this matter, and not be led astray by the recommendation of the Committee, which would land him and the House in an endless expenditure for an arm which was absolutely unnecessary, considering the excellence of the present weapon. Their present arm shot better than any foreign arm. The reason given for a new rifle was that if there was a smaller bore there would be a lighter bullet, and for the same weight the soldier would be able to carry a greater number of rounds. But the new rifle was to be four ounces heavier than the present arm—a great disadvantage. A further point already touched upon by his noble Friend (Lord Eustace Cecil) was that in reference to the magazine rifle. He believed the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War was being turned to this. He (Lord Elcho) had seen a magazine rifle, which appeared to be absolute perfection — so simple, expeditious, and unliable to get out of order. The Austrian Government were trying it with good results, and he hoped the experiment would be made by Her Majesty's Government, and that instead of wasting money on a new barrel they would spend 8*s.* per rifle on a magazine. He would like to ask his right hon. Friend what store they had of Martini-Henry rifles over and above those already in the hands of the troops? He would like to say one word more, and that was with reference to inventions. He could well understand how officials were pestered to death by inventors; but there were some inventions to which it would be well to lend a ready ear. One great difficulty in shooting was to judge distances, and apparently, from what they read in the papers, the means of judging distances were greatly wanted in Egypt at the present time. Now, an officer—Colonel Weldon — had been sent over to this country from India with an admirable range - finder, which was not larger than a watch. He had tested it, and he knew how effective it was in ascertaining the distance of any object in the field. This gentleman, who was a Colonel in the Madras Army, had been sent over by the Government of India to show the invention, so valuable they thought it. Colonel Weldon took it to the India Office, but he was sent to the War Office. After passing from one official to another at the War Office, he arrived at the proper Department, and when he showed his invention and gave his name, he was told—"Oh, we know all about that; your invention has been condemned already." Colonel Weldon replied that it must be rather difficult to condemn an invention which had not been seen, except by himself and the manufacturer. "Will you allow it to be tried by the troops?" asked Colonel Weldon. "No, certainly not; nobody shall try anything that has not been passed through this Department," was the reply. He mentioned this to show the difficulties inventors had to contend with, even when they were sent over here officially.

Mr. CHILDERS said, that whatever changes were made after inquiry by experts must be made on the authority of a responsible Minister, and he had never hesitated to take that responsibility where he believed it necessary to make any alterations. He would not go into the question of carbines as opposed to the long rifles used by the Cavalry. Experiments had been made, but he would rather not enlarge upon them at the present time. The noble Lord (Lord Elcho) had referred to magazine rifles, some of which, he said, had entirely succeeded. He (Mr. Childers) did not know that any one had absolutely succeeded; and he was bound to say that, up to this moment, he was not satisfied that any magazine rifle could be advantageously introduced into the Service. The noble Lord asked him of Martini-Henry rifles in stock. Martini-Henry's were now being issued to the Militia, and that had reduced the stock, which ought to be kept up to 300,000. At present there was a fair stock of arms, and more were being manufactured as circumstances required. There was not a large stock of powder, but it was sufficient for all reasonable purposes.

Lord ELCHO said, the right hon. Gentleman had stated that there were now 300,000 stand of arms over and above those in the hands of the troops. He believed there was some number laid down, and, if he was not greatly mistaken, it was very far above the number named by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War.

Mr. CHILDERS thought 300,000 was the number laid down. Last year there were 347,000 stand of arms in stock; but, in consequence of Martini Henry's being served out to the Militia, the stock had been reduced to 238,000.

Vote *agreed to.*

(6.) £715,700, Works, Buildings, &c. at Home and Abroad.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, it would be exceedingly convenient to the county of Sussex to know how soon the Government were prepared to give up the Militia storehouse at Lewes?

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR inquired of the Secretary of State when the important military work at the extremity of the Admiralty Pier upon Dover Harbour was likely to be finished? He would also wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether this powerful battery would be affected by the new works which the Dover Harbour Board intended to make? It was proposed to extend the Admiralty Pier 550 feet from the place where the battery was.

Mr. CHILDERS said, he would look into the question of the Lewes Militia storehouse. He was not aware that it was intended by the proposed works at Dover to interfere with the battery. Certainly, if it was likely that the battery would be injured he should raise an objection.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, the most important portion of the defences at Dover was a powerful battery at the end of the Admiralty Pier; and as they now found the Dover Harbour Board desiring to make a great extension of that pier beyond the end where the battery was being formed, he had no hesitation in saying that the proposed extension would seriously endanger the safety of the fort.

Vote *agreed to.*

(7.) £127,500, Establishments for Military Education.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman a question with regard to the vacancies in Cavalry regiments. He gathered from an answer to a question which the right hon. Gentleman made the other day that the War Office were considering whether they could not take some step with regard to men who passed a fair examination, but who had not come up to the mark that some of the other candidates had come up to. The examinations varied from time to time—for instance, at one time a man, who was certainly equal, and, perhaps, far better than many who had passed an examination, did not get his commission because there were at that particular moment that he went through an examination men who had passed a better examination than himself. Now, it had always struck him that if a man came up to a certain qualifying standard, his name ought to be retained on the list, and when there was a vacancy he ought to have a chance of filling it.

Mr. CHILDERS said, he answered this question only the other day. There had been no deficiency in the number of candidates for the Army generally, although the number of candidates for the Cavalry had been short. That had been remedied to a great extent by a change he had made with regard to Militia candidates. They were anxious, as he had previously said, to see whether in some way or other they could not secure a larger supply of Cavalry candidates; but, up to the present moment, he had not seen his way to do it. He, however, held himself entirely free to make proper arrangements with respect to the supply of Cavalry candidates.

Vote *agreed to.*

(8.) £36,400, Miscellaneous Effective Services.

Mr. FIRTH said, that, under Sub-head "S," there was an item—"Appropriations in aid, £3,550," £3,400 of which represented the fees from visitors to the Tower Armouries. He would like to ask his right hon. Friend whether he saw any prospect of admission to the armouries being permitted free of charge?

Mr. CHILDERS said, the admission to the Tower was free on some days, but not on others. He thought the present system answered very well, and saw no reason at present to alter it.

Vote *agreed to.*

(9.) £238,200, War Office.

Lord ELCHO said, he would like to know what was to be done about the military clerks?

Mr. CHILDERS said, he was Chairman of the Committee; but he did not think anything would be done this year.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, that the Vote was increased this year by a sum of £16,000. This was always a particularly heavy Vote; and when they saw the Services of the Army very often cut down to meet the requirements of the nation, as far as economy was concerned, they had never seen the War Office expenses cut down. It always struck him that this enormous expenditure in various ways in the War Office might be reduced to a certain extent; he did not say to any great extent, and in no way could it be better effected than had just been mentioned by his noble Friend, because he was satisfied there were many efficient non-commissioned officers who might be employed as clerks in the War Office, and who would consider the pay very excellent remuneration. Even old officers might be employed here with very good effect.

MR. CHILDERS said, there was no increase on this Vote, but a decrease. The old pay of the War Office was shown, which used not to be the case.

MR. SEXTON wished to make an inquiry of the right hon. Gentleman with respect to the position of supplementary clerks to the War Office. He found, on reference to the Estimates, that there were 70 of these gentlemen, and all but five were supplementary clerks of the first class, beginning at a salary of £180, and advancing by increments of £10 to a maximum salary of £300. In order to make plain the position which these gentlemen held, he would refer to the 21 principal clerks, who began at a salary of £700 a-year, and advanced by increments of £25 to £900; there were 45 senior clerks, who began at £450 a-year, and advanced by increments of £20 to £650; there were 65 clerks in the upper division, 63 of whom began at £150 a-year, and, by increments of £15, rose to £500, while the remaining two clerks began at £150, and, by increments of £37 10*s.* triennially, rose to £400 a-year. It was quite plain, in comparison, that the supplementary clerks occupied a very disadvantageous place. The right hon. Gentleman would remember that these gentlemen were admitted upon the open competition system for Civil clerkships; and it was a curious fact that gentlemen who competed at these same examinations in 1870 and the year succeeding, and who were allotted to other Departments of the Civil Service, had since, in consequence of re-organization, reached higher establishment in their respective Offices than these supplementary clerks occupied in their Departments. It was a very unfortunate fact for those gentlemen that were allotted to the War Office, because, had they been allotted to any other Office, they would have reaped considerably greater advantages. Many gentlemen who competed side by side with these clerks in the year 1870, and who failed in the examination, came up in subsequent years, took lower places, and were allotted to other Departments; but they had since reached a higher establishment than those gentlemen who had passed a better examination. There were 171 men clerks in the lower division, who, under the present regulations, would not be admissible to the higher establishment for four years more. He thought it was a reasonable suggestion that as the lower division clerks could not, for four years more, be admitted to the higher division, the higher establishment should in the meantime be thrown open to the supplementary clerks. It was not denied that the supplementary clerks performed their duties well. Many of them, in fact, performed precisely the same duties as the clerks on the higher establishment, who received a much more considerable salary. In point of fact, the present system came to this—that the higher establishment was reserved for new comers, who, it very often happened, were instructed in their duties by the supplementary clerks. He would like to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, since the re-organization of the War Office, two years ago, any vacancies had been filled up on the higher establishment of that Office; and, if so, if they had been filled up from the supplementary clerks—gentlemen already within the walls of the Office, and familiar with the duties of the Office—or whether the vacancies had been filled up by new comers; and, if so, why? Was it to be understood that these 70 gentlemen had to stagnate in this supplementary Department, while persons much their inferiors were admitted to higher salaries? These gentlemen could not regard their position with satisfaction; and if the right hon. Gentleman would say he would take into the higher establishment such of the supplementary clerks who might be proved by experience to be fitted for the higher establishment, he would do that which, while promoting the Departmental efficiency, would be an economy of the public funds.

MR. CHILDERS said, the suggestion of the hon. Gentleman could not be acted upon. The supplementary clerks had only gone through an inferior examination as compared with the clerks on the higher establishment. He would, however, look into the matter with the view of seeing how far the position of the supplementary clerks could be improved.

MR. SEXTON said, he hoped that the difficulty which the right hon. Gentleman had seen was not an insuperable one, because it seemed to have been got over in all the other Departments except the War Office; gentlemen admitted in the lower departments of the other Public Offices had reached higher establishment. He should not press the right hon. Gentleman further than to express the hope that any statement which the supplementary clerks might lay before him would receive his attention.

Vote *agreed to.*

(10.) £26,700, Rewards for Distinguished Services.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, it did seem unfair, unreasonable, and unjust, that a man who had received for distinguished services in the field or elsewhere a sum of £100 a-year should be treated in precisely the same way as a man who had, perhaps, in no way distinguished himself. He could not see on what plea that could take place, and he trusted the right hon. Gentleman would be able to afford some explanation.

MR. CHILDERS pointed out that under the former system regiments received a fixed sum and distributed their distinguished service allowances; but now retired pay had been substituted for regimental allowances. If, in addition to the retired pay, officers were allowed to retain the equivalent of colonelcies there would be a very large increase of charge. Under the present system, as under former systems, colonels of regiments did not draw distinguished service money. He believed that officers under the present system were much better off than formerly.

Vote *agreed to.*

(11.) £95,000, Half Pay.

MR. CAINE said, he had a Notice on the Paper last year to the effect that it was undesirable that Members of this House, who were officers of the Army, should any longer be Members of the House if they remained on full pay. When he put that Notice on the Paper there were 13 Members of the House in that position; now there were only five. Eight of them had either left the House or gone on half-pay, and he hoped that by this time next year the remaining five would have followed the example of the eight.

SIR HENRY FLETCHER said, he hoped the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken, and who did everything he possibly could to upset everything connected with the Service in the way of canteens and other matters, would not be allowed to press his Motion. In his opinion, Gentlemen who were officers in the Army were quite able to do their duty as Members of the House.

Vote *agreed to.*

(12.) £1,116,100, Retired Pay, &c.

MR. FIRTH noticed an increase of £18,000 for retired Field Marshals; there were only three more retired Field Marshals this year than last, and therefore he thought this increase required some explanation.

MR. CHILDERS said, that the increase was balanced by the reduction in the Pension List.

MR. BIGGAR said, he would like to ask the right hon. Gentleman a question similar to the one he asked last year; it was regarding Major General Tillot. Major General Tillot retired at a time when England was at war in the Crimea, and that was held by Regulations 54 and 55 to disqualify him from promotion. He (Mr. Biggar) was aware that he was entitled to a promotion in rank, but not to a rise in pay. He elected to continue to be aide-de-camp to the Commander-in-Chief, and get decent pay and forego his promotion in rank. As that gentleman applied to get on half-pay, the Committee were entitled to some explanation.

SIR HENRY FLETCHER said, that, as an old Guards officer who had served during the Crimean War, he must ask the Committee to allow him to say a few words to refute the imputation cast by the hon. Member upon the honour of a brother officer, whose personal friendship he had had ever since the Crimean War. The hon. Member brought forward this question over and over again; it had been answered by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War, and by other hon. Members in the House, and it was really quite past endurance that it should be brought up each Session of Parliament, in order that a reflection might be cast upon the character of a gallant gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War would bear him out in saying that this matter had nothing to do with the Vote before the House.

Vote *agreed to.*

(13.) £123,200, Widows' Pensions, &c., *agreed to.*

(14.) £15,500, Pensions for Wounds.

Sir HENRY FLETCHER said, there was a question which he desired to ask the right hon. Gentleman which, he believed, had been laid before the War Office and also before himself. Was it true that if an officer received a wound when on picket duty he was not entitled to the same allowance as if he received a wound while in front of the enemy?

Mr. CHILDERS believed there was a distinction between a wound received in action and a wound received otherwise.

Sir HENRY FLETCHER said, it was a very important question. Certainly an officer who had received a severe wound while on picket duty ought to be entitled to the same allowances as if he had received it in front of the enemy.

Mr. CHILDERS said, he would take the matter into consideration.

Vote *agreed to.*

(15.) £33,800, Chelsea and Kilmainham Hospitals.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE said, that last year he had put a Question to the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War as to whether it was not the fact that Roman Catholic and Presbyterian pensioners were buried with the Service of the Church of England. He had not succeeded in getting a reply last year, and he now repeated the question, hoping that he might be more successful this year. Did the present payment include anything for Presbyterian chaplains?

Mr. CHILDERS said, he was not quite sure as to the latter point; but as to the former point it was quite true his attention had been called to the matter. There had been a case of a Presbyterian in which pressure had been applied to have the Service conducted according to the rites of the Church of England; but as soon as he heard of it he interfered and saw the matter put right.

Mr. CAINE: I see an item of £70 here for a Whitster—in addition to a pension of 2*s.* a-day. May I ask what is a Whitster?

Mr. CHILDERS: I believe he is a man-at-arms.

Vote *agreed to.*

(16.) £1,389,700, Out-Pensions.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR asked for information concerning the new system of paying pensions through the Post Office?

Sir ARTHUR HAYTER said, he was glad some notice had been taken of the question of payment of pensions through the Post Office, because there was a friction when it was first established, although the mode of payment was thought very much better. Revised rules were issued, and the result was that the out-pensions in all the 66 districts, with the exception of the Liverpool district, had been paid by the end of the first week in July. The Secretary of State for War had officially recognized the exertions of the officers in the Pay Departments, and he (Sir Arthur Hayter) was glad to say that the new system was now working well.

Vote *agreed to.*

(17.) £197,700, Superannuation Allowances, *agreed to.*

(18.) £51,800, Militia, Yeomanry Cavalry, and Volunteer Corps, *agreed to.*

(19.) £1,100,000, Army (Indian Home Charges).

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that on this Vote he wished to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War to what he thought was a real grievance on the part of the soldiers. It was this—that when they were sent abroad they were obliged to pay for their sea-kits. Why, he would ask, was a soldier obliged to pay for that which was of no earthly use to him after the voyage was over?

Sir HENRY HOLLAND inquired whether the Vote included non-effective charges?

Mr. CHILDERS: Yes.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would devote some attention to a question which had been brought several times before the Public Accounts Committee by the Comptroller and Auditor General, and that was the question of the payment of arrears for the Non-Effective Services. The matter had now been three years before the Committee, and a careful Report with regard to it had been made by the Comptroller and Auditor General.

Mr. CHILDERS said, he hoped before next year to be able to make some arrangement in the matter.

Vote *agreed to.*

(20.) £500,000, Afghan War (Grant in Aid), *agreed to.*

CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

Class III.—Law and Justice.

(21.) £26,383, to complete the sum for the Register House Department, Edinburgh.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE said, he wished to call attention, for a few moments, to this Vote. Last year he directed attention to the position of different grades of clerks in the Sasine Office; but as the Vote came on at a late period of the Session, and about 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning, he had refrained, out of consideration for the time of the Committee, from entering fully into the question, and had contented himself with giving Notice of his intention to do so this year. He had had a Motion on the Paper this Session; but, owing to the condition of Business in the House, he had not moved it. He could not, however, now allow the Vote to pass without saying a few words upon it. He would state, shortly, his grounds for raising the question. The Staff of the Register House was reorganized last year under a Minute of the Treasury, and under that Minute the clerks in the Sasine Office were divided into three classes. The salaries of the eight first class clerks rose by annual increments of £10 from £250 to £305; the salaries of the second class clerks—12 in number—began at £170, and rose by annual increments of £15 to £240; while the third class clerks, who numbered 62, began with a salary of £90, which rose by increments of £5 to £160. This last-named class felt greatly aggrieved by this arrangement. They said, in the first place, that their salaries were too low when the qualifications required of them and the kind of work they had to do were considered. He would not detain the Committee by describing in detail the nature of the work performed by them; but he would state generally that it consisted in registering in the public records of a great variety of writs affecting landed property, and on the absolute correctness of this Register the validity of the titles to a great deal of property in Scotland rested. Professional knowledge of a very considerable kind was required by these clerks, as well as ability to pass the ordinary Civil Service examination; and they had to bring evidence that they had served a certain time in the office of a solicitor. In point of fact, a very large number of the present third class clerks had served full apprenticeships in lawyers' offices, had attended legal classes, and possessed very considerable legal knowledge. For men possessed of such qualifications, and requiring to do such work, he thought the Committee would agree with him that the remuneration was altogether inadequate. They also complained that their salaries were too low as compared with those of the other classes of clerks in the Sasine Office, the duties they had to do being exactly similar to those of the other clerks. There was hardly any work done by the first or second classes which was not also done by the third class. The third grievance was that the amount they received in salaries was very small when compared with that given to clerks in similar branches of the Public Service. He would especially refer to the Irish Registry of Deeds Office. The salaries paid to clerks in the Irish Registry of Deeds Office were very much greater than those given in the Edinburgh Office, although in the former the same amount of knowledge was not required as in the latter. In the Irish Office no knowledge of law was required, and the work given to the clerks was of the simplest kind. They had nothing to do with what was one of the most important duties of the clerks of the Sasine Office—namely, preparing the minutes of the deeds presented for registration, In Ireland those were prepared by the solicitors of the persons whose deeds were to be registered, and a large cost was thus incurred by the clients of those solicitors, which was entirely saved in the case of the Scotch Office. Then, as to their qualifications, the Irish clerks, he understood, had simply to pass the ordinary examination for the Civil Service Departments, and were not required to have any legal or professional training of any kind. It seemed, therefore, very inequitable that while they received salaries beginning at £90, and rising by £10 annually, the clerks in Edinburgh should begin at the same salary and rise only by £5. He wished to point out that the whole of the Register House in Edinburgh was very unfairly dealt with as compared with the Registry of Deeds Office in Ireland. In the Scotch Office there were 82 clerks altogether—first, second, and third classes —and they received in salaries £12,582, whilst in Ireland there were 62 clerks, who received £14,231. If the Scotch clerks were paid in the same proportion as the Irish they would receive £18,850, or about 50 per cent more than they actually received. That was an inequality that should require a great difference in the kind of work done; but, as a matter of fact, the work done in the Registry of Deeds Office in Ireland was of an inferior kind to that performed in the Scotch Sasine Office. He did not make any objections to the payment given to the Irish clerks. He did not regard it as at all excessive, and he merely compared the payment in the Irish Office with that of the Scotch, for the purpose of bringing out the injustice done to the clerks in the latter Office. The inequality appeared still greater when they looked at the profit yielded by the Scotch Office as compared with that derived from the Irish Office. In 1880-1 the Register House in Edinburgh cost the country £21,975; but there was received from stamps £25,977, so that there was a profit of £4,002. On the other hand, the Irish Office cost the country £18,255, and the stamp duties came to only £12,498, so that there was a loss on the Irish Office of £5,737. The Scotch Office, therefore, doing a great deal more work, and bringing in more revenue than the Irish Office, received less pay for its clerks. He might mention the English Registry of Deeds Office, where, on an expenditure of £5,400, there was a loss of £4,000. The grievance to which the most importance was attached was the unequal division of the classes; and they justly complained that the chances of promotion afforded them in consequence of the very large number of third class clerks, as compared with the numbers in the classes above, were very small. There were, as he had already shown, 12 clerks in the second class, and 62 in the third, so that they were as 5 to 1; and it must be evident to all that the chances of promotion to the higher classes were very small. In the Irish Office the third and lower class clerks were only about two and a-half times more numerous than the higher classes, so that their chances of promotion were double those of the Scotch clerks. He could not find in any Department of the Civil Service any such inequality as existed in the Sasine Office. He had very shortly and very hurriedly stated the position of the clerks in the Sasine Office; but he trusted he had said enough to show that they had good ground of complaint, and to induce his hon. Friend the Financial Secretary to the Treasury to look favourably upon their claims, and to consider that some steps should be taken to do justice to them. He had now to state very shortly what it was the third class clerks asked. They asked, first, that the rate of increment of salaries should be increased; secondly, they asked a re-arrangement of the classes, so that their chances of promotion might be improved, and made more in accordance with what was almost invariably found in other branches of the Public Service. They did not object to classification, for they recognized that that was necessary in all public offices, to give advantages to seniority; but they thought that the arrangement in this Office was a very inequitable one. The third thing they asked for, failing the granting of the two former, was a public inquiry into the arrangements of the Office and the various classes in it, such as he understood had been granted some years ago in the Irish Office, and the result was highly satisfactory. He had no doubt that the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, to whom the subject might be new, would look into the facts, and would give just consideration to the claims of a most deserving class of clerks; and he trusted—at any rate next year, if not now—a satisfactory answer would be given by the Government.

Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH said, he looked on this as an illustration of what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister the other day as to the difficulties of the Treasury in encountering the demands made from all quarters for an increase of salary. He ventured to say that the fact that an Office in one part of the country was well administered, while another in another part of the country was better paid, ought not to be brought forward here as an argument that the salaries of the former Office ought to be raised. They ought not to hear that line of argument so frequently in the House of Commons; and, without entering into the merits of the question, he would simply say that the less that was said by the Representatives of the Government in the way of a promise to review the salaries of this Office in Edinburgh the better.

Mr. COURTNEY said, that at the outset he must thank the hon. Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie) for the brevity and moderation with which he had put his case. This was an example, as the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Sclater-Booth) had pointed out, of the applications that were repeatedly pressed upon the Treasury from all parts, and which, no doubt, tended to excite their sympathy. But he was obliged to place the other side of the question before the Committee. The work to be done in the Sasine Office at Edinburgh was not of a very elaborate character, or of a nature that required very great qualities of any kind whatever, while there was a constant supply of gentlemen ready to do the work on the present terms, and to do it well and faithfully. The character of the work was, for the most part, very simple, requiring rather fidelity and care than special qualifications. The hon. Gentleman had made three claims for consideration, and the first was on the ground of the nature of the work itself. The hon. Gentleman said the third class clerks were rather insufficiently paid compared with the second and first; but this was rather an assumption that the first and second class were paid according to an absolute standard of justice. It might be that they were all too highly paid, and, therefore, might be an argument against the hon. Member. He (Mr. Courtney) would not say whether that was the case or not; but it was an argument against the view of the hon. Gentleman. The hon. Gentleman said that the clerks in Scotland were not so well paid as the clerks in Ireland. His (Mr. Courtney's) answer to that was, that they were reducing the pay of the third class clerks in Ireland, and were bringing it down not merely to the level, but, in some instances, even below that of the clerks in the Sasine Office in Edinburgh. He was sorry to meet the case put forward in this uncompromising manner; but he was bound to say he did not see that any claim had been made out which the Government could entertain.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he felt very much what had been said on both sides of the House as to the disadvantage of pressing in this House the claims of various public servants; but this he would say—that if there was a case that ought to be treated liberally, it was that of the Register House in Edinburgh, because that Office had always been a source of income to the Treasury, the fees received having more than counterbalanced the expenditure. It seemed to him that this question was not so much one between the Scotch officers and the Treasury as between the officers who were paid for doing the work, and the Scotch people who had to pay the fees. It seemed to him that whatever surplus there was should be applied to the remission of fees. He thought the Secretary to the Treasury had taken away from the hon. Member for Kilmarnock the strongest argument he had brought forward—namely, the comparative proportion of the Irish salaries. It was very often necessary to meet Irish grievances by a liberal subvention from the Treasury, and he hoped the Treasury might succeed in this case in carrying out their intentions to reduce the salaries in question. He feared that in this instance the Treasury might propose, and the Irish Members dispose.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, he agreed with what had fallen from the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken, but he did not think he had answered the question of the hon. Member for Kilmarnock, which was, whether there could not be an inquiry into the matter. It was very often found that the number of clerks was too great, and that by reducing it the salaries of those who remained could be increased. He hardly thought the Secretary to the Treasury could be averse to having a Committee of Inquiry, because it seemed very likely that, considering the number of third class clerks compared with those of the second class, the position of the former might be improved without difficulty.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE said, he did not think he should prolong the discussion; but the Secretary to the Treasury had based his objections to granting any concessions to the third class clerks chiefly on the fact that their work was of a very simple description. He would ask the hon. Gentleman to lay upon the Table of the House a portion of the Report which had been presented to the Treasury in the beginning of last year, which stated in full detail the work done by those clerks, and the arrangements of the Office. He was willing to base his whole claim upon that Report. He believed he should be able to show next year that the work of these clerks required great skill. If the hon. Gentleman would not give an answer on the point now, he (Mr. Dick-Peddie) would put a Question on the subject on the Paper.

Vote *agreed to.*

(22.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £36,396, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, of Criminal Prosecutions and other Law Charges in Ireland, including certain Allowances under the Act 15 and 16 Vic. c. 83."

Mr. SEXTON said, the most obvious point connected with the Vote was the amount of money asked for for 1882-3, which showed a large falling-off on the amount asked for in the previous year. That was a remarkable consideration, and was, no doubt, owing to the Irish Executive having had at its disposal an Act of Parliament enabling them to undertake judicial proceedings that rendered it unnecessary for them to examine witnesses in the ordinary way. The proceedings under the last Coercion Act were inexpensive, because they only involved a secret inquiry by the Lord Lieutenant, and the imprisonment in Kilmainham or some other gaol. One would imagine that after a year of such cheap and expeditious law, the expenses in connection with Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions in Ireland would have considerably fallen off; yet the Committee would be disappointed to find that, after having placed in the hands of the Irish Executive an exceedingly cheap and expeditious mode of justice, which had been largely indulged in, the lawyers' charges, putting aside the decrease for expenses of prosecutions and witnesses, were as heavy as ever. While the expenses of prosecutions and witnesses had fallen from £27,000 to £21,000—making a decrease of £6,000 on the year—the lawyers' charges had very considerably increased, and were at least £2,000 more than in the previous year, notwithstanding that there should be fewer cases, in consequence of the greater facilities in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant for committing people without trial. There was a still more remarkable feature in the Estimate under the head of fees to the Law Advisers. The Attorney General for Ireland and the other Law Advisers received a very large allowance, and yet they took between them £8,000, or £3,000 more than last year. It would be very interesting to know under what circumstances it had happened that the three learned Gentlemen concerned had received £3,000 more under the head of fees, in respect of the present year, than they received last year. He (Mr. Sexton) had to remark that under this head the Attorney General for Ireland did not seem to have spared his faculties in directing Crown prosecutions, because the fees in respect of them had reached a very considerable sum indeed; but Irish Members in the House had, during the present Session, used strong arguments to induce the right hon. and learned Gentleman to prosecute policemen whom they believed to have been concerned in attacks on the people, but without success. It was relevant upon this Vote to at least endeavour to elicit from the right hon. and learned Gentleman some explanation of the firmness, he supposed he must not say obstinacy, with which he had refused to prosecute such officers as Sub-Inspectors Ball, Allen, Rogers, and others whose conduct had brought about violent conflicts between the police and the people, resulting in deplorable loss of life. He (Mr. Sexton) hoped the right hon. and learned Gentleman would condescend to tell them why, when he had been so liberal in directing Crown prosecutions in other cases, he had been so reluctant to do so in these cases? He wished to draw attention to the Crown prosecutions, and to the course pursued by the Irish Legal Advisers of Her Majesty at Cork during the Winter Assizes —to the packing of juries and the refusal of the prosecutions to pay witnesses' expenses. During the next three years, of course, the use of juries would be done away with, and they had given the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland the power of changing the venue and sending men from the North to the South, and men from the South to the North for trial—for instance, from Cork to Belfast, and from Belfast to Cork. At the last Cork Assizes there were 200 men on the jury panel, 50 Protestants and 150 respectable Catholics. What was the result? Why, that out of that 150 Catholics only 35 were called upon to serve, whilst in the case of the 50 Protestants 47 were called upon. Each Protestant juror was called upon to serve four times, and each Catholic juror only, in proportion, a quarter of a time—that was to say, the Protestants were called upon to do just 16 times the work of the Catholics. In order for the Committee to understand that proceeding he should say that the persons accused of crime were almost universally Catholics, and the persons supposed to be injured Protestants. He looked upon the conduct of the Crown in this matter as nothing but a mean and cunning appeal to religious bigotry. He would invite the Attorney General for Ireland to explain that remarkable practice, and to say why it was that the Crown Prosecutor, during these prosecutions, challenged from 35 to 45, and sometimes 50 jurors, the whole of them being, without exception, Catholics. It was almost the invariable rule that the person challenged was a Catholic, and the person put upon the jury was a Protestant. No doubt the Protestants who were put upon the juries would say to themselves—"We are considered better and more trustworthy than the Catholics, and, under the circumstances, we are bound to find verdicts in favour of the Crown where there is a possibility of doing so." In one instance the Crown did allow a Catholic jury to be empannelled; but in that instance the case was a bogus one, and was put before that jury with almost unconcealed mirth—it was a case where no verdict of "Guilty" was possible. With regard to the next point—namely, the refusal of the expenses of witnesses during the Winter Assizes to which he referred, prisoners and traversers who ought to have been tried in Limerick, Kerry, Clare, and other places were brought into Cork to be tried. And what did the Crown Solicitor do after having brought these poor people, who never had 10*s.* to spare, scores of miles from their houses to a Court of Justice? Why, they had kept witnesses hanging about the Courts, without being called, week after week, until they had become destitute—so long, indeed, that their counsellors had eventually advised them to go to the poor-house. In more than one case in the county of Cork traversers who had been brought from Kerry and from Limerick had gone to the Crown Solicitor and said—"We are starving here, put us on our trial, or give us the means of living;" and he replied—"I cannot put you on your trial until after Christmas," and some of them were certainly waiting six weeks before they were tried. In one case, in consequence of these extraordinary proceedings, a prisoner, who had been nearly driven to the point of starvation, had pleaded "Guilty" rather than suffer the ordeal any longer. When the Government came forward and asked for such a sum as this for Law Charges and the support of witnesses, it was only natural that they, the Irish Members, should complain that people like these had not had their expenses paid. Who were the people who had had their expenses paid? Why, such people as Conolly, the most notorious official witness of recent days in Ireland. The Crown used that man to testify in "Moonlight," and some other political cases. It was notorious that he was a deserter from the Army, and had been in gaol, and had the brand of different infamies upon him, and was believed, indeed, by a great many people in Ireland, to have been guilty of murder itself. Would the right hon. and learned Gentleman tell the Committee whether he was aware of the name of the man whom Conolly was said to have murdered; and, if he was aware of it, and believed that a murder had taken place, did he propose to condone the crime, and to take Conolly's evidence in "Moonlight" cases? He should like to know whether the right hon. and learned Gentleman intended to put Conolly on his trial for the crime of murder, either now or some time in the future? It would be desirable that they should know, once for all, whether the Crown were inclined to condone even the capital crime for the obtaining a conviction in the case of a political offence. There was another person to whom part of this sum voted for the expenses of witnesses had, no doubt, been paid, and that was a youth of 17 years of age, named Molloy, who was examined at the Cork Winter Assizes in the case in which two brothers, Daniel and Edward Flannagan, were accused of having fired into the house of the father-in-law of the elder prisoner. The youth Molloy was the only witness who deposed to having seen the outrage occur; but he had allowed four hours to elapse before he stated that he knew the men who entered into the house. Let the Committee observe what Mr. Justice Fitzgerald had said on this case; he had said, in fact, that the whole case rested on the evidence of the boy Molloy; and he added that the case was a very important one—important to the public, and important to the two young men who were in the dock charged with the grave offence. The learned Judge spoke of the boy Molloy as excellent, clear, and courageous; and, on the evidence of that young fellow, these two men were convicted, one being sentenced to seven years' and the other to five years' penal servitude. Well, he (Mr. Sexton) had in his hand a statement from the parish priest, declaring that these two young men so sentenced were highly respectable, and of unblemished character. What had since happened? Why, this—that one of the prisoners, since his conviction, had been released; and when he (Mr. Sexton) had asked the reason of that release, he had been informed that it was on account of his ill-health. Did ever anyone hear of such a thing? A prisoner convicted of a serious crime released from prison on the score of ill-health. The other brother was still in prison suffering the term of seven years; but with regard to Molloy, after the Assizes were over, he was taken to the police barrack at Ennis, and that "clear and cool-headed boy," as he had been described by Mr. Justice Fitzgerald, there stole a policeman's watch, and, in proof of his "clear and cool-headedness," changed it for another, which he pawned. The authorities then thought the best thing they could do would be to get rid of him. It did not suggest itself to their minds that they should prosecute him for that theft. They provided him with an outfit and sent him to England—to London—in charge of a police constable, and probably the expense of that journey would come under the head to which he was drawing attention in the Estimates. Molloy and the police constable were seen together in London, and it was known that they went into a restaurant. At that place it appeared that Molloy's fancy was captivated by a gold-headed cane; he took possession of it and carried it away. The policeman discovered what he had done, brought back the cane, and restored it to its owner. The Government had found that this boy Molloy was a blackguard and an incorrigible thief; and, he presumed, discrediting his testimony, for that reason they had released one of the prisoners convicted upon his evidence. But why, he (Mr. Sexton) would ask, had they not released the other prisoner, who was sentenced to seven years' penal servitude? It was a singular thing that when persons like Conolly and Molloy were taken into the arms of the Government, and petted and pampered, and assisted to emigrate, innocent men should be allowed to suffer in consequence of their unsupported evidence. He trusted the Committee would hear that tardy justice was about to be done in the case of the second brother Flannagan.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, that some of the things which the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had referred to were new, and made their appearance now for the first time in that House; but other of the points were old, having been gone over at least half-a-dozen times. One of the things which, to his certain knowledge, had been repeated again and again, and denied each time it was asserted, was that with regard to jurors. Upon that question the charge of the hon. Member had been met in a manner which he believed was perfectly satisfactory to the House. Then, the hon. Member very naturally asked a question which he (the Attorney General for Ireland) had himself asked, because he had been unable to enter into a personal inquiry, and desired to be in a position to answer any Question that might be put with regard to it. The hon. Member said that in 1881-2 the charge for fees to the Law Officers of the Crown was £5,000, while in the present year it was £8,000. If the hon. Member would look at the first three items in the Account for 1882-3, he would see that all the items were given, and that the difference between the two amounts was owing to some new mode the Treasury had of arranging the accounts with which he (the Attorney General for Ireland) was not familiar. All he could say was that he was not to blame for it. The hon. Member asked whether the £5,000 was earned by not prosecuting Sub-Inspectors of Constabulary who had rendered themselves amenable to the law? Well, it seemed to him (the Attorney General for Ireland) that everything had been done which could or ought to be done with reference to those Sub-Inspectors. Sub-Inspector Ball was not found "guilty" by a Coroner's Jury, although, notwithstanding, he (the Attorney General for Ireland) had considered it his duty to direct an information to be applied for in the regular way before the magistrates for manslaughter against the Sub-Inspector. He had discharged his duty in directing the prosecution, and he left it to the law, as he was bound to do, to then deal with the case. He did the same thing in the case of Sub-Inspector Stritch—that was to say, he directed the law to be put in motion against him. As to the case of Sub-Inspector Allen, he did not remember it; but the case of Sub-Inspector Rogers he did recollect, and in that the facts appeared to have been misconceived by the magistrates. With regard to the boy Molloy, he could assure the hon. Member that the convict, who, on Molloy's evidence, was convicted, had been released, because his health was breaking down. There was nothing more in the taking of the cane than there was in his losing a new silk umbrella in this House through some hon. Member taking it by mistake. Even the subsequent theft of the watch did not render Molloy incapable of identifying two men who fired into a house. With regard to the jury panel referred to, the fact was that 70 of the jurors so entirely miscarried at the previous Assizes, that every Crown case was withdrawn, and it was decided not to submit any other Crown cases in consequence of the erroneous verdicts given. The religious question, as he had satisfied the House when he spoke on this matter on a previous occasion, had nothing in the world to do with these cases, nor until the religious question was drawn into the matter in the House was it raised at all. He would, however, tell the Committee what was raised. A meeting of discontented jurors was convened in Cork, and they passed a series of resolutions, and the Chairman of the meeting, or at all events one of the principal jurors, stated that if he was empanneled as a juror, and the oath was administered to him, he would not take it, because he was satisfied that 75 per cent of the law being British law, it was so unjust that his conscience would not allow him to administer it. These discontented jurors were excluded from the pannel, and he thought quite properly, seeing that they would not administer the law. [Mr. SEXTON: One juror.] Not at all; the facts could not be denied, and anyone who would take the trouble to look at the papers would find all the particulars. [Mr. SEXTON: How many jurors were there at the meeting?] Eighteen or 19. It was a meeting of jurors who felt aggrieved, and their grievance found expression in what he had stated—that they would be bound to find according to their consciences, and their consciences would not allow them to administer the law. He believed, if the Crown Solicitor had not ordered them to stand aside, he would have neglected his duty, and he (the Attorney General for Ireland) should have had to call that officer to account, and he would have remained Crown Solicitor for Cork but a very short time after. As to the costs, if the facts were as stated by the hon. Member, the costs were most inexcusable. The Act of Parliament made provision for jurors to be dispensed with, and it was intended that the rules under the Act of Parliament should be *bonâ fide* carried out. His answer must be that which he had previously given—namely, that it was extraordinary, and to his mind utterly unreasonable, that such facts as those stated by the hon. Member should have occurred. If the Crown Solicitor had not acted rightly—he was a very kind-hearted man—an appeal on the spot by any person who had not got his expenses to any Judge in open Court, or a letter or telegram to him (the Attorney General for Ireland), would immediately have produced redress; and the only case brought forward in the House—namely, that of Constable Walsh—was redressed at once. It was inexcusable that people should make complaints of this kind without at once obtaining redress; and he quite agreed that such a case ought not to have existed at all. In order to prevent that sort of thing occurring, he had himself given express directions to the Crown Solicitor at the Winter Assizes that nothing of the kind should occur. On the same lines the hon. Member for Sligo did very considerable injustice in suggesting that he had used his privilege while Attorney General, or, rather, had exercised the duty imposed upon him by the Prevention of Crimes Bill. A more unjust implication could not have been made. [Mr. SEXTON: I only said you could do so.] He had changed the venue in eight cases. They had been removed to Dublin, and tried without the slightest religious element, and the only question was that there would not be an Assizes until September, and the men must have languished in gaol up to September if he had not had them tried in that way. There ought to be perfect fair-play in this matter, and he had taken care that justice should be done.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, there was one remark which occurred to him on looking at this Estimate. Crime and outrage might be prejudicial to the general interests of the Irish and the English people; but they seemed to be rather a good thing for the Law Officers of the Crown, because the more outrage there was the more they received. In 1881 these Estimates amounted to £5,000, but for this year they were £8,000.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, he had explained several times that this difference was due to some way in which the Treasury made up its accounts.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he thought he need not apologize for not being able to understand that explanation, for the answers of the right hon. and learned Gentleman to the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) were of a most unsatisfactory character. Questions had been asked about the characters of these two persons—Connell and Molloy—and the right hon. and learned Gentleman did not even attempt to answer the grave and serious charges made against those persons. Was Connell a murderer or not? If he was a murderer, how could the Government profess to be anxious to put down crime and retain unprosecuted and in their employment a man whom they ought to have hung if they could have got him convicted? He had gone into the case of these persons very closely, and they had sworn at the Cork Assizes that there was a conspiracy in Ireland to establish a real Irish Republic. The right hon. and learned Gentleman knew that any witness who went to a Court of Justice and testified to the existence of a real Irish Republic would be contradicting himself in so gross a manner as to expose himself to a charge of perjury. There was a man against whom a charge of murder was made——

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): No charge of murder.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, the charge of murder had been made against him in that House over and over again. He did not want to deal with technicalities; but the statement had been made over and over again that this man was guilty of murder, and he (Mr. O'Connor) would make that charge on the man's own evidence, and would challenge contradiction. In the face of these facts, the Government, instead of putting this man on trial, had got the liberties and lives of people sworn away. Any Government who made use of ex-murderers and proved perjurers to get convictions would be condemned in the eyes of all civilized men. Did this man commit the series of crimes charged against him by the hon. Member for Sligo? Was this the ruffian who, after he had got persons sentenced to penal servitude, stole a watch? Was he the man who could not go into a restaurant in London without stealing a gold-headed cane? The witness Molloy seemed to have been as faithful to the Crown Prosecutors as to the unfortunate young man convicted on his evidence in Cork. He did not know whether the Attorney General for Ireland would look back with any species of satisfaction to his career as Law Officer of the Crown; but he thought there was one thing which the right hon. and learned Gentleman would not forget; or, at all events, which other persons would not forget—namely, that he was the Law Officer who—he did not know whether on his own inspiration or under the malign influence of the late Chief Secretary—directed prosecutions in Ireland under a Statute of Edward III. He did not like to ask unfair questions; but he would ask if the right hon. and learned Gentleman could reflect without a blush on the fact that he was the first lawyer who directed persons to be prosecuted under that Statute? He hoped the day was passed when Irish Governments would have to go back three and four and six centuries in order to pick up some obsolete and wretched Act of Parliament to put men and women upon trial. His hon. Friend was quite within his right when he called attention to the large sum taken in this Vote for fees to witnesses employed by the Government. He was glad to see that for 1882-3 this amount would undergo a reduction. He did not know whether this item came under the same category as that to which the hon. Gentleman referred to—the system adopted by the Treasury; but he certainly thought this reduction ought to be called for. Finally, he thought the right hon. and learned Gentleman ought to ponder whether it was according to the principles of honour and conscience to employ wretches like Connell and Molloy to swear away the liberties of the people?

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY said, he thought the explanation of the employment of men like Connell and Molloy was far from satisfactory. In his cross-examination Connell had admitted having been guilty of the most atrocious deeds, and the Judge spoke in the strongest language of his conduct. This man had deliberately stated that there was an organization for the formation of an Irish Republic, and that, in fact, the Republic was in operation; and he also stated that there had been a distribution of gold and silver and other metals as rewards of approved deeds in the service of the Irish Republic; and the jury, having heard stuff of that kind detailed, brought in a verdict of eleven to one. So far as his recollection went, this man Connell admitted in cross-examination that he had shot, at least, one person; and had told of many other crimes, perhaps not so bad as that, but more degrading than any murder could be. How he got into relations with the police did not appear; but some people were of opinion that he had started on his career as an assistant to the police. This man was "Captain Moonlight," of whom so much had been heard; but he had not gone long on the career of outrage and blood before he became an associate and ally of the police, and concocted many of those outrages in order to betray other men to the police. Unprosecuted for the offences he was stated to have committed, unarraigned for the deeds of bloodshed he had admitted, this man was in the pay of the police, and was being retained for their prosecutions. He (Mr. M'Carthy) strongly objected to the whole system; he would rather run any risk than be guilty of such a degrading offence against public morals. As there was no other mode of entering a protest against such practices, he should move that the Vote be reduced by £600, the amount given for maintaining men like Connell and Molloy.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £35,796, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, of Criminal Prosecutions and other Law Charges in Ireland, including certain Allowances under the Act 15 & 16 Vic. c. 83."—(*Mr. Justin M'Carthy.*)

MR. HEALY said, it should be known that it was this ruffian Connell, the Government assassin, who had just been brought over from Ireland, that was now being used in the trial of the man Walsh for treason-felony. This wretch would, no doubt, make his appearance to-morrow as a Crown witness at the Old Bailey to prove the existence of an Irish Republic; and next year, when the man now being prosecuted had been sentenced to penal servitude, a good round sum, by way of further pay, for the assassin Connell would probably be found in the Estimates. He was very anxious to know why it was that the Government maintained a man like this? How was it, seeing that they obtained an Act last year for the especial purpose of taking up scoundrels and midnight marauders, that this man was allowed to prowl about the country unchecked? How was it that the police allowed him on every occasion to get off scot-free, and that the magistrates never issued a warrant for his arrest? And after all this, too, the Government put £600 on the Votes to pay him. Everyone in Ireland believed that this man could never have gone on as he had done in Ireland for nine months without the police knowing it; and he had no doubt whatever that they knew perfectly well what he was doing, although they never interfered, and although they had an Act in force under which they could, if they liked, arrest every man, woman, and child of the population. It was impossible, under the circumstances, to avoid the conclusion that the police knew full well what Connell was doing—that he was in their pay, and was willing, of course, to earn their wages—because who were the persons he shot; who were the persons he punished? He attacked no landlords. The persons whom Connell attacked were members of the Land League—the men he assassinated, and whose ears he cut off, were Land Leaguers, and so the police did not interfere. And then he was brought up as a Crown witness, and he told his story about the double-barrelled gun, both barrels of which went off at the same time, and about the bullets which struck the corner of the house; all of which was contradicted. But this was the form which justice assumed in Irenad. The Government, having let Connell go on for nine months, proceeded to make use of him as a witness, and gave him £600, the taxpayers of England, Ireland, and Scotland being required not only to pay this amount, but to pay also the carriage of Connell from Ireland to the Old Bailey to give evidence at the trial of Walsh that would take place there to-morrow. The Government talked of preserving law and order in Ireland; but he told them that the people of Ireland despised their law so long as it was maintained by the aid of assassins like Connell. ["Oh, oh!"] Hon. Members cried "Oh!" but it was perfectly relevant to the question before the Committee to consider what was the effect of charging £600 in the Vote for Connell's support. But what was the result of using Connell in the way he had been made use of? Why, 25 young men had been kept in cells for nine months, and not allowed to speak to each other during that time. He was at the prison the other day, and picked out the individual that Connell swore was the captain of the band, and he was about to ask him some questions, but the man said they were not allowed to speak to anyone, the warder adding—"If you continue this interview, I shall have to terminate it; it is against the rules." Judge Barry, who conducted the trial of the accused persons in the most impartial manner, did not believe a word of the evidence given by this man Connell; he stopped taking notes at an early point in his evidence, which clearly proved that he did not believe what the creature was saying. But how did the matter end? Having kept these unfortunate wretches in prison for nine months in cells 6 feet by 4 feet, and subject to solitary confinement for 18 hours out of the 24, they were dismissed on their own recognizances. They were not even required to find bail; the case against them was considered to be so bad that they were not required to come up again. It was to pay the man who brought about all this that the Government put down £600 in the Estimates; and it was by acts such as this, he repeated, that they made British rule in Ireland detested and despised.

Dr. COMMINS said, it was simply disgraceful on the part of the Government to put down money in the Estimates for the payment of men like Connell. Anyone who had read the record of the trial, anyone who was acquainted with the administration of justice in civilized countries, must feel astonished that a country pretending to be civilized should make use of such men in the administration of justice. But that was not the name given to these proceedings in Ireland; the people there looked upon them as the organization of injustice, perjury, and aggression against the principles of the law. One of those principles was that an informer who accused an accomplice of a capital offence and failed to convict him, was, as *Blackstone* said, "hanged upon his own confession." He should like to see men like Connell, confessed assassins, organizers of assassinations and treason, conspirators of the deepest dye, men whose lives were steeped in crime, who failed to make good their charges against others, punished for the crimes they themselves confessed to have committed. Was that the course taken by the Government? No; they hugged the informer closer to their heart, and having failed in Ireland in making a charge successfully against certain persons on the evidence of this wretch, they imported him to England, where, in the case of the man Walsh, he had not the slightest doubt that by Connell's assistance they would be able to secure a verdict. With such things as this before their eyes it was no wonder that neither the Government nor the law was respected in Ireland. They all knew the old maxim, that "a man was known by his associates." It was equally true that Governments were known by their tools; and if they were found making use of men who first made their appearance, say, in the Militia, then disappeared through devious and dirty ways, and afterwards turned up to receive Government pay, how could the people conclude otherwise than that the Government were actually cognizant of the kind of person they made use of? They commenced the training of the tool in the Army or the Militia, and they finished it in the witness-box. Nothing had astonished him more than one of the explanations given by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland to the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton). Here was a man committed for manslaughter, and the Attorney General for Ireland interposed to prevent the case going before the Grand Jury and the law taking its course. The right hon. and learned Gentleman, in fact, stopped a prosecution for manslaughter, and he (Dr. Commins) asked whether he could furnish an instance of this having been done by any Attorney General during the last 50 years? The right hon. and learned Gentleman had intervened on the part of the Government to prevent the man being put upon his trial for manslaughter; and he (Dr. Commins) said that the people of Ireland would look upon what he had done as an act of high-handed oppression, and that they would consider the lives of Irishmen were thought nothing of if they were only taken away by policemen in uniform. The act of the Attorney General for Ireland was an admission that the Government dared not trust to the ordinary course of law. Yet they could rely on Connell, the perjurer and organizer of conspiracy; and when he found that man, after his conspiracy, assassination, desertion, and perjury, still kept as a Government pensioner, he was bound to say that the Government pronounced its own condemnation, because it admitted before mankind that it did not depend upon law and justice or the ordinary agents whom civilized Governments depended upon, and that it was obliged to descend to the lowest depths of society to find tools fitted to its purpose. If the Government had any respect for justice let them cease to employ such tools as these, and the Acts which gave them employment would then cease.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, he hoped the Committee would not concur in the opinion entertained by the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down. He rose to state that there was no foundation whatever for the suggestion that any informer was found in connection with the Law Officers of the Crown in Ireland. Neither was there any foundation whatever for the suggestion that a man committed by the magistrates for manslaughter had been kept from trial by the intervention of the Attorney General for Ireland.

MR. HEALY said, that while the trial of the persons accused by Connell was going on, Connell was kept outside the Court watching the witnesses, and when he saw anyone who could testify to the good conduct of the accused, he had him arrested. He asked the Attorney General for Ireland at whose instance the Court of Queen's Bench quashed the proceedings for manslaughter?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): At mine.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 11; Noes 86: Majority 75.—(Div. List, No. 319.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

(23.) £59,806, to complete the sum for the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland.

MR. SEXTON said, he thought it desirable that the Government should inform the Committee how soon they intended to fill up the vacancies on the Judicial Bench in Ireland. At any rate, it was important for Irish Members to know whether the continued existence of vacancies was due to the difficulty of finding eligible persons to fill them, or to causes that were purely political.

The Attorney General for Ireland must be aware that there were always numbers of gentlemen in Ireland fitted for the positions in question, and he was bound to say that an intelligent public curiosity had been aroused as to whether one of the vacancies would be filled by the right hon. and learned Gentleman himself. For some time past public opinion in Ireland had been expecting the translation of the right hon. and learned Gentleman to a sphere, if not more dignified, at any rate more serene than that which he at present adorned. This curiosity was very strongly developed amongst the people of Mallow. However, he trusted the right hon. and learned Gentleman would be able to say when it was intended to fill up the judicial vacancies now existing. The Coercion Act had imposed on the Judges duties of a very novel and extraordinary character, and he thought the time had come when the Government ought to be asked to give some explanation of the attitude taken up by the Judges with respect to the proposal by the Government to cast those duties upon them. At the time of the passage of the Coercion Act, the House was informed that the Judges had met and protested against being required to try prisoners in the place of jurors. He wished to know from the Government whether that was so before the Act was passed; and also whether the Judges protested a second time, and whether it was because of that second protest that the Government introduced important provisions, which were not in the Bill when it first came before the House, to enable the Government to supersede the ordinary Constitutional mode of trial by special juries, which would give the Crown a much greater advantage, and enable them to adopt the system of changing venues? These provisions were not contained in the scheme of the Bill as first laid before the House; and he wished to know whether those introductions were or were not due to the protest of the Judges, and, if they were, whether these proposals, throwing power into the hands of the Attorney General for Ireland, were made to relieve the Judges of those functions—in other words, if the Judges had definitely refused to accept the duties proposed to be imposed upon them, and if it was the intention of the Government to cast on the Judges the duty of trying prisoners, or to act upon the system of changing the venue? As to the resignation of Baron Fitzgerald, he should like to be informed whether that learned Judge's opinion of the Act was such, that rather than undertake such unconstitutional duties as had been proposed, he resigned the dignified position which he had so long held with credit to himself and to the Bench? Baron Fitzgerald was the only Judge who had reached the Irish Bench by the force of pure legal ability. He was pointed to by Irishmen as the solitary exception to that evil rule in Ireland which limited promotion in Ireland to gentlemen who, whether they had legal ability or not, had passed through political elections and given Party assistance to the Government.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) was understood to say that, in consequence of the Long Vacation, there was no immediate necessity for filling up the vacancies on the Bench. The theory of the hon. Member for Sligo, that because the Judges had refused the functions which it was proposed to intrust to them, therefore the Government had brought forward the provisions relating to special juries and the change of venue, however ingenious, was one entirely devoid of foundation.

MR. CALLAN asked why six months had been allowed to elapse from the death of Mr. Justice O'Brien before the vacancy was filled up, and whether Mr. Justice Lawson was intended to succeed Mr. Justice O'Brien or the present Lord Fitzgerald? The Queen's Bench, above all, ought to have been up to its full strength, especially during the period when extraordinary applications were made for redress of extraordinary grievances.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) was understood to say that Mr. Justice Lawson had succeeded Mr. Justice O'Brien.

MR. HEALY thought it singular that, although Mr. Justice O'Brien died in December, the charges showed an increase instead of a decrease.

Vote *agreed to.*

(24.) £6,670, to complete the sum for the Court of Bankruptcy, Ireland.

(25.) £580, to complete the sum for the Admiralty Court Registry, Ireland.

(26.) £11,976, to complete the sum for the Registry of Deeds, Ireland.

Mr. SEXTON said, complaints had been made with regard to the allowances, salaries, and status of officers in this Department, and a Memorial had been presented to the Treasury; but the Treasury had replied, in February last, that they could not entertain that Memorial, considering that the position of the clerks in the Registry of Deeds Office was not worse than that of clerks in analogous offices. A very complete answer could, however, be given to that decision of the Treasury. The able gentleman who presided over this Office supported the complaints and Memorials of the clerks. He believed a Treasury Committee was presided over by the noble Lord the Member for Northumberland (Earl Percy), who advanced the claims of the clerks. It was, no doubt, true that in recent years the position of these clerks had been the subject of reorganization and improvement; but, in comparison with other Offices, their position was very bad indeed. The salaries of all the clerks in this Office were considerably less than the salaries of corresponding classes in other Offices. The annual increment by which these clerks advanced was much less than that in any other Office, and in other Offices the proportion of first and second and third classes was very much larger than the proportions in this Office. There were clerks who had been in the third class in this Office for 36 years, and could not reach the first class. He would like to know whether there was any reason why the able gentlemen who discharged the duties of this Office should be placed in a worse position than the clerks in any other Office in Ireland? There was no denying the importance of their duties or the facility with which they were performed. The Land Registry in Ireland was far more perfect than any to be found in Middlesex, or Yorkshire, or Edinburgh. Its machinery was complete, and the transactions of the Office in ordinary years affected land of the value of £3,000,000. Its clerks had to examine the papers and give legal interpretations of complicated legal terms, and they were liable to be brought before the Judges of the High Court and removed in case of mistake. They were in a worse position than the clerks in other Offices, and he thought their case was entitled to consideration when the Report of the Treasury Committee was finally considered by the Government. He hoped they would consider whether it would not be possible, with due regard to public economy, to place the lower class of clerks in this Office in as good a position with respect to promotion as those in the higher classes.

Mr. COURTNEY said, that re-arrangements of the positions of the clerks were under consideration.

Vote *agreed to.*

(27.) £1,507, to complete the sum for the Registry of Judgments, Ireland.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £52,5[illegible]2, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of the Irish Land Commission."

Mr. HEALY said, this was an extremely important Vote, and there was a variety of subjects to be raised under it. He was sure the Government would see the desirability of postponing it. Lord Donoughmore had obtained a Committee in the other House upon the Irish Land Bill; but his tenants had been treated in the most extraordinary manner, for when his tenants brought him into Court he refused to produce his own valuator. The matter was referred to another gentleman; but Lord Donoughmore refused to accept that reference, and it actually turned out, when the matter came before the Land Commission, that the tenants' valuator was willing to pay more to Lord Donoughmore than he had asked for. The noble Lord got a Committee in "another place," and kept the country in a state of turmoil and agitation. Then the action of the hon. Baronet the Member for Coleraine (Sir Hervey Bruce) was referred to as a typical case of injustice, and his action was very extraordinary. He did not see the hon. Baronet in his place, and he did not wish to refer to him; but there were facts in regard to that and other matters which it was desirable to bring out, and 1 o'clock in the morning was not the time at which these matters should be referred to. The whole tendency of the territorial class was this—they desired to intimidate the Commissioners by attacks in that House and in "another place." The territorial influence was supreme in "another place," and very potent in this House. On these accounts he strongly objected to the Vote being taken at this time of night, especially as there were very serious causes of complaint of the way in which the Sub-Commissioners were allocated. The whole of Ulster was swarming with Commissioners, and the hon. Gentleman opposite was getting his rents in Tyrone dealt with and lowered in the most frightful manner, while in Cork and in Kerry the Commission Courts were choked with applications; but nothing was done. It would be very unusual to allow the Government to get this Vote without reporting Progress; and, as a good many of the Votes following this were contentious Votes, Progress ought to be reported. Earlier in the evening the Chief Secretary had given a promise that he would communicate with the Irish Members as to the Royal Irish Constabulary Bill. He had expected some communication on that subject would have been made, and the Irish Members could not be expected to go on with this matter now. He therefore moved that Progress be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he had been watching with great care and interest the discussion of these Estimates. It was now the 7th of August, and the idea of what was a late hour was rather different at this period of the Session from what it would be earlier in the Session. With regard to the Royal Irish Constabulary Bill, it was certainly his intention to ask the House to resolve itself into Committee upon that measure; and, if Irish Members were willing, he should be perfectly ready to ask the House to go into the Bill. He gathered from the hon. Member opposite that his objection to passing this Vote at this moment was that hon. Gentlemen who brought charges against the Land Commission were not present to support them; but he thought they could hardly postpone the payment of the salaries under this Vote because charges had been made against the Commissioners. He would be glad if the hon. Member would accept his assurance that he would report Progress when he saw a desire to stop, and then he would proceed with the Committee on the Irish Constabulary Vote.

Mr. SEXTON said, he thought the declaration made by the Chief Secretary would facilitate progress. The Irish Members were endeavouring to see whether he intended to go into Committee on the Royal Irish Constabulary Bill. In addition to the several important questions raised in reference to the Land Commission, there was this further point—this Vote was for the salaries of public functionaries; but if the action of these people was to be taken into consideration, that must be done when the Vote was asked for. There were two non-contentious Votes to which the Irish Members had no objection, and he thought the Royal Irish Constabulary Bill might be dealt with.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

(28.) £46,308, to complete the sum for Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Ireland.

(29.) £4,206, to complete the sum for Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum, Ireland.

House *resumed.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY BILL.

(*Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland.*)

[BILL 264.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Trevelyan.*)

Mr. SEXTON said, the House was now asked to go into Committee on a Bill to amend the Acts regulating the pay of certain officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary Force, and for other purposes connected therewith. He thought the House would desire, before it went into Committee on this Bill, to hear from the Government whether they had any further statements to make respecting the unprecedented and dangerous state of affairs which appeared to prevail in Ireland among the men of the Constabulary Force. He (Mr. Sexton) and his hon. Friends had at former stages objected to this Bill, because it dealt in a favourable manner with that class of the Constabulary Force who had most exposed itself to popular aversion and criticism in that House, and also because it shut out of view the great body of the men of that Force. Every day which passed showed the state of affairs amongst the police in Ireland to be exceedingly critical, and the reports in the newspapers that morning were such as did not permit of a moment's delay in the matter of the explanation at the hands of the Government. They, on the Irish Benches, had received telegrams every day since last Friday, and he received two to-day which certainly made it his duty to appeal to the Government to tell them whether the proposals they had in view led them to have any reasonable hope that the proposals of the Government would be satisfactory to the men. He thought the House would agree with him that the moment had come when the Chief Secretary should state fully and frankly to the House what were the intentions of the Government. They had learned already from the statement of the right hon. Gentleman that the Government proposed to distribute £10,000 a-year by way of an increase of £30 a-year to each of the officers, and that the position of the men was to be improved at the rate of 25*s.* per man per annum. But, whereas each officer had a right to have that increase, the men would not receive their increase of 25*s.* all round, because it was made dependent and contingent upon the special and extra duty performed, so that the advantage would fall upon a small section of the officers. It was necessary, in order to understand the proposals of the Government, that they should consider what had taken place in Limerick of late. The city of Limerick, for a year or more, had had the advantage of the services of a gentleman who stood in high favour with the Irish Executive—Mr. Clifford Lloyd. They found that yesterday morning that magistrate paraded 80 men of the City Police Force before him, and that he told the men that they were acting in an unprecedented and disgraceful manner, and that if they were soldiers they would be liable to be shot. The situation immediately became such that Mr. Clifford Lloyd thought it the better part of valour to retire. The men returned to their barracks, and they made a joint declaration that, if they were called upon a second time to parade before Mr. Clifford Lloyd, they would not do so. Surely such a situation as that demanded the attention of the Government, and one might almost expect a statement from the Secretary of State for War on the subject. Four other parades were held that day, and although Mr. Clifford Lloyd had not the temerity to appear a second time before the men, the Inspector General met the men at the second and subsequent parades, and informed them they were engaged in a very disloyal movement. The men met, and unanimously decided that the language of Colonel Bruce conveyed an insult upon them, and they called upon him for an apology. The Inspector General thereupon apologized to the men, and told them that he had intended no insult. The upshot was, that the Inspector General called upon the men to give up their demands, and withdraw the Circular in which they had made their demands. They refused to do anything of the sort; and upon an expression of their determination to hold by their movement, the Inspector General left the city. The men demanded that their grievances should be settled in eight days, and stated that if they were not, there would be an open rupture. He had no desire to make any undue demand on the right hon. Gentleman when he asked him to state whether the Government had any reasonable hope that the proposals they had to make would have the effect of allaying the dissatisfaction that prevailed at the present moment amongst the Police Force of Ireland?

MR. TREVELYAN said, he did not admit in theory the justice of the hon. Member's assertion that on a Bill such as this it was necessary to make any statement with regard to the grave events passing in Ireland; but, at the same time, there was sufficient connection between the subject of this Bill and those events to make it natural for the hon. Member to put his question. He had explained more than once that this Bill was only part of a considerable scheme, which the Government determined on some time ago, for the purpose of bettering the position of the Constabulary in Ireland. He had explained that while the officers gained, in the shape of allowances, £10,000 a-year by this scheme, the men got £17,000 a-year, a large part of which was paid to special men under special circumstances, but part of which was paid to all men under all circumstances. He had explained, likewise, that another part of the scheme referred, not to the annual advantage which men and officers got, but to a limited sum which was to be paid in consideration of the sufferings and sacrifices of the men during the last three years. The Government were prepared to grant a sum of £180,000, every penny of which was to go to the men. These benefits to the Constabulary Force the Government had determined on granting before there was any thought of discontent. With regard to any complaints that the Constabulary had outside the complaints which would be satisfied by this sum of money—£180,000—and the sums of money which would be granted annually—£17,000—whatever complaints there were, the men undoubtedly should have taken the course of applying to the Government through their officers, like every other body of organized public servants, whether they be civil or military. It was not the first time he had had to do with discontent in a public Office. He had known before this trusted Members of Parliament coming to him with a Petition from clerks in public Offices, or from workmen in Dockyards, asking him to improve the position of the men; and the answer that he had always given was the answer, in fact, which he should give now to the Irish Constabulary—namely, that the Government would listen to no Petition whatever that was not presented through the superior officers of the persons who desired to have their position improved. That was the course which the Constabulary of Ireland ought to have taken; but on the present occasion a portion of them, at any rate, had not taken that course. What the exact condition of the movement was, how far it had spread, how far it was legitimate, how far it had passed beyond legitimate bounds, in what parts of Ireland it had occurred, it was not very easy to ascertain; it was not very easy to ascertain this through the newspapers or through, he was sorry to say, a very much less authoritative and trustworthy source of evidence with which they were only too freely provided. There was a feature in this movement to which he once before referred, and which had now reached such a very alarming development that it was impossible not to say another word about it, and that was the use that had been made of the telegraph all over Ireland. From every quarter of Ireland he had got, and he had reason to believe many hon. Members had got, anonymous telegrams. ["No!"] He assured the House that all the telegrams he had received had been anonymous. They professed to come from a great body of men; but there was no reason to believe they came from any but a very few men, or, perhaps, from one man. Those men or that man they did not know. The other day he got a telegram, and as it was evidently sent for the purpose of being made public and exciting ill-feeling, there was no objection to his telling the House what it was. It professed to come from the pensioners of the Constabulary, and it was to the effect that these pensioners would be very glad to join by force of arms in putting down the Constabulary—he believed the words were—in revolt. Now, he did not believe for a single moment that the telegram came from the pensioners of the Constabulary. He believed it was sent from some mischievous person for the purpose of stirring up ill-feeling between the pensioners and the Constabulary, and inciting the Constabulary against the Government by conveying the impression that the Chief Secretary was in connection with the pensioners for the purpose of acting in a hostile manner against the Constabulary themselves. That was one specimen of the telegrams he had received. He got a telegram this morning purporting to come from the Royal Irish Constabulary in the county and city of Cork. He did not believe that it was in any sense a representative telegram. The message was—

> "Your speech to Parliament on Saturday has driven the Force to desperation by falsely representing its feeling by saying we were satisfied with the Government proposals. Most intense dissatisfaction prevails, and your closing words as to the qualifications for full pensions stings the men almost to distraction."

He knew not by whom this telegram was sent; but it was obviously sent by some clever person who desired to stir up dissatisfaction amongst the Constabulary at a time when they were in an excited state. He never said anything to the effect that the Constabulary were satisfied with the Government proposals; but he knew, on good authority, that one cause of the dissatisfaction of the police was that one of the Government proposals—that which gave £180,000—had not yet passed through the Committee of the House of Commons. As to the qualifications for pensions, he never said one word, good, bad, or indifferent. The Government proposed to give these boons to men and officers long before the recent events occurred. They proposed to give them still; and he earnestly hoped that the House and the Committee would enable them, as soon as possible, to carry those proposals into practice. The Government was not unwilling to consider the complaints of the men; full inquiry would be made into the complaints; but the Government would not entertain any representations as long as the present attitude on the part of any considerable part of the Constabulary existed. That attitude was opposed to discipline, and discreditable to the Force, and if the Government took any other line they would not be worthy to be called a Government. Full inquiry would be made into the condition of the Constabulary; but this movement, which was passing over a larger or smaller part of the country—this movement, which he believed to be very much exaggerated—must stop before that inquiry began. He felt the extreme difficulty that anyone was under who spoke upon such a matter of detail as this at a distance from the spot. He longed to be back in Ireland and to take his share in dealing with this movement in the manner in which he thought such movements should be dealt with—with thorough firmness, and, at the same time, with conciliation. He was, however, detained here until these measures, which the Government had so long promised, both to the men and officers, were passed. He intreated hon. Gentlemen to bring the Committee to a speedy conclusion.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY said, he was glad to hear the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary hold out the hope that the demands of the men in this case would be considered. He could not blame the right hon. Gentleman for requiring that the grievances complained of should be put forward in the regular way through the officers of the Force; but, knowing the state of the Constabulary in Limerick, and the kind of work they had been doing for some time, he was bound to ask the right hon. Gentleman to take into consideration what the men had passed through. He had received a letter, only to-day, from the Mayor of Limerick, as loyal a man as any Government official who was employed in the town. His Worship said he did not wonder at the agitation, because all classes, civil and military, were disgusted by what had been going on there, and the sooner a change, and a radical change, in the present administration of the city took place the better it would be for all classes. He (Mr. O'Shaughnessy) had known the men of the Constabulary in Limerick for a good many years; he had known them thoroughly loyal, thoroughly active, and, above all, thoroughly patient in the discharge of very disagreeable duties. The other day the men were really provoked by language used by a gentleman who had no official position entitling him to hold such language. This gentleman—Mr. Clifford Lloyd—told the men he had been bearing the brunt of the discontent in the city for months, and if they were soldiers they would be liable to be shot. The men very properly told him they were not soldiers, and they reminded him what their agreement with the Government was. They assured Mr. Clifford Lloyd that they meant to carry out their agreement; they meant to protect the peace of the city, no matter what happened, and they had acted with perfect good faith. Great allowance was to be made for these men in Limerick and elsewhere. The testimony, not merely of persons in Limerick who shared his views, but of many Conservatives he had spoken to, was that these men had been overworked, and that their patience had been taxed in many ways. They had been put not only to hard work, but to needless and useless work, for what purpose it was difficult to say. They had been doing not merely ordinary police duty, but military duty, besides aiding the process of the civil law under circumstances which had hitherto been unusual, and they had been called upon to discharge military guard duties, which were very unsatisfactory. A great deal had been said about their disloyalty. He rejoiced that the Inspector General withdrew the word "disloyal." The men did not deserve the charge of disloyalty; if they were disloyal they would not have waited until there was peace in the country. They had waited until disturbance had passed, until their demands could do no harm; and it was only now, when just laws had been passed and the prospects of the country were brighter, that they were making their voice heard. He trusted that what had occurred would be forgotten; that they would be allowed an opportunity of presenting their claims in a regular way through their officers, and that those claims would receive the just consideration which their conduct in the past deserved, and which the right hon. Gentleman had promised.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, that every hon. Member would agree that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary should be allowed to go to Ireland and take up his duties there. Their desire to precipitate the action of the right hon. Gentleman in that direction, however, did not preclude them from the duty of stating their opinions as to the measure now before the House. He (Mr. O'Connor) was surprised to hear the statement coming from the Chief Secretary—that these telegrams were, as a rule, sent by one man. Some of them were long—one which had been received by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) must have cost 2*s.* 3*d.* Several telegrams were received from the same place as the one to which he referred by Members of Parliament, and he must be a very strange man indeed who thought that the police who were complaining—and justly complaining—of their small salaries, had so much money that one single member of the Force could send a telegram like this to dozens of Members of Parliament. The telegrams might have been despatched by one man; but their numbers showed that there must have been a purse made up to defray the cost. He thought the speech of the Chief Secretary threw a deal of light upon what had happened in the district to which reference had been made. The hon. Member for Sligo had asked several very plain and distinct categorical questions as to the transactions of the men in the city of Limerick, and their parade under Mr. Clifford Lloyd. He had asked whether Mr. Clifford Lloyd had not told the men that if they were soldiers they would have been shot; and, if so, whether discontent was not likely to be increased by that? They had here the Member for the City of Limerick (Mr. O'Shaughnessy), whose obedience to the Government could not be questioned yet, and they saw him rising up and telling the Government distinctly that the cause of all this disturbance and discontent amongst the police of Limerick had been the novel and strange duties which had been cast on them. The men had been asked, as the hon. Member had said, to perform military as well as police duties. The hon. Member, out of excess of delicacy, had not carried his thought out to its full extent, and said that the men were discontented because their officers were removed from them, because their duties were enlarged, and, in other words, because Mr. Clifford Lloyd was amongst them. A movement like this must be met by a mingled spirit of firmness and conciliation, the right hon. Gentleman said. He (Mr. O'Connor) agreed with that; but how could they meet these men in a spirit of conciliation when they kept over them a man who had been the chief engenderer of the spirit of discontent that had arisen? The first thing they should do to make the police in Ireland contented was to send Mr. Clifford Lloyd back to Belfast, the place he had come from, or, when the Bill passed, give him the facility of taking advantage of the increased pensions. The Chief Secretary did not understand the position of the Irish Members with regard to this Bill. They were told these men were going to get £180,000. They knew that the annual sum in the shape of allowances was £17,000, and they were now told that an additional £180,000 was to be given in the form of a gratuity. What, however, the men asked for was something like a permanent increase to their salaries. When they were putting this case before the House last Saturday—and no one could say they had put it at exhaustive length or with any want of moderation—one of the main objections they raised against the Bill was that the men would see that the 13,000 privates were neglected, and the 300 officers were pampered and petted. That was a statement that one could make with nothing but a mere ordinary inference to go upon; but since that statement had been made he had had a Memorial sent to him by a body of these police, and he saw by that that those who had joined the Force since the 1st of August, 1866, were placed in a most unfair position as to pensions. Several matters of complaint were urged in the Memorial, and they asked for an additional 1*s*. a-day as remuneration for their services. Having stated their grievances, the Memorialists went on to say that a distinction was drawn between the officers and the men—that the pay and pensions of the officers were to be increased without at all taking into account the claims of the men who were the main workers, and whose duties were the more onerous. The men took the same view that the Irish Members took last Saturday, and contrasted the neglect of their interests with the tender care bestowed on the officers. He (Mr. O'Connor) must say that the Irish Executive appeared to him to be blundering in a most infatuate manner. On a famous occasion a Leader of the Opposition—he forgot whom—said to the Government—"Take back your Bill!" Well, he (Mr. O'Connor) ventured most respectfully to offer the same advice to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland. He would say to him—"Take back your Bill!" [Mr. O'SHEA dissented.] He saw that the hon. Member for the County of Clare (Mr. O'Shea), who had been a gallant officer himself and might be allowed to have some sympathy with the Constabulary officers, objected to that suggestion; but it certainly seemed to him that it would be better for the tranquillity of Ireland and of the Force that they should postpone the measure. They certainly would lose nothing by delay, although they were likely to risk a great deal by dealing with this matter in a piecemeal fashion.

MR. CALLAN said, that on Friday last, when he asked the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary a Question as to the accuracy of the reports which were circulated in the newspapers with regard to the discontent existing amongst the Constabulary, the right hon. Gentleman characterized those reports as extraordinary exaggerations. That was the right hon. Gentleman's first statement; and it now turned out that it was made on the authority of the Constabulary officers, and of others outside the Police Force. Was the right hon. Gentleman still of that opinion? Were the statements which appeared in the papers owing to the work of agitators, or to the legitimate grievances of men who had found where the shoe pinched? The right hon. Gentleman had gone on to say that nothing had occurred but what was consistent with the good order of this most loyal Force—as he (Mr. Callan) quite believed it to be. On Saturday, the right hon. Gentleman had quoted a paragraph from a letter written, he presumed, on the previous day by the Inspector General of Constabulary, in which the Inspector General said—

> "I do not believe there is any improper feeling existing in their ranks, although they, no doubt, feel disappointed at the non-receipt of their share of the £180,000, which they have long expected."

That seemed to be the only matter—that £180,000—which had the right hon. Gentleman's attention. Had not the columns of *The Freeman's Journal* contained details as to the grievances of the men? No doubt; but, as the Government did not give its advertisements to that paper, they, of course, did not condescend to read it. The officers gave a very different account of what was taking place to that rendered by the men. The Report from the officers was received from the right hon. Gentleman on Saturday. The authorities were fond of letter-writing. A document, marked "Private and confidential," had been circulated by the Inspector General of Police. He (Mr. Callan) had obtained a copy of it. It was in these words—"Royal Irish Constabulary Office"——

MR. TREVELYAN: Did I not understand the hon. Member to say it was marked "Private and confidential?"

MR. CALLAN said, it was one of those documents marked "Private and confidential;" but it would appear in to-morrow's newspapers, for he had sent a copy of it to Ireland for the information of the Constabulary. But, before he read the document in question, he would give the Committee some idea of what led up to it. He had always understood that the Royal Irish Constabulary was not a military body. It had often been denied in that House; and it was clear that it was not, for, like the letter-carriers, the constables could leave on giving a certain notice—he believed a month's notice. The following was some part of the text of the document which had caused so much commotion in official circles. It was addressed, "To the Right Hon. G. O. Trevelyan, Chief Secretary of Ireland," and commenced—

> "The Memorial of the Royal Irish Constabulary of the City and County of Cork. Your Memorialists beg to submit the following statement of grievances for your consideration, and what steps may be taken for the redress of the same."

And it went on to say—

> "That the members of the Force who have joined since the 1st of August, 1866, are placed on a lower scale of pension than men who joined previous to that date. A sub-constable who is now in receipt of £62 a year, having joined since 1866, will, after 30 years' service, be only entitled to a pension of about £36, whereas, had he joined previous to that, he would, on retiring, be entitled to full pay."

At the end of the second paragraph the Memorial said—

> "That the sum of at least 1*s.* per day added to the pay of each member of the Force would be but a slight recognition of the wants of the men."

It was further complained—

> "That the married men of the Force are not allowed any extra pay."

And that—

> "There is a hardship on those men who may be stationed where there is no accommodation or additional bedding. Additional outlay is thus incurred."

Another paragraph set forth—

> "That a distinction is now being drawn between the men and officers, although the pay and pension of the entire Force was, since its embodiment, regulated by the same Statutes."

The Memorial concluded with the words—

> "That the Force have always performed their duties with zeal and loyalty second to no servants of Her Majesty, and the slight recognition of their services now sought for ought not to be refused. Your Memorialists therefore pray that the foregoing grievances may be redressed, as in case of their being allowed to longer continue the members of the Force of the county and city of Cork will find it impossible to perform their duties in the efficient manner they have hitherto done."

The Memorial was, throughout, couched in the most respectful terms; but the House would see it in the papers before long. There were two outrages committed on the men—one of them on Saturday. He (Mr. Callan) had received a telegram from Cork, requesting him to ask the Question of which he had given Notice to-day. The telegram was as follows:—

> "R. I. C., Cork City.
>
> "Head Constable Cantillon seized our Memorial to-day, placed Constable Murphy under arrest, charged with illegal documents in possession, though it was but our Memorial. Please question in House. Sincere thanks."

On Saturday afternoon Policeman Murphy was arrested for being in possession of the Memorial—for having followed the very course of conduct that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had recommended. The policeman, it seemed, had gone to a brother constable, and had asked him to sign this document, and for so doing he was seized and imprisoned. Was Head Constable Cantillon to be blamed? Because while Constable Murphy was under arrest and the Memorial was seized, in the mail train that was then coming down there was this letter from Inspector General Bruce, dated August 4—

> "Royal Irish Constabulary Office,
> "Dublin Castle, 4th Aug., 1882.
>
> "I have this day learned with sincere pain and regret that grave discredit has been thrown upon the character and discipline of this Force, by a Circular, purporting to emanate from the Police of the City of Limerick setting forth certain claims"

—"purporting" to come from the police and "setting forth certain claims;" a palpable misrepresentation of the Memorial he (Mr. Callan) had quoted from—

> "As to pay, &c., and addressed to their comrades in other parts of the country with the evident intention of obtaining a combination in support of those claims. I further learn with regret that the Circular has met with responses purporting to come from the police in several of the places to which it is addressed. I cannot too strongly reprobate such a course. I am unwilling to believe that it has been joined in or encouraged by any large number or by the older and more experienced members of the Force; but that they should have permitted it on the part of themselves, if such is the case, is a serious disgrace. I would have, on the contrary, expected that the recent large efforts made by the Government, by a liberal increase to the ordinary allowances and by an application to Parliament for £180,000 for distribution to recoup the men for extra expenses incurred during the late troubled times, would have inspired the Force with sufficient confidence in the Government and in the Inspector General to lead them to refrain from any course other than the legitimate and disciplined one for preferring claims laid down by Article 340 of the Code."

"'The Code!" Where was that Code? The Irish Members had often asked for it, but had never been allowed to see it. Was there anything discreditable or disgraceful in it? If not, why refuse to let them see it? Why refuse to place it on the Table of the House? The document went on to say—

> "I have never before received any representation that the pay of the men was generally inadequate to the supply of necessaries; but I may state that some other of the matters referred to in the Circular have for some time past engaged my attention, but that I now feel that the undisciplined action referred to, especially if persevered in, must cause such a change of feeling as will certainly tend to retard rather than to advance all efforts made to improve the condition of the Force.
>
> (Signed) "R. Bruce,
> "Inspector General."

He (Mr. Callan) had received a large number of private telegrams and letters —to the extent of about a dozen at a time; but one which he had received that night showed that it had been tampered with, and this was the one containing this Memorial to which he had referred. As to the conduct of Mr. Clifford Lloyd, he would read what had appeared in a Limerick Conservative newspaper—

> "In accordance with the Statute one month's notice is required from members of the Constabulary Force before they can leave, and the men on strike are determined to comply strictly with the law, so that no imputation of disloyalty can be alleged against them. Mr. Clifford Lloyd, S.R.M., inspected the men this morning at William Street Barracks, and on parade addressed the men on the subject of their agitation. He said that, 'if you were soldiers, you would be shot for your misconduct.' On hearing this expression of opinion, a fierce shout of 'We are not soldiers,' went up from the men; and an intimation was subsequently conveyed to the Sub-Inspector (Mr. Wilton) that if Mr. Lloyd again inspected the men (he intimated that he would do so), they would, in consequence of his language, refuse to parade before him. It is stated that this information was at once conveyed to Mr. Lloyd, who did not make the second visit, but Colonel Bruce, the Inspector General of Royal Irish Constabulary, arrived in the city to-day, at 1 o'clock, and, at 2 o'clock this afternoon, inspected the men of William Street. After the inspection he addressed them, and said that he was ashamed of the conduct of the men; that the Government had altered the opinion which they previously had of the loyalty of the Force, and that the people of the country had lost their respect for them as a body."

He (Mr. Callan) would ask the Chief Secretary—and before he sat down he would move the adjournment of the debate in order to enable the right hon. Gentleman to answer—whether Colonel Bruce was authorized by him to state that, in consequence of their conduct, the Government had altered the opinion which they previously had of the loyalty of the Force? That statement was made in Limerick on Saturday, at about the time the right hon. Gentleman was reiterating what he had said on the previous day as to the loyalty of the Royal Irish Constabulary. The report went on to say—

> "At hearing this language a perfect murmur of disapprobation passed through the ranks, and the perfect discipline of the men only prevented them from expressing their denial of the insinuation of disloyalty. The effect of this language has had a fearful effect on the *morale* of the men, and has provoked them very much indeed. We have it on good authority that if a kindly spirit were evinced towards them that the result would have been quite different. If the men carry out their intentions to resign, the condition of the peace of the country, which at present, need we say, is not in a very desirable state, will be most precarious."

In another article it was said—

> "In spite of the solemn assurances of Mr. Trevelyan in the House of Commons last night —assurances made, it is true, in the usual flippant style which characterizes all the utterances of the present Ministry—the Royal Irish Constabulary question is assuming a most formidable aspect. On this evening week we published the initiative announcement with reference to the threatened resignation of the men stationed in the William Street Barracks. From that to the present the federation has rapidly spread, until it now forms a complete network extending all over the country, no one Constabulary station being excluded from the combination. That the Irish Chief Secretary, 'glad to have the opportunity of mentioning the subject,' as he smilingly stated, should pronounce that the matter, which from a local and, it must be allowed, a more accurate standpoint, we must emphatically affirm to be the most serious event which has taken place in this country for a series of years, was grossly exaggerated by the newspapers, was an inaccurate, no less than a monstrous assertion."

He (Mr. Callan) had here a telegram sent from the Macroom Office by "The Royal Irish Constabulary at West Cork," in these words—

> "You are requested earnestly to question Clifford Lloyd's authority to interfere with our financial matters, and, in doing so, charge them with mutiny and disloyalty, thereby outraging their feelings."

Was Mr. Clifford Lloyd authorized to make that charge, or was it a characteristic piece of presumption on his part? He had received a telegram from

Belfast at 10 o'clock to-night; and in reading it he would ask, were the Government going to drive these men to extremities? The telegram said—

> "R. I. C. — Belfast, — Meeting of Belfast police, convened for this evening, prohibited by authorities. Three hundred men assembled in Town Hall. Town Inspector at length permitted conference in Barracks. Memorial setting forth grievances read to men, who marched from Town Hall to Queen Street Barrack. Great difficulties in our way. Free expression of our opinion suppressed."

Was that the manner in which the men were to be quieted? A policeman who had lived some time in the county he (Mr. Callan) represented, a well educated man, had written to him to thank him for what he had done in the cause of the Constabulary, and, at the same time, to give him a few tips. This constable had informed him that the men were discontented and disappointed at the insult offered to them in the enormous increase of pay proposed to be given to the County and Sub-Inspectors, whilst the men were left in the lurch—to County and Sub-Inspectors, many of whom had been seen smoking cigars and drinking brandy at prohibited hours, when the men were out in the cold doing extra duty without extra pay. Here was another letter he had received—

> "Clonmel, August 5, 1882.
>
> "Dear Sir,—If you would ask on whose recommendation Mr. Colomb, A.J.G., was promoted over the heads of all the 1st class County Inspectors of the Royal Irish Constabulary, you would let a little light into the present discontent. Lord Kenmare was an old friend of Mr. Colomb, and when the Duke of Connaught was at Killarney, he sent to Mayo for Mr. Colomb, and made him the Duke's fisherman for the time being; hence his rapid advancement. Such is the manner of doing business at the Castle, Dublin.—Yours, faithfully, D. IRELAND."

This was the first Bill introduced into the House dealing with the Constabulary in sections, and not as a whole. Formerly, when any Bill was introduced in reference to any body of men, it dealt with the body altogether; but here was a Bill brought in to increase and mark still more the difference between the men and the officers of the Constabulary, giving £180,000 to the men for the past, and 25*s.* increase yearly for the future. The men must have some increase, though probably not as much as they asked for, and for the 13,000 men something like £234,000 a-year would be involved. Instead of 25*s.* a-year, the increase ought to be something like £25 a-year if the Force was to be maintained. It had been said by some Liberals and Radicals below the Gangway that they would send Scotchmen and Englishmen to Ireland. But the Chief Secretary had received a legacy of discontent and hatred, and he (Mr. Callan) must say that he had great hopes, after six months' experience of the Chief Secretary, that the right hon. Gentleman, if he was not deluded by the Castle officials, would make his Office much more respectable, and would create a much kinder feeling than at present existed. He would ask the Chief Secretary to look matters plainly in the face. If this Police Force was undisciplined, let it be borne in mind that during the last five years no attention had been paid to its demands. There had been discontent growing in Ireland for the last 12 months among the Police; and yet the officials at Dublin Castle had had the temerity, for it was nothing but that, to write to the Chief Secretary to state that this discontent was merely an ebullition which had been much exaggerated. That was the advice the Chief Secretary received from the Inspector General; but he would urge the right hon. Gentleman to exercise his own good feeling in the matter, to see what these men had suffered in the last three years, to see how laborious had been their duties without any extra pay, and without any hope for the future, to examine into these matters and, despite some possible imprudences on the part of the men, take their case at once into consideration. Such a course would do far more to allay the discontent than any threats or private Circulars; and he hoped Mr. Clifford Lloyd would be relegated to some other position, and that it would be stated in the House that Mr. Clifford Lloyd had exceeded his duty. It was the universal belief in Limerick that Mr. Clifford Lloyd had irritated these men in order to make a great man of himself, and show how necessary it was to have him to quell the discontent, and that if he was dispensed with, the country would go to the dogs. He would move the adjournment of the debate to enable the Chief Secretary to throw out some hope to the Irish Police that he would judge their case by himself, and not by Mr. Clifford Lloyd, or the blundering Inspector General.

Mr. HEALY seconded the Motion, and expressed surprise that in debates like this, when Mr. Clifford Lloyd was under discussion, the Government was not more often favoured with the assistance of the late Chief Secretary (Mr. W. E. Forster), who was responsible for appointing that gentleman. Whenever the Government was criticized with reference to its present difficulties, which were mainly owing to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford, that right hon. Gentleman gave the House the benefit of his absence. The complaints which had been made against Mr. Clifford Lloyd in the last 12 months had terminated in this semi-revolt. The character of Mr. Clifford Lloyd had been impressed upon the Government years ago, and it was instructive now to find that the contention that he was a stirrer-up and a firebrand was proved to be correct, and that the statement that he was the preserver of the peace was incorrect. Mr. Clifford Lloyd was for some years a magistrate in the North of Ireland; then he was sent to Kilmallock, in the county of Limerick, and in that place there were more murders than in any other. Then he was sent to Limerick, and in a week there were riots in that city, and at this moment it was the only important city in which the Government had had to issue a proclamation under the "Curfew" Clause of the Coercion Act. The inhabitants were liable to arrest for being out after dark, and this was all owing to Mr. Clifford Lloyd. He (Mr. Healy) had recently received a letter from one of the unfortunate policemen in that district, who was serving under Mr. Clifford Lloyd, and he found there were 14 persons protecting Mr. Clifford Lloyd. What was he doing? He was very fond of smoking, and he kept one policeman occupied in rolling cigarettes for him, and if the unfortunate man relaxed in the duty of rolling cigarettes he was threatened with summary punishment by Mr. Clifford Lloyd. What was the history of Mr. Clifford Lloyd? He would like to give the House a short biographical sketch of Mr. Clifford Lloyd supplied by Dublin Castle. It was an extraordinary thing that in Dublin Castle they never kept anything to themselves, and he found that Mr. Clifford Lloyd obtained an appointment at Belfast by paying £300, and that circumstance could not be denied except by a falsehood. That amount was paid in half-yearly instalments. Mr. Clifford Lloyd was detested in his regiment by his brother officers and the men so much that, when his regiment was to be inspected, the men determined to break up the step in order to give the Inspector General the idea that the regiment was inefficient. He was formerly a cadet at Sandhurst, and after being expelled from Sandhurst for disgraceful conduct, he got employment in Burmah, through the influence of his father. On one occasion, last year, Mr. Clifford Lloyd hired a special train, and dashed from Dundalk to Drogheda with 30 or 40 police, and the men were in such a hurry to disperse a meeting that was being held that they left their mess-blankets in the mud, and charged at the double. He (Mr. Healy) was at that time addressing the meeting, and Mr. Clifford Lloyd gave orders for the dispersal of the meeting. It was an unpleasant thing to address a meeting with the muzzles of guns at one's head, and so orders were given to disperse the meeting; but Mr. Clifford Lloyd said if the people did not clear out he would order the men to fire upon them. That occurrence had been proved; but the late Chief Secretary refused to inquire into it. After he went to Limerick the murders increased, and now, owing to cigarette rolling and other amusements, this revolt had broken out. Mr. Clifford Lloyd had told the men that if they were soldiers they would have been shot. No doubt if he had charge of them they would have been shot. What was loyalty? Nobody was loyal to an abstraction; but these men had to be loyal for 1*s.* 6*d.* a-day, and they were loyal or disloyal according to the scale of their wages. He remembered the late Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright) sneering at the British Army, and saying he could buy as much valour as was wished at 10*s.* a-day. He (Mr. Healy) could buy as much loyalty as was wished at 1*s.* 6*d.* a-day; but in Limerick, in consequence of various circumstances, loyalty had gone up, and, while the men were loyal at 1*s.* 6*d.* a-day, they considered the market price should be higher now, and had refused to serve Her Majesty without a corresponding increase in their pay. He could not understand a man saying he was loyal to an abstraction like the Crown; and, therefore, he maintained that, with regard to the loyalty of these men, they did protest too much. As to these men being treated better, they would be treated just as it suited the Chief Secretary. If it suited the Government to give them £100 a-year more they would get it; if not, they would not get it. These men would get just what the exigencies of the Government required, and nothing less or more. He did not think that they would resign, as was suggested; but that they would simply bluster. He would give the Chief Secretary a hint. Many of these men were on the way to pensions, having served five, 10, or 15 years. The greatest disposition to strike would be amongst the men who joined the Force yesterday or the day before; and the least disposed to strike would be those who were on the way to pensions. That was common sense, and the Chief Secretary would do well to divide the men into two classes—the men who had half served their time, because they would serve the remainder; and the men who had not served a sufficient time to establish a sinking fund. The latter would probably get some employment not so discreditable, and they might, perhaps, go to America. The Chief Secretary and the Home Secretary had laid great stress on the "Boycotting" Clause of the Coercion Act, which dealt with men leaving their employment. Here were the Constabulary threatening to throw the Queen's Government into confusion, and what was the Government going to do with regard to their case? A man leaving his employment might be sent to prison; but the Irish Constabulary could act in that way, and send out threatening Circulars, and the Government did not dare to touch them. That showed that Ireland was governed by expediency. The Chief Secretary had been at great pains to quote anonymous telegrams. That was quite right, for if the men sent their names they would be discharged individually. What did this measure, which was introduced with a view to increase the pay of the officers, do? For the sake of 300 officers the House was to be put to an enormous amount of trouble; and, after all, what was to be done? Three hundred officers got £30 per annum each. They were the cream of the Service; but the skim of the Service got 25*s.* a man. This was said to be extraordinarily excellent treatment, and was put forward by Mr. Bruce, the head officer, to induce the men to keep quiet. He would remind the Government that upon this Constabulary Force their hold on Ireland depended. The police knew that that was the case, and they would drive their bargain accordingly; and the measure of their demand would be the measure of their usefulness to the Government, and the measure of their success would be the exigencies of the Government. If the English, having used these men in disgraceful acts, could now turn them off, they would throw them away like sucked oranges, and the men knew it. If the English Government thought they could not govern Ireland without these men they would keep them in their service, and these were the men by whom the country would be governed.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Callan.*)

Mr. T. A. DICKSON said, he wished to express his sympathy with the Police Force in Ireland in their natural anxiety to have their grievances inquired into and redressed. Having come into contact with the police for many years as a magistrate, he felt bound to bear testimony to the way in which they had discharged their duties. No body of men in the employment of the Government or Her Majesty could discharge their duties with more zeal and ability, even under very tempting circumstances. The Chief Secretary had said the men could make their grievances known through officers. He could agree with that; but what encouragement did the men in Cork get, when, in the presence of their officers, they stated their grievances, and were told by Mr. Clifford Lloyd that if they were soldiers they would be shot, and by the Inspector General that they were disloyal men? In his opinion, Mr. Clifford Lloyd and Colonel Bruce had had a splendid opportunity of throwing oil on the troubled waters; but, by their recent action, they had done more to spread discontent among the Police Force in Ireland than anything that had occurred since this agitation commenced. Reference had been made to this £180,000. What had been the cause of the delay in the distribution of that amount? Why had it been so long kept from the Force? That was one of the grievances under which the men said they laboured. It had been stated in that House that the men were in revolt; but he did not believe anything of the kind. He believed the men were only anxious, and were afraid of this opportunity passing away without their grievances being inquired into. He remembered going both to the Castle at Dublin and to the Irish Office in London to state some of the grievances under which they were labouring. One of these had relation to the fines of, say, £1 or £2 imposed on the members of the Force in the earlier years of their service. Not only were they fined for drunkenness and other faults at the time, but at the end of their service a certain sum of money was taken off their retiring allowances. He did not believe in any expedient to redress the grievance under which they suffered, and which he had from the men themselves, that did not go to the root of this matter. The Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant had made what he regarded, and what he believed would be regarded by the men of the Constabulary, as a satisfactory statement, in saying that when he returned to Ireland the grievance of the police should be at once inquired into. He certainly did not think the Government could state anything further than that. The Government were not in a position to say that they would concede the demands of the police to-day or to-morrow, because time was obviously necessary for inquiring into the subject, and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had stated that the condition of the Police Force should be fully inquired into. He believed that announcement, when it was known in Ireland, would be, and ought to be, satisfactory to the Constabulary. When the right hon. Gentleman went to Dublin Castle he strongly advised him to confer with Lord Spencer as to the withdrawal of Mr. Clifford Lloyd, and to recommend his being sent from the South into the North of Ireland. As he had before remarked, Mr. Clifford Lloyd might inspire terror of the law, but not respect for it, in the minds of the Irish people; and he held the opinion that the sooner he was removed from his present position the better it would be for the Police Force.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, that, personally, he had some sympathy with the police in this matter. No one could have watched the Force during the last two or three years without feeling that an excessive amount of labour had been placed on that body, and for the state of things which existed he did not think it possible too severely to blame Her Majesty's Government. There could be no doubt that the condition of disloyalty and disturbance reigning in Ireland owed its origin to the weakness of the present Administration, and it was that which had cast this extra work upon the Irish Constabulary. He did not know whether the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) wished to be considered the champion of the Force; but, if so, he had no doubt that that very loyal and praiseworthy Force would repudiate the charge that their loyalty was to be estimated at 1*s.* 6*d.* a-day. With regard to Mr. Clifford Lloyd, the present occurrences offered the Irish Party a very convenient opportunity for an attack upon that officer. The newspaper reports of Saturday last from Limerick entirely failed to bear out the charge against Mr. Clifford Lloyd, who, it seemed, had addressed the men in a very moderate manner. The reports certainly did not justify the statement of the hon. Member for Wexford; and, moreover, he would point out that some 80 members of the Constabulary at Limerick replied to Mr. Clifford Lloyd in a very satisfied and thankful tone. They told him they had no fault to find with him; that they were satisfied with his kindly intentions towards the Force, and that they wished, as far as possible, to follow out his advice. Any exasperation which took place subsequently seemed to be due not to the address of Mr. Clifford Lloyd, but to the address of another officer. The hon. Member for Wexford transposed the characters of the two addresses. [MR. HEALY: No!] He maintained his opinion upon that point. The hon. Member for Wexford had given the character of Colonel Bruce's speech to that of Mr. Clifford Lloyd, and did not fairly represent the character of Mr. Lloyd's speech. Now, as far as he had been able to follow Mr. Clifford Lloyd's public career, he thought he had proved himself to be a most efficient public servant; and, even if he had not, he should have been disposed to defend him, in view of the personal attacks which were constantly being made on him in that House. He was in great personal danger. [Mr. HEALY: He wears a coat of mail.] He (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) was quite sure if the hon. Member for Wexford was in the same position as Mr. Clifford Lloyd he would wear 10 coats of mail. Mr. Clifford Lloyd was in a portion of Ireland which had always been one of the most troubled districts; he was sent there to quell disturbance, and the moment he arrived at his post Irish Members on that side of the House below the Gangway lost no opportunity of attacking and vilifying his character. He trusted the Government would give every consideration they were able to afford to the grievances of the Irish Constabulary. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant had, he believed, promised to do so; but his own view was that a considerable extra remuneration was due to men who, like the Royal Irish Constabulary, had performed such arduous and dangerous labours during the last three years.

MR. LEWIS said, he regarded the particular subject which had caused him to place a Notice of Amendment on the Paper as typical of the way in which the Royal Irish Constabulary had been treated for many years past. He referred to the inequality of pensions granted. Under the Acts of 1847, 1866, and 1874, a man who retired on one day found himself only entitled to half that which a man of the same rank and length of service, who retired the day after, was entitled to. That, he repeated, was typical of the way in which the men, whether active or retired, had been treated by past Governments. Now, this question was an important one, and at half-past 2 in the morning it was not reasonable to suppose that justice could be done to it. Moreover, there were other questions dealt with in the Bill that ought to be considered very carefully. Under the circumstances, he should support the Motion for the adjournment of the debate.

MR. TREVELYAN said, the hon. Member for Louth (Mr. Callan) had moved the adjournment of the debate with the specific purpose, as far as he understood, of giving him the opportunity of stating whether or not he was responsible for having suggested to Mr. Clifford Lloyd or Colonel Bruce the words which they should use in addressing the Constabulary Force at Limerick. He (Mr. Trevelyan) always endeavoured to follow what, to him, appeared to be the usual course of action—that was to say, in all matters of Executive action which required a knowledge of what was passing, and in a state of circumstances liable to daily and hourly change, he had always considered it proper to leave absolute freedom to the administrative officers on the spot. Any other course than that, whether with regard to civil or military administration, could only, in his opinion, result in confusion, and possibly danger. He had not suggested, either to Mr. Clifford Lloyd or to Colonel Bruce, words which they should use in addressing the Constabulary; as a matter of fact, he was not aware that Mr. Clifford Lloyd was going to address the men at all. With regard to that officer, although, as the hon. Member opposite said, he was not responsible for his appointment, he should certainly not give up his share in the consequences of that appointment, although it would be nothing less than wasting the time of the House to enter into an elaborate defence of Mr. Clifford Lloyd every time he was attacked. But with regard to the remarks which had been made with regard to him on the present occasion, he would suggest that hon. Members should reserve their judgment until Mr. Lloyd's explanation was forthcoming. He knew what were that officer's feelings with reference to the Force in Limerick, because he had a Report from him dated the 4th of July, 1882, in which, after stating that two threatening letters had been received in the district, and that no other outrages were reported, went on to say that the officers and men had toiled with the most unwavering energy for the last six months, and that it was no exaggeration to say that—

> "Day after day, and night after night, in all weathers, they have patrolled every portion of the districts assigned to them; the same spirit influences them all; a more noble body of men never served their Sovereign."

It was needless for him to comment upon this; he would, therefore, simply urge hon. Members to suspend their judgment until they were in possession of information as to what actually took place on Saturday afternoon. He felt some surprise that hon. Members should be unwilling that this stage of the Bill should be taken on that occasion. There had been already three debates upon the Bill, and throughout these he had noticed nothing that led him to believe that hon. Members were seriously anxious to alter the Bill in Committee.

Mr. HEALY: We have had no time to put down Amendments.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, no observation or criticism upon the Bill had been put forward which led him to think there was any desire on the part of hon. Members seriously to object; and, under those circumstances, he appealed to the House to allow the Bill to go through Committee.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 6; Noes 64: Majority 58.—(Div. List, No. 320.)

Question again proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant had informed the House that great inconvenience would result from the Bill being delayed; but it seemed to him that there would be much more inconvenience if it were hurried through the House. In the first place, Members who were interested in the maintenance of the Rules of Committee had not had an opportunity even of reading the Amendments to the Bill. He was informed that there were a number of Amendments which it was proposed to move; and it would, therefore, be of advantage that the House should be put in possession of those Amendments in their entirety. But there was another reason for deferring the Committee stage of the Bill. The measure would be considerably affected by the proposals which the Government might hereafter have to make in reference to the treatment of the Constabulary Force; and if they could come to some decision as to the way in which the claims of the Force were to be met, it would certainly be of great advantage in further considering the proposals in the Bill, because the Government might possibly find it desirable to introduce into a Bill of this kind certain provisions which at present it did not contain; whereas if the Bill were hurried through the House before the final decision of the Government was arrived at, it would not be possible to introduce another Bill that Session. For these reasons, and because it was now nearly 3 o'clock in the morning, he begged to move the adjournment of the House.

Mr. BIGGAR begged to second the Motion of the hon. Member for Queen's County. It was now 3 o'clock, and no one could reasonably ask to proceed in Committee with a Bill of this importance at that hour. To do so would be to preclude all reasonable discussion upon the important questions that were raised by the Bill. He thought that, out of consideration for themselves, and particularly those Members who wished their Amendments to be fairly discussed, the Motion of his hon. Friend should be agreed to.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor.*)

Mr. TREVELYAN admitted that the arguments of hon. Members as to the lateness of the hour had a certain weight. They were, however, so close upon the end of the Session that none of the small portion of time at their disposal should be wasted; and, after the ample discussion which the Bill had undergone on previous occasions, he hoped the hon. Member for Queen's County would recognize the desirability of entering at least upon the Committee stage, and, when that was reached, the Government would be willing to postpone further discussion to another day.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee; Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

REVENUE, FRIENDLY SOCIETIES, AND NATIONAL DEBT BILL.—[Bill 260.]

(*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Herbert Gladstone.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 *agreed to.*

PART I.

Customs and Excise.

Clauses 2 to 8, inclusive, *agreed to.*

PART II.

STAMPS.

Clauses 9 to 12, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 13 (Power to Treasury to grant compensation for loss of fees under 44 & 45 Vict. c. 12, ss. 33 and 34).

MR. J. A. CAMPBELL said, this clause gave power to the Treasury to grant compensation to holders of certain offices for the loss of fees under the Bill passed last year. There was one expression, however—"had suffered"—which had caused some doubt as to whether the clause might not be interpreted in a narrow sense, as if it was not to apply to losses which might be suffered in future. He moved that the words "or will suffer" be introduced.

Amendment proposed, in page 4, line 40, after the word "suffered," to add the words "or will suffer."—(*Mr. J. A. Campbell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. COURTNEY said, he hoped the Amendment would not be pressed, as it was quite unnecessary. The clause, as it stood, would give compensation for losses which officers had suffered. The losses they might have sustained would not be losses that might accrue from time past up to the time present, and the Amendment was not necessary.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 14 to 17, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 18 (Provision for composition for stamp duty on certain Canadian loans).

Amendment proposed, in page 7, line 3, to leave out the words "the like," and insert the words "a similar."—(*Mr. Courtney.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, in page 7, line 4, to leave out the words "as was," and insert the words "to that."—(*Mr. Courtney.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, in page 7, line 10, to leave out "eighty-three," and insert "eighty-six."—(*Mr. Courtney.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

PART III.

NATIONAL DEBT AND MISCELLANEOUS.

Clause 19 (Adjustment of account as regards accumulations of fractions of a penny on the dividends of the National Debt).

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he was sure his hon. Friend would admit the justice of this money going to the National Debt Commissioners, and not being swept into the Exchequer. Fractions of a penny had never been paid over to the Exchequer. They now amounted to £120,000, and it was now proposed to transfer it to the Exchequer.

MR. COURTNEY said, he could not in justice assent to the proposal. The money was not to be swept into the Exchequer, but was to be used for a partial remission of the Permanent Debt.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 20 (Quarterly payment of dividends on 2½ per cents).

MR. R. N. FOWLER said, he supposed the Government could not help bringing on this Bill at this time of night; and, therefore, they could not complain that those who were interested in it should have something to say upon it. This was not a very large matter, but it involved considerable principles. The 2½ per cent Stock was a very small Stock, created by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1852; but if this clause was agreed to it would be getting the thin end of the wedge in in reference to the larger Stocks. If this was applied to the Government Stocks, where would it end? Would Railway Companies have to pay dividends quarterly? He would move the omission of this clause.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be omitted."—(*Mr. R. N. Fowler.*)

MR. COURTNEY pointed out that the present system involved great loss and inconvenience to the Exchequer.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Clauses 21 and 22 *agreed to.*

Clause 23 (Advance of money by National Debt Commissioners for payment of commutation under 41 & 42 Vict. c. 63).

Amendment proposed, in page 12, line 15, to leave out the second "a," and insert "any."—(*Mr. Courtney.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 24 *agreed to.*

Clause 25 (Removal of doubts as to Crown rights to escheats, fines, and recognisances within certain liberties of the Duchy of Lancaster).

Amendment proposed, in page 14, line 18, after the word "Fund," to insert the words "or out of the growing produce thereof."—(*Mr. Courtney.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Remaining clauses *agreed to.*

Schedules *agreed to.*

House *resumed.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

ARTIZANS' DWELLINGS BILL.

(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Secretary Sir William Harcourt.*)

[BILL 255.] CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

Clauses 1 to 7, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 8 (Power to local authority to purchase houses for opening alleys, &c.)

Amendment proposed,

In page 5, line 24, at end, add,—"Where, in the opinion of the arbitrator, the demolition of an obstructive building adds to the value of such other buildings as are in that behalf mentioned in this section, the arbitrator shall apportion so much of the compensation to be paid for the demolition of the obstructive building as may be equal to the increase in value of the other buildings amongst such other buildings respectively, and the amount apportioned to each such other building, in respect of its increase in value by reason of the demolition of such obstructive building, shall be deemed to be private improvement expenses incurred by the local authority in respect of such building, and such local authority may, for the purpose of defraying such expenses, make and levy improvement rates on the occupier of such premises accordingly, and the provisions of 'The Public Health Act, 1875,' relating to private improvement expenses and to private improvement rates shall, so far as circumstances admit, apply accordingly, in the same manner as if such provisions were incorporated in this Act, and the said provisions shall be deemed to extend to the City of London and to the Metropolis, and in the construction of the said provisions, as respects the City of London, the Commissioners of Sewers, and, as respects the Metropolis, the Metropolitan Board of Works shall be deemed to be the urban authority.

"If any dispute arises between the owner or occupier of any building (to which any amount may be apportioned in respect of private improvement expenses) and the arbitrator by whom such apportionment is made, such dispute shall be settled by two justices in manner provided by 'The Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845,' in cases where the compensation claimed in respect of lands does not exceed fifty pounds."—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Mr. WHITLEY said, it seemed to him that to introduce an Amendment of this kind in the Bill, when it was not applied to Improvement Bills, which were generally of a kind in which a clause of this description could be inserted, was very prejudicial to the interests of owners of property. This Bill would apply chiefly to very poor property and very poor localities, and, in all probability, the property would belong to very poor owners indeed; and to introduce a clause of this kind, without any notice to the community, or to those affected by it in the large towns, was not the best course to take. If this clause was to be introduced, he thought it ought to be introduced after notice had been given to those whom it affected. He was persuaded that this Amendment would meet with very much opposition in all the great towns of the United Kingdom, because it was a new kind of legislation, and only applied to a new kind of property, and did not apply to Public Improvement Acts. He thought it unwise, when no discussion had taken place in Committee on the Bill, at that moment to introduce this Amendment, and he should feel bound to oppose it.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he thought the hon. Member could hardly be aware that an Amendment similar to this now proposed had been on the Paper for many days in the name of the hon. Member for Oldham (Mr. Lyulph Stanley). The Amendment would not apply generally to all property or to general matters, but only to those houses which came under Clause 8 of the Bill, and were in an unsanitary condition. Therefore, the Amendment would have a very limited application; and, limited as it was, he had agreed to substitute for the Amendment of the hon. Member for Oldham the Amendment now before the House.

Mr. WARTON regarded this new Proviso as one of far too great importance to be dismissed in a cursory and cavalier style. This was a much more important Bill than any the House had been discussing for weeks past. It was all very well for the hon. Gentleman to speak of this proposal having been before the House for some days; but he himself had not seen it for more than a couple of days, though whether it had been before the House 10 days or two days did not alter the proposal. The fact was there was a difference of opinion as to what improvements of this kind should be charged upon. He thought the bright idea had struck the hon. Member for Oldham that he would make the holders of small properties pay for the improvements after all. It was very well to talk in an abstract manner about a house being improved; but it was unpleasant for a man to have to pay for the value, or supposed value, of improvements to which he was no party. A man had a right to enjoy his property without being subject to a constant demand to pay for improvements which somebody supposed increased the value of the house. The adoption of a provision of this kind would discourage the holders of property.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he must say he did not think the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down understood the Amendment. He (Sir R. Assheton Cross) differed from the hon. and learned Member, and hoped the House would pass the clause.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Remaining clauses *agreed to.*

Schedule *agreed to.*

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he would move that the Bill be read a third time, and, in doing so, would take this opportunity of thanking the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir R. Assheton Cross), as Chairman of the Committee, for the assistance he had rendered him in passing the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill now be read the third time."—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

MERCHANT SHIPPING (MERCANTILE MARINE FUND) BILL.—[Bill 256.]

(*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. John Holms.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

In reply to Mr. Whitley,

Mr. J. HOLMS said, that the boiler explosions charge came in the Bill as a matter of convenience. The increased expenditure in relation to the matter would be extremely small—it would only amount to the salary of an engineer, a surveyor, and a clerk.

Bill *reported;* to be considered *To-morrow.*

NAVY AND ARMY EXPENDITURE, 1880-81.

Resolved, That this House will, To-morrow, resolve itself into a Committee to consider the Savings and Deficiencies upon the Grants for Navy and Army Services in the year ended on the 31st day of March 1881, and the temporary sanction obtained from the Treasury by the Navy and Army Departments to Expenditure not provided for in the Grants for that year.

Ordered, That the Appropriation Accounts for the Navy and Army Departments, which were presented upon the 13th day of February last, be referred to the Committee.

House adjourned at a quarter
before Four o'clock
in the morning.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 8*th August*, 1882.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*First Reading*—Pensions Commutation* (230); Artizans' Dwellings* (231).

Second Reading — Educational Endowments (Scotland) (220) Poor Law Amendment* (221).

Committee—Electric Lighting (212-229).

Report—Wellesley Bridge (Limerick)* (207-228).

Third Reading—Turnpike Acts Continuance* (198); Customs and Inland Revenue*, and *passed.*

PRIVATE BILLS.

Ordered, That Standing Order No. 144. be suspended for the remainder of the Session.

ELECTRIC LIGHTING BILL.—(No. 212.)

(*The Lord Sudeley.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee read.

Lord SUDELEY said, before this Bill went into Committee it would be to the convenience of their Lordships if he stated at once that since the second reading of the Bill the Board of Trade had very carefully considered again the objections raised by the Electric Companies on Clause 3 and Clause 27. The Board of Trade had always felt it was difficult to say exactly what was the precise number of years which should be given to a licence, and after what exact number of years the local authorities should have power to purchase. The object had been to fix the shortest time for the existence of the monopoly that would be consistent with sufficient inducement for the investment of the necessary capital. After hearing the difficulties which the Electric Companies felt, mainly on the ground that the installations would be on a far larger scale than was at first thought practicable, the Board of Trade had thought that, in the interests of the general public, the term of licence should be extended to seven years, and the term of purchase to 21 years. The exact Amendments would be as proposed by the noble Earl (the Earl of Crawford). It was understood that this would meet all the objections of the Electric Light Companies; and it was far better, in the opinion of the Board of Trade, that the question should be settled permanently than be allowed to be raised at some future time. The Amendment about to be moved by the noble and learned Lord (Lord Bramwell) was totally inconsistent with this arrangement, and altered the terms of purchase, and could not be agreed to.

House in Committee (according to order).

Clause 1 (Short title) *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Application of Act).

On the Motion of Lord Sudeley, Amendment made, in page 1, line 8, after ("by") by inserting ("this Act or").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Granting of licenses authorising the supply of electricity).

On the Motion of The Earl of Crawford, Amendment made, in page 1, line 27, by leaving out ("five") and inserting ("seven").

On the Motion of Lord Sudeley, Amendments made, in page 1, line 28, after ("but may, at") by inserting ("or after"), and leaving out ("at any") and inserting ("from time to"); page 2, line 1, after ("time") insert ("for a like period").

On the Motion of The Earl of Crawford, Amendment made, in page 2, line 6, by leaving out ("vestry").

On the Motion of Lord Sudeley, Amendment made, in line 29, after ("given") insert as a new sub-section—

"A license may, subject to the provisions of this Act, be granted to a local authority authorising them to supply electricity within any area although the same or some part thereof may not be included within their own district."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Granting of provisional orders authorising the supply of electricity).

On the Motion of Lord Sudeley, Amendment made, in page 3, line 17, after ("provisions") by inserting as a new sub-section—

"No provisional order shall authorise the supply of electricity by any undertakers within the district of any local authority (not being themselves the undertakers), unless notice that such provisional order has been or is intended to be applied for has been given to such local authority by the applicants in such manner as the Board of Trade may direct or approve on or before the first day of July in the year in which such application is made; provided that in the case of any application made during the present year such notice shall be deemed to have been given in due time if the same is given within one month after the passing of this Act."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clauses 5 and 6 *agreed to.*

Clause 7 (Expenses of local authority).

On the Motion of Lord Sudeley, Amendments made, in page 5, line 12, by leaving out ("in respect of any undertaking"); in line 14, by leaving out ("obtaining the") and inserting—

("Connection with the obtaining by them, or any opposition to the obtaining by any other local authority, company, or person, of any"); and in line 15, by leaving out ("authorising the undertaking") and inserting ("under this Act").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clauses 8 and 9 *agreed to.*

Clause 10 (General powers of undertakers under license or provisional order).

On the Motion of Lord SUDELEY, Amendment made, in page 6, line 24, after ("Act") by inserting ("and of any rules made by the Board of Trade in pursuance of this Act").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 11 (Power for local authority to contract in certain cases and restrictions on assignments of powers, &c. of undertakers).

On the Motion of The Earl of CRAWFORD, Amendment made, in page 6, line 41, after ("special Act") by inserting ("without the consent of the Board of Trade").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clauses 12 to 14, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 15 (Power to undertakers to alter position of pipes and wires).

On the Motion of Lord SUDELEY, Amendments made, in page 8, line 36, after ("local") by inserting ("or other public"); and in line 40, after ("local") by inserting ("or other public").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 16 (Clause for protection of canals).

On the Motion of Lord SUDELEY, Amendment made, in page 9, line 19, by leaving out ("the Board of Trade") and inserting ("arbitration").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 17 *agreed to.*

Clause 18 (Undertakers not to prescribe special form of lamp or burner).

On the Motion of Lord SUDELEY, Amendments made, in page 9, line 32, after ("no") by inserting ("local authority"); in line 36, after ("other") by inserting ("local authority, company, or"); and in line 37, after ("and any") by inserting ("local authority, company, or").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 19 *agreed to.*

Clause 20 (Charges for electricity).

On the Motion of Lord SUDELEY, Amendment made, in page 10, line 9, after ("to any") insert ("local authority").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 21 (Recovery of charges, &c.).

On the Motion of Lord SUDELEY, Amendments made, in page 10, line 14, after ("if any") by inserting ("local authority"); in line 16, after ("such") by inserting ("local authority"); and in line 22, after ("such") by inserting ("local authority").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clauses 22 and 23 *agreed to.*

Clause 24 (Power to enter lands or premises for ascertaining quantities of electricity consumed, or to remove fittings, &c.).

On the Motion of Lord SUDELEY, Amendment made, in page 10, line 39, after ("lines") by inserting ("accumulators").

On the Motion of The Earl of CRAWFORD, Amendment made, in page 10, line 39, after ("lines") by inserting ("meters").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 25 (Electric lines, &c. not to be subject to distress in certain cases).

On the Motion of Lord SUDELEY, Amendments made, in page 11, line 7, by leaving out ("meters") and inserting ("accumulators"), and after ("fittings") by inserting ("works"); and in line 11, by leaving out ("meters") and inserting ("accumulators"), and after ("fittings") by inserting ("works").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 26 (Provision for protection of the Postmaster General).

On the Motion of Lord SUDELEY, Amendment made, in page 11, line 42, by leaving out ("the Board of Trade") and inserting ("arbitration").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 27 (Purchase of undertaking by local authority).

On the Motion of Lord SUDELEY, Amendment made, in page 12, line 17, after ("Act") by inserting ("or such provisional order or special Act as aforesaid").

On the Motion of The Earl of CRAWFORD, Amendment made, in page 12, line 32, by leaving out ("fifteen years") and inserting—

("Twenty-one years or such shorter period as is specified in that behalf in the application for the Provisional Order or in the special Act");

and in line 34, by leaving out ("five years") and inserting—

("Seven years or such shorter period as is specified in that behalf in the application for the Provisional Order or in the Special Act").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clauses 28 to 31, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 32 (Interpretation).

On the Motion of Lord SUDELEY, Amendment made, in page 14, line 38, by leaving out ("has the same meaning as in the Gasworks Clauses Act, 1847") and inserting—

("Includes any square, court, or alley, highway, lane, road, thoroughfare, or public passage, or place, within the area in which the undertakers are authorised to supply electricity by this Act or any license, order, or special Act").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clauses 33 to 35, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 36 (Application of Act to Scotland).

On the Motion of Lord SUDELEY, Amendment made, in page 15, line 24, after ("theft") by inserting—"The expression 'felony' means a high crime and offence;" in page 15, line 28, by leaving out ("vestry"); and in line 30, after ("applied") by inserting—

"The expression 'local authority' means as regards streets and roads the authority having the control of the streets and roads."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

On the Motion of Lord SUDELEY, Amendment made in Schedule (Scotland), page 20, second column, insert ("The county road board"); Schedule (Ireland), page 20, last column, leave out the whole entry in order to insert—

("That prescribed by section two hundred and forty-eight of the Public Health (Ireland) Act, 1878."

The Report of the Amendments to be received on *Thursday* next; and Bill to be *printed* as amended. (No. 229.)

EDUCATIONAL ENDOWMENTS (SCOTLAND) BILL.—(No. 220.)

(*The Lord Privy Seal.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL): My Lords, it has become my duty, as representing, during the absence of the President of the Council, the Education Department in this House, to ask your Lordships to give a second reading to a Bill, which is one of the greatest importance to education in Scotland. Although it is a Bill of such importance, I feel that it would be unreasonable on my part if I were to detain the House for any length of time upon the present occasion, and for this reason—that the Bill in substance is familiar to your Lordships, and to all who take an interest in the subject of Scotch education. There is no question that I know of which is more thoroughly ripe for legislation than this question of secondary Scotch education, it having passed through the ordeal of many inquiries, and of experimental and permissive legislation. I shall, therefore, not detain your Lordships by going far into its past history. The foundation of the present Bill is, in fact, to be found in the declaration made by the noble Duke opposite (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon), then President of the Council, when he introduced a permissive Bill on this subject into this House, and when he said, in the clearest and most straightforward words, that if the permissive principle should fail of its purpose, it would be the duty of the then Government to bring in a Bill of a compulsory nature; and I have no doubt, if the noble Duke had remained in Office, he would have brought in very much the same Bill which was introduced by my noble Friend Lord Spencer two years ago. That Bill was introduced in 1880, and was in substance the same as that which is now before your Lordships. It passed this House, but it did not succeed in passing the other House in that short Session of the year 1880. The same Bill was introduced in the other House in the year 1881; but the Session of last year was occupied with other matters, and the Bill got no further; and in this year (1882) there would have been no cause for surprise if its fate had been the same. But I am happy to say that, by the exertions and energy of the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella), and by the practical and patriotic spirit of the Scotch Members on both sides, who have in the main, and upon the important points of the Bill, been practically unanimous —in that way, by great good fortune, the Bill has survived the perils of that region, and has come up to your Lordships' House. The measure is framed upon the lines of the Endowed Schools Act of England, which is so familiar to your Lordships. It proposes to reorganize and reform a number of educational endowments in Scotland, so as to make them, we hope, far more advantageous to the people of that country than at present, by means of the same kind of machinery which is used, and has been for some years used in this country under the Endowed Schools Act, and the Charity Commission. The Executive Commission, which will be created under this Bill, has very large powers conferred upon it—powers necessary to the purpose in view, but powers limited very carefully by the conditions of the Bill, and by provisions as to inquiries, as to publicity, and as to appeal in the last resort to Parliament itself. The main object which the Bill and the Commission have in view is to make these endowments, where it can be legitimately done, far more valuable than they are at present for the promotion of education in Scotland, higher than that given in the ordinary public schools. When I talk of higher education, I am far from meaning education specially adapted or intended for the higher classes of society; but an education of a higher class which would be open and available for the poor scholars in the ordinary schools of Scotland. My Lords, I am not surprised at the spirit of unanimity, and the desire among the people of Scotland, that these endowments should be thus used, because we all know the remarkable way in which, even under present circumstances in Scotland, with a great dearth of the means of education higher than that obtained in the public schools, a number of poor Scotch boys do make their way in spite of all difficulties from the public schools to the Universities. The object of the Bill is to provide means and appliances by which the admirable spirit among the youth of Scotland shall find its way to the higher education of the country. We propose, by the application in many cases of these endowments, to provide the means or ladder by which those intelligent and ambitious young men can attain to the education which they desire. That was also the object, as described at the time by the President of the Council, the main object of the Bill of 1880—the Bill which obtained your Lordships' concurrence and went down to the other House. I do not know that it is necessary for me to do more than state in a few words the main respects in which this Bill differs from the Bill of 1880, which was passed by your Lordships. I find that the main points of difference are three. There are some minor ones with which I will not trouble the House on this occasion. In the first place, there is a change in the proposed constitution of the Governing Bodies of the endowments. With respect to the amount of popular election which is to be found in these bodies, the Bill of 1880 was general in its terms, although its object was the same; but in the present Bill it is provided definitely that where the Governing Body of an endowment at present contains a majority of elected members, or rather of members drawn from Town Councils and from other bodies which are elected, in the future, under the schemes framed under the provisions of this Bill, such Governing Bodies shall contain not less than two-thirds of such members. Where, again, the number of such members at present is less than half the number, in future it shall not be less than two-thirds, and where at present there are no members of that class at all upon the Governing Body, it is provided that there be a number elected, and not less than one-third, on the Governing Bodies to be created under the schemes. Again, there is a change, which provides more carefully than was provided in the Bill of 1880 for the non-alienation from the objects of primary education of funds which had been specially, under the founder's will, applied to primary education; and in such cases it will only be the surplus of such endowments, after adequately providing for the founder's intentions, that can be available for education of a higher kind. The third change is, perhaps, the most important one, and it has been made since this Bill was introduced into the other House. It is this—Whereas the Bill, when it was introduced, limited the powers of the Commissioners as to dealing with endowments within 40 years from the present time, which, it seems, is the period of prescription in Scotland, the Bill as it has reached this House provides that the Commissioners may deal with any endowments earlier than the year 1872—the year of the passing of the Scotch Primary Education Act. My Lords, that change has been the work of the Scotch Members themselves. The other provisions were the proposal of the Government. The change to which I now refer was made on the proposal of a very eminent Scotch Member, a man of weight and authority on these subjects—a Member for two Scotch Universities, and not a supporter of the present Government—and that view, I believe, is supported unanimously by the Scotch Members of the other House. The feeling all over Scotland is that, if the original limitation were retained in the Bill, a large number of valuable endowments, very much requiring to be dealt with by this Commission, would be excluded from its action. It will depend on the Commission itself how far these endowments shall be dealt with or altered, but the Government believe, with the Scotch Members, who, they think, are entirely right in this matter, that the question of dealing with these endowments will be best left to the Commissioners, under and subject to the conditions of the Bill. It would be a misfortune if the endowments in question, which would otherwise be excluded from their discretion, were to be left dormant and untouched for many years to come, until the period of 40 years had been reached. These, I think, are the three main points in which this Bill differs from that which received your Lordships' assent in the year 1880, and I do not know that it is necessary for me to add anything to the statement that I have already made. I know that you sympathize with the object of this measure. I believe that you may have confidence in the means which it proposes to take to attain that object, in its machinery, in its provisions, and in the Commission which is about to be appointed by the Crown; and I can only say, in conclusion, that I trust, and am confident, that the operation of this Bill will set free and make available in Scotland most important means of education, greatly desired by that country, and which, I doubt not, will have the effect of putting her in even a higher position than that which she now holds in these matters among the nations of the world.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Privy Seal.*)

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON: My Lords, I can assure the Lord Privy Seal (Lord Carlingford) that the remarks which I shall offer will be conceived in no hostile spirit towards the Bill. The Bill, as the noble Lord has truly said, is drawn very much upon the lines of the Bill which I had the honour of introducing some years ago on behalf of Her Majesty's then Government. I will make one or two observations upon matters which I find are in the Bill, and also on matters which are not in the Bill. In the first place, I think that in the Preamble of the Endowed Schools Act, 1869, for England, there was a special reference to the Report of the Royal Commission, and it stated that the object of the proposed legislation was to give effect to the evidence taken before that Commission; and, if I mistake not, something of the same kind was in this Bill when it was introduced in the House of Commons; but by some means or other that has fallen through, and I do not find any reference in this Bill to the Report of the Commission of those who had to deal with the subject, and I think that reference might have been made in the Preamble of the Bill to that Commission when they had made various suggestions which are included in this Bill. I do not wish to say anything about the noble Lord (Lord Balfour of Burleigh), who is to be the future Chairman of the Commission. I believe that no man would discharge the duties with more credit to himself, and with greater benefit to the country, than my noble Friend. I believe that is the view entertained by all parties; but I do not find any representative of natural science or technical instruction. This Commission, which is to be an unpaid one, is expected to deal with a larger amount of property in five years than the three Commissioners in England have been able to deal with in 13 years, and that is a paid Commission.

I should like to know if an unpaid Commission in reference to Scotland is likely to deal satisfactorily in a shorter time with a larger amount than the English Commissioners received during the 13 years that they have been occupied with the task. Then my noble Friend alluded to an alteration in the constitution of the Governing Bodies, and I should like very much to have an explanation of why the municipal element is so introduced into all those trusts. There is a Return made by the House of Commons in 1881, which states that the funds to be dealt with are probably £200,000 or £250,000. Of this sum about £88,000 only have any municipal connection, and of this £88,000 about £50,000 a-year are under the municipal control, one-half of the members, or upwards, of the Governing Body belonging to the Municipality. That leaves the other £35,000, in regard to which the municipal authorities are in a minority; therefore, by the proposal in the Bill in Clause 6, in dealing with £50,000 a-year, the municipal authorities will have two-thirds of the members, and when they have less representation at present than one-half, it is to be increased to one-half, and in cases where they have none at all the representation is to include one-third of the Municipal Bodies. It does seem to me that this is an extraordinary provision, and I cannot quite understand, from the information I have endeavoured to gather, why it was thought necessary to infuse so much of the municipal element into the government of these trusts. There is another point in the measure upon which I look with some doubt. The noble Lord, no doubt, was perfectly correct in stating that it was with the general acquiescence of the Members of the other House on both sides that the period was reduced to 10 years within which trusts would come under the Bill, taking the date from the passing of the Education Act in 1872. I think that is bringing it down to a very recent date, and I am astonished to find that it met with such general concurrence. But if the date is to be taken down to 1872, the Bill will require to be altered in Committee, because, as it now stands, it may well happen that a person who, during his life, had devoted a sum of money for the benefit of the Established Church of Scotland, might see the Commission take action under the powers conferred by this Bill, and transfer all the property which he had given in his lifetime from the wants of the Established Church to the wants of another Denominational Body. That does seem to me to be carrying the thing to an extent which I think my noble Friend opposite will scarcely justify. By Clause 8, it is provided that this Act shall not apply to any educational endowment by present gift that applies to a man's lifetime; but the clause goes on to provide that it should not apply unless the Governing Body or Senatus Academicus should give in writing their consent that such endowment should be dealt with under the Act. I wish to know why the donor also shall not be allowed to give his consent?—and I hope the noble Lord will see that some words ought to be put in with that object. There is only one other matter to which I wish to draw the noble Lord's attention, and that is to ask the Government, or whoever is responsible for the measure, why the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge was brought out in such a prominent manner before the House. It seems to me to have been quite unnecessary, and it appears as if this society had done something for which it ought to be rebuked. Moreover, as I have said, it is perfectly unnecessary, because I think the object which the Government has in this measure is attained under the 1st clause, which naturally includes that society. I have nothing more to say upon the Bill. Amendments may be necessary in Committee in the direction in which I have invited the noble Lord's attention. I agree with the noble Lord that the measure will be a great boon to Scotland if it were the means of bringing more effectively within the reach of all classes in Scotland a better secondary education than that which they are now able to obtain.

The Earl of CAMPERDOWN: My Lords, I am glad to hear from the general tone of the remarks of the noble Duke that there is no probability of any opposition being offered to this measure. I may say that in my humble judgment it is a most valuable Bill, and likely to be of the utmost advantage to Scotland. It is now some years since the Royal Commission reported, and all of us in Scotland have been annually expecting that some measure dealing with this subject would be passed; and I think it is a matter of good omen that on an occasion of this kind Scotch Members of Parliament, to whatever side of politics they belong, are found united together in order to promote the cause of education as much as they can without considering in what groove a particular measure or Amendment may proceed. I would take this opportunity of saying that I believe the appointment of the noble Lord opposite (Lord Balfour of Burleigh) as Chairman of the Commission will give universal satisfaction in Scotland. The noble Lord was a most useful Member of the former Commission, and did extremely good work in it; and I feel sure that Scotchmen generally will have every confidence in his desire to promote the good of education, and to consider this point alone—namely, how education can be best promoted. A question was asked by the noble Duke which I should like also to ask; and it is, how is it that such great preponderance is given to the municipal element in the future composition of these Governing Bodies? My Lords, it does appear to me to be a very strange thing that in the composition of these Governing Bodies it is provided, under any circumstances, that we are to have a considerable representation of the municipal element. I do not want to detract from the merits of these Bodies; but at the same time, as I say, I do think it a strange thing that it should be provided that in all cases we are never to have less than one-third of the Body persons chosen from the Municipal Bodies. But when, with the noble Duke, I ask the question to which I have referred, I am afraid I can also at the same time supply the answer, and that is that the Municipal Bodies have been the most active opponents of all legislation of this kind, and, as often happens in such cases, it has been found necessary to make a compromise with them, and to give them not only representation upon the Bodies of which hitherto they have formed an important part, but to give them representation where we have never known them to have it before. That may be a benefit or not; but if the noble Duke (the Duke of Richmond) moves to strike it out of the Bill he will find me voting with him. At all events, I hope the Municipal Bodies will remember that the Government have been most careful of their privileges, and that, so far from this Bill attempting to take away from them anything to which they are entitled, it has gone rather in the opposite direction, and given to them that which, in the opinion of a certain number of Members of Parliament, certainly of the noble Duke and myself, is rather too important a part in the government of these institutions. There is one other point to which I should like to refer before I sit down. I said that this Bill had been most careful and conservative in guarding all vested interests. It has been most careful in providing that those funds which have been hitherto applied to the education of the poor shall be most jealously preserved for the purposes of that education and that education solely. In that I heartily concur. I think it is desirable that these funds should be retained and applied solely to the purpose for which they were originally left; but I do not observe in the Bill any means by which the poor who are to benefit from these funds are to be selected. In Clause 13 it is provided that no funds now applied in terms of the founders' directions to free elementary education shall be diverted to any other purpose. That is a very good proposal; but will the noble Lord tell me what is the manner in which these poor children are to be selected? Hitherto, when education has been given away I am not aware that the means of selection have been founded on any particular principle, or, at all events, not on any particular principle that we could advocate for general adoption. But it is quite certain that however large a fund is reserved for the education of the poor, many more of the poor will wish to be educated than there will be funds to provide education for. Therefore, supposing that that be the case, I think some general direction ought to be given to the Commissioners as to the manner in which these poor children are to be selected. Suppose there are funds enough to educate 500, and 1,000 apply, I should like to know by what machinery you will select the 500 who are to have the benefit of the Act? If you were to follow the precedent of the English Endowment Acts you would find an example which would be a very convenient one in such cases. It is usual to provide an examination in the common schools where the necessary subjects are taught, so that a selection might be made to which no exception could be taken on the ground of favouritism or otherwise. I throw out this as a suggestion to the noble Lord for his consideration. I have no further remarks to make except that I hail with great satisfaction the appearance of this Bill.

THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH: My Lords, I have nothing to say against the principle of this Bill; but it seems to me that it interferes very considerably with ancient endowments, and it will be in the power of the Commissioners, so far as I can read the Bill as at present drawn, to do what they like with the educational endowments in Scotland, and to take away from the endowed schools whatever they think is a convenient sum for other educational purposes. My observations on this point especially refer to the George Heriot Schools of Edinburgh, the annual income from which amounts to several thousand pounds. Unfortunately for that endowment, it is possible for the Commissioners to say—" What a capital thing this rich endowment is, because we can take part of their money and divert and apply it for the endowment of other schools." The endowment known as Heriot's Hospital is administered not only under the will of George Heriot, but under the provisions of an Act of Parliament, which is entirely ignored by this Bill, and which the Commissioners may set aside if they please. At the time the Act of Parliament was passed it was stated that the income of the hospital was so increased that, in order to carry out the full intention of the founder, the powers of the Governors should be extended. Accordingly, an Act was passed in 1836 to enable the Governors to establish free schools for the poor children of burgesses of the City of Edinburgh. Under that Act the Governors of Heriot's Trusts have endowed 11 schools for children of a certain age, and five schools for infants, so that now 5,000 or 6,000 children in Edinburgh receive free education in this way. I know that now-a-days it is assumed that no child should receive an education without paying for it; but in the schools I have mentioned, parents who, although in great poverty, feel it a degradation to go before the Parochial Board for their school fees, can have their children educated without the loss of self-respect, because, knowing they are entitled to this free education, they accept it. The Governors have also provided that, whenever there is a boy or a girl in these schools that showed any ability of a promising nature, those children are selected for a higher class education and sent to a school established by the Governors. Also, this endowment apprentices the children to different trades, each child receiving a certain sum of money every year. When the term of apprenticeship expires a further small sum is given. Children are also assisted by bursaries to go to the University, so that all those really worthy of it have the advantages of a higher education. It is now too late to-day for me to present Petitions; but I have in my possession a Petition from the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of Glasgow, praying that the Bill may pass with as few Amendments as possible. I have also other two Petitions—one from the Trustees and Governors of Heriot's Hospital, and the other from the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of Edinburgh, praying that certain Amendments, not against the Bill, may be inserted, securing to the citizens of Edinburgh that no advantage they at present possess under the will of George Heriot would be withdrawn. They do not ask the Bill to be rejected, but only that a saving clause should be inserted, respecting an institution which has been a great blessing to a large number of the children in Edinburgh. I therefore give Notice that I will move Amendments which certainly, as far as I can see, will not affect the principle of the Bill, but only the details, so as to secure the advantages of the Heriot Endowment to the citizens of Edinburgh.

LORD BALFOUR: My Lords, I am not about to make a second reading speech in favour of the Bill. So far as that is concerned, I feel certain it will be sufficient to say I believe the need for the Bill is very urgent, and that the feeling of satisfaction with which it will be hailed in Scotland will be almost universal. There were, however, one or two points adverted to which I should like to notice. First, I would like to say a single word as to the great gratification it has been to me to be placed in the position on the Commission which has been mentioned to your Lordships. I can assure your Lordships no one feels more acutely than I do the very great responsibility which the position involves, and I can only assure you that my very best attention will be given to it. I believe those who have been appointed my Colleagues on the Commission are gentlemen whose names command almost universal approval in Scotland. The noble Duke (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) seems to think there is a want of proper representation of technical education upon the Commission. No one is likely to underrate the importance of that subject at the present time, when so much depends upon the skill of artizans and mechanics in the race of competition with foreign countries; but I should like to remind the noble Duke that Lord Shand, who is a Member of the Commission, has been for many years a Director of the Watt Institute in Edinburgh, and he is, therefore, thoroughly acquainted with the needs of Scotland in this particular matter. Besides that we have the Lord Provosts of the two chief cities in Scotland, who may surely be trusted to look after the interests of the commercial population. I would like to say one word with reference to the limit of time which has been introduced into the Bill. I am keenly in favour of bringing down the time in the Bill, so that we may deal with all endowments before 1872. It is some years since I first publicly expressed that opinion, and I believe the disappointment will be very great if any change is now made in the Bill in this respect. It is very difficult for those not well acquainted with what has been going on of late years in Scotland thoroughly to realize the enormous change made in the educational arrangements of the country by the passing of the Education Act of 1872. That Act really forms the logical starting-point of any legislation of the kind which we are about to enter upon. More than that, I believe I am right in saying, although I am not in the secrets of the Government, that not a single objection has been made on the part of any Governing Body which will be affected by the alteration. I have certainly seen no record of any such representation in the public prints, and I believe there is no public body affected by this alteration which in the least degree dreads coming under the operation of the Commission. I may also remind your Lordships that the Act of 1878, which was introduced by the last Government, and under which I had the honour of acting, had no limit of time, and that, as a matter of fact, the Commission did deal with endowments of very recent date, some not older than 10 or 12 years. If it should be said that in one case the Act was permissive, I would reply that, if because this Act is a compulsory one, we are, therefore, to have a limited time, that will be really placing the Governing Body in a more important position than the intention and direction of the founder, because in the Act of 1878 Parliament allowed the founder's intention to be altered, subject to the will of the Governing Body, and, therefore, it does not seem to me that there can be any objection taken in principle to allow the operation of the Act to come down to 1872. Allusion has been made to various clauses in the Bill; but I would much prefer—and I think it would be better for me—not to discuss any of these clauses at great length. I am sure the Commission will be prepared to do what work it can with the tools put into its hands. In some cases I should prefer more freedom to the Commissioners, not that I think the Act prescribes anything for them which they would not otherwise have done; but it is of very great importance that a certain latitude should be allowed to the Commissioners, as it is very difficult indeed to lay down a hard-and-fast rule of universal application. What may be suitable in one case may not be suitable in another. Before I sit down I should like to say one word as to what has fallen from the noble Duke (the Duke of Buccleuch). I particularly desire to refrain from mentioning the names of any particular Governing Body. I think, however, the apprehensions of the noble Duke have been unduly excited as to anything which may happen to the particular endowment to which he referred. I cannot see there is any danger of such a raid being made upon these funds as the noble Duke seems to imply. With regard to free education, I believe there is a large class of children to whom a fund for free education is an enormous boon; but such education must be under proper limit and restrictions, which it will not be difficult to define, though I will not weary the House by going into them at any length. They will be in each case subject-matter for the consideration of the Commissioners, and it would certainly be unwise to prejudge what will be done in the matter of the details of any particular scheme. If the noble Earl (the Earl of Camperdown) will refer to some schemes which were framed by the Commission which sat under the Act of 1878, he will find that there are certain restrictions and methods of selecting for the beneficiaries of such funds which have given satisfaction, I believe, to the Governing Bodies of these funds, and satisfaction also to the Education Department. My Lords, I have nothing further to say on this occasion; but I certainly trust no obstacle will now be placed between the people of Scotland and the passing of the Bill which is under the consideration of your Lordships.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: My Lords, the general tone this discussion has taken has been so eminently satisfactory, in my opinion, to the Bill and to the Government that it does not appear to me to be necessary to make any detailed series of remarks in concluding the discussion; but one or two points have been touched upon that I do not think it would be respectful on the part of the Government if they refused to accord their attention to those points. The noble Duke the late Lord President of the Council, who spoke with great authority on the subject of this Bill, made one or two criticisms—friendly criticisms I think I might call them—to one or two of which I should like to advert for a moment. The noble Duke rather lamented over the absence of a Preamble. Well, my Lords, Preambles are not very useful methods of legislation. It is true that there was once a Preamble in the Bill—an extremely long Preamble; but in the House of Commons objection was taken to some important matters in the Preamble, and the Government coincided with these objections. Moreover, I think this further reason occurred to me at the time, that, as the noble Lord who has just sat down has remarked, the Commissioners will have quite sufficient to do to carry out the Bill as it is, and it might act as a further restriction upon their action if they were supposed to be bound by a lengthened Preamble. Well, then, the noble Duke rather animadverted—as well as the noble Earl behind me (the Earl of Camperdown)—upon the proportion of the representative element to be introduced, and both the noble Earl and the noble Duke agreed in what they said as to the principle of the municipal element. My Lords, there is nothing in the Bill to favour the idea they have put forward. The words of the Act are these—

> "Where the governing body, or a majority of the governing body, of any educational endowment as at present constituted, consists of persons deriving their qualification as members thereof, either directly or indirectly, from their election to be members of the town council of any burgh or of any other public body, provision shall be made in any scheme under this Act relating to such endowment that not less than two thirds of the governing body thereof as altered by such scheme shall consist of persons elected by such town council or other public body aforesaid."

Well, I am one of those who are friendly to the introduction of the municipal element in Governing Bodies. They are surely a useful element in a large class of great trusts, concerning, or very likely to concern, a great municipality; and it cannot be wrong or distasteful to your Lordships, or repugnant to educational reformers of the most ardent type, that there should be a proportion of those who have been elected especially to supervize the affairs of the town, who should also supervize the educational affairs of the town. My Lords, there is another public body which I do not think was mentioned by the noble Earl or the noble Duke, and to which, of course, special reference must be made by the framers of the Bill, and that is the school board. When the great mass of these educational endowments were brought into play, there was no educational agency to which Parliament could refer. But now in every parish and every town there is a school board specially elected with a view to the educational provision for the parish and locality; and I think it would be wrong and shortsighted if we were, in dealing with a great educational subject of this sort, to refuse to recognize the school board as an element for consideration. Then the noble Duke alluded, I think, with more apprehension than the subject required, to the fear of a giver of theological endowments that they should be given to some Dissenting Body. But I do not suppose that the cases of givers of theological endowments in their lifetime running this risk are likely to be very numerous, for Section 8 of this Bill says—

> "This Act shall not apply to any endowment solely or mainly applicable or applied for the purposes of theological instruction or belonging to any theological institution."

So I think that danger—if I may use the word without disrespect—is a visionary one. Well, then, the noble Duke said something about the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, and he thought that the words in the 1st clause amply covered the educational portion of the question with which the Bill proposed to deal. My Lords, if I were to make a full confession on the subject, I should avow myself to be in complete accordance with the noble Lord on that subject. But, as I understand it, the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge expressed its wish to come under the authority of the Commissioners, and a wish to that effect was also expressed by a large body of Scotch Members in the House of Commons. They were disposed to question whether it would come under the Bill or not as it stood, and therefore it was that we thought it inoffensive and safe to mention the association by name. Then the noble Earl (the Earl of Camperdown) alluded to the difficulty of selecting children for the benefits of free primary education. Well, I believe that in the largest Institution that Scotland possesses for the purposes of education—I mean Heriot's Hospital—no difficulty has been found in that respect; and I am not disposed to think that that would present any very serious difficulty to the persons who may be charged with the selection of the children for free primary education under this Act. I am sorry to say that, prosperous as Scotland is reported to be—and I think undoubtedly is—there is no fear at present that deserving poverty will cease to exist, and whenever the poverty is deserving it is entitled to share in the benefits of this Bill. The noble Duke spoke with the authority with which he always speaks of Institutions of this kind, and a representation from the noble Duke on behalf of a great Institution like Heriot's Hospital cannot fail to receive great attention from your Lordships. I confess so much interest in it as this—that the founder of Heriot's Hospital married an ancestor of my own; and I have no doubt that the money bequeathed by George Heriot has been much better spent than it might have been if it had been left—as I sometimes think it might have been left—to his wife's family. But the noble Duke's argument was this. He said the income of that Institution amounted to about £24,000 a-year, and the noble Duke's argument was that because there was a Commission going to be passed to deal with educational endowments in Scotland, therefore this, the largest educational endowment with which it is proposed to deal, should be exempted from the operations of the Bill. I cannot admit that as an argument of any validity or force on a question of this kind. The particular point he raises, and with which he proposes to deal in Committee, will be best dealt with at that stage of the Bill; but I think the general plea is one that does not deserve recognition at the hands of your Lordships. I think I have now dealt with every point that requires explanation from the Government, and I have to thank your Lordships, on the part of the Government, for the way in which you have received this Bill.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2^a accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee o the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

Subsequently,

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, he understood the Committee on the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill was to be taken on Thursday, and he wished to know if Amendments could be given in on Wednesday? The Notice was very short.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: It is very short Notice indeed. Could the Bill not be taken on Friday?

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, he did not wish to refer to the Bill; only he wished to know how he could give Notice of Amendments?

EARL GRANVILLE: The House will adjourn during pleasure, in order, if possible, to receive the Arrears Bill to-night. In that case, if the noble Earl could give in the Amendments before the final adjournment of the House, he would be quite in Order. The Arrears Bill will take precedence of the Scotch Bill on Thursday.

EGYPT (POLITICAL AFFAIRS)—THE SUEZ CANAL.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH asked the noble Lord the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is the present opinion of Her Majesty's Government that the Suez Canal is not within the purview of the Conference now being held at Constantinople, as previously stated in another place by the First Lord of the Treasury? He trusted that the language which had been used by the right hon. Gentleman was not a mere hasty expression intended to meet the exigencies of the moment.

Earl GRANVILLE: My Lords, I have no doubt that the noble Lord opposite will remember a story told of a minor courtier of Louis XIV., who, in reply to a frequent question from His Majesty as to how many children he had, always replied that he had two, until on one occasion, he replied that he had eight. "Eight," said His Majesty, "why you told me the other day that you had only two." "Yes, your Majesty," replied the courtier; "but I thought perhaps that your Majesty might be tired of hearing me always say the same thing, and, therefore, I have altered the number." My Lords, I am a little in the same position. The noble Lord has asked me a Question which I answered a fortnight ago, and I must either invent something new or only weary your Lordships by repeating what I have already stated—that is, that neither Sir Charles Dilke nor myself said that the Suez Canal was outside the reference to the Conference, and that Mr. Gladstone, although he gave in general terms an Answer to a Question put without Notice, made very soon afterwards an explanation to the House to the effect that whereas the question of the neutralization of the Suez Canal was outside the reference to the Conference, yet in regard to the Canal itself it was impossible to separate it entirely from the question called the Egyptian Question proper.

EGYPT (MILITARY EXPEDITION)—POSTAL COMMUNICATION WITH THE ARMY.—QUESTION.

Viscount MONCK asked the Under Secretary for War, Whether any arrangements have been made for affording facilities for postal communication with the Army in Egypt?

The Earl of MORLEY: My Lords, we are at present engaged with the authorities of the General Post Office in making arrangements for postal communication between this country and the Expeditionary Force in Egypt. As soon as these arrangements are completed, they will be published in the newspapers. Meanwhile, I can give the noble Lord some information in answer to his Question. Letters should be addressed to the "Expeditionary Force, Egypt." Letters will be posted three times a-week—Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. The Post Office authorities, having in view the difficulties which may sometimes arise in the field of obtaining postage stamps, will allow all letters to be posted from the Army unstamped, and will charge only single rates on their delivery in this country, the men's letters being charged 1*d.*, the officers' the ordinary single rate. This arrangement will be of great convenience to the Forces. I may add that the formation of a Post Office Corps is a peculiar and entirely new feature in this Expedition. One hundred men of the Post Office Volunteer Corps have been enlisted, so as to render them subject to military discipline. Of these, two officers and 43 men will accompany the Expedition. The remaining 57 were enlisted and passed at once into the Reserve, and are available for service should they be required. They take with them marquees for sorting letters, issuing money orders, and all the machinery of a regular Post Office. As might be expected, there was no lack of volunteers for this service, and I am told by an officer who was present at their inspection that they presented a most satisfactory appearance.

House adjourned during pleasure.

House resumed by The Lord Monson.

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) BILL.

Returned from the Commons with several of the amendments *agreed to*, several *agreed to* with amendments, and with consequential amendments to the Bill, and one amendment *disagreed to*, with reasons for such disagreement: The said amendments and reasons to be *printed*, and to be considered on *Thursday* next. (No. 232.)

House adjourned at half-past
Eleven o'clock, to Thursday
next, a quarter before
Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 8*th August*, 1882.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee* —CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—Class III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

Resolutions [August 7] *reported.*

Resolutions in Committee—NAVY AND ARMY EXPENDITURE, 1880-81.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Select Committee*—Union Officers' Superannuation (Ireland) * [75], Mr. Attorney General for Ireland *discharged*, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland *added.*

Committee—Citation Amendment (Scotland) * [267]—R.P.

Committee—Report—Royal Irish Constabulary [264]; Expiring Laws Continuance [266].

Committee — Report — Third Reading — Prison Charities [270] and *passed.*

Considered as amended—Third Reading—Government Annuities and Assurance * [190]; Merchant Shipping (Mercantile Marine Fund) * [256]; Lunacy Regulation Amendment [230]; Somersham Rectory * [232]; County Courts (Advocates' Costs) [188], and *passed.*

Withdrawn—Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday * [182].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

STANDING ORDERS.—RESOLUTION.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH, in rising to move the following new Standing Order, to follow Standing Order 173:—

"That, in the case of any Bill promoted by a Municipal Corporation or Local Board, Improvement Commissioners, Town Commissioners, or other local authority or public body having powers of local government or rating, the Committee on the Bill shall consider the Clauses of the Bill with reference to the following matters:—

(a.) Whether the Bill gives powers relating to Police or Sanitary Regulations in conflict with or excess of the provisions or powers of the general law;

(b.) Whether the Bill gives powers which may be obtained by means of Bye-laws made subject to the restrictions of General Acts already existing;

(c.) Whether the Bill assigns a period for repayment of any loan under the Bill exceeding the term of sixty years, which term the Committee shall not in any case allow to be exceeded, or any period disproportionate to the duration of the works to be executed or other objects of the loan;

(d.) Whether the Bill gives borrowing powers for purposes for which such powers already exist or may be obtained under General Acts, without subjecting the exercise of the powers under the Bill to approval from time to time by the proper Government Department;

And the Committee shall report specially to the House—

In what manner any Clauses relating to the several matters aforesaid have been dealt with by the Committee; and

Whether any Report from any Government Department relative to the Bill has been referred to the Committee; and

If so, in what manner the recommendations in that Report have been dealt with by the Committee; and

Any other circumstances of which, in the opinion of the Committee, it is desirable that the House should be informed,"

said, that a number of Private Improvement Bills were introduced that Session by various local authorities, containing provisions, including the regulation of the police and sanitary matters, which were considered to trench somewhat on the general law of the country. Opposition was, therefore, shown to those measures; and it was agreed that they should all be referred to a Select Committee, of which he was the Chairman, with special reference to the manner in which they conflicted with, or were in excess of, the general law. The Committee arrived at certain general conclusions, which they embodied in a Report that was submitted to the House; and the new Standing Order which he now proposed was merely the natural logical sequence of the recommendations contained in that Report. The Bills so referred to the Committee were carefully considered, and their provisions were modified, and cut down considerably, so as to induce hon. Members who objected to them in their original form to withdraw their opposition. The Committee presented their Report on the 9th of June, and the Bills so reduced and so cut down were brought before the House within a week of the time that the Report was presented. A debate arose; the action taken by the Committee was canvassed on the one side and on the other, and the House, by an overwhelming majority, approved of the action of the Committee. In the course of his remarks as Chairman of the Select Committee, he (Mr. Sclater-Booth) intimated that he should be prepared to take some action before the expiration of the Session, with the view of securing that, in succeeding Sessions, Improvement Bills should be considered by Private Bill Committees on an uniform system, and on the financial principles laid down in the Standing Order which he now submitted to the House. It was a question at the time how such uniform action could be best secured—whether by the appointment of Special Committees, or by Standing Orders; and, after having had communication with the authorities, and his Colleagues on the Committee, he had prepared the Standing Order which he now desired to submit. That Standing Order would be found to be an exact reflex of the four propositions which were contained in the short, clear, and intelligible Report of the Select Committee; and there was nothing therein laid down, with regard to the future action of Private Bill Committees, which was not done with the assent of all parties. The objection which he understood had been made to this Standing Order was, that it tended too much to support the centralizing action of Government Departments in regard to their Reports on Private Bills; but what the Committee found was, that the recommendations of Government Departments had hitherto received but little attention from Private Bill Committees, especially in cases where the Bills were unopposed, and the object of the Order was to secure that Private Bill Committees in future would have regard to the principles there laid down, whether the Bills came before them as unopposed Bills or otherwise. With regard to the Local Government Board, the Board of Trade, or the Home Office, it was not their wish to set the recommendations of those Departments on a pinnacle, and say they were like the laws of the Medes and Persians, which were not to be altered. On the contrary, the feeling and desire of the Committee was that the recommendations of those Public Departments should be simple, clear, and reasonable; that they should have due attention on the part of the Committee; that officers on the part of the Departments should be examined and brought face to face with the promoters of the Bill, who would hear what they had to say, and have liberty to reply if they thought it necessary to do so. In that way they might arrive at an uniformity in the future action of Private Bill Committees beyond what had hitherto been the case, and in a way which all parties who had had experience in these matters must desire to see adopted. The only other point to which he should refer was the question of borrowing powers, which it was desired by this Standing Order to be restricted to a period of 60 years. There were very good reasons why the term of 60 years should be fixed as the normal period for the repayment of loans. It was the same period as fixed for the repayment of moneys borrowed for Public Works by the Metropolitan Board of Works, and likewise the outside period fixed by the Public Health Act; but there was nothing in the Standing Order to restrict Parliament from extending it beyond 60 years if desirable. He might observe that, whereas he had received from an association of Municipal Bodies certain comments on the language of this Standing Order, he had seen no objection from them to the period of 60 years. They pointed out that the language of the Standing Order imposed on Private Bill Committees the duty of reporting more directly than the necessity of the case required; and, to meet their objection, he had struck out one of the sub-sections, so, as far as it was possible, to render the action of the Private Bill Committees less onerous to them. It was no new view of his that Parliament should take some action in this matter; and he should like, by way of justification of his own individual action, to refer to two speeches which he made when holding the Office of President of the Local Government Board, on the occasion of introducing what was called "The Local Budget," in the years 1876 and 1877. In 1876, he had occasion to notice the inconvenience which arose from the enormously lengthened periods for which local authorities were permitted to borrow by means of Private Bills, the Government Departments being restricted by the Public Health Act to an outside period of 60 years. On the 4th of July, 1876, in his speech introducing the Local Budget, he said—

> "I think that some additional precautions should be taken by Parliament to secure uniformity between the practice of the two Houses of Parliament as to the provisions which are inserted in Private Bills. I am not sure that the principles which are acted on in the Local Government Office might not, with advantage, be communicated to the Private Bill Committees of both Houses of Parliament. And there is no security that those who direct the action of the Committees of both Houses will take the same views of the subject. Indeed, within the last two or three years, there have been cases where the money proposed to be borrowed has been spread over such a long series of years as certainly would not be sanctioned by any Government Department. As a general rule, the repayment of a loan should be conterminous with the estimated duration of the works for which

the money is required; but I do not say that that should be a rule without an exception, for there are some works or objects which are almost permanent."—*Hansard*, ccxxx. 958-9.

Again, next year, on April 23rd, 1877, he said—

"Parliament would do well to pay a little more attention to Private Acts of Parliament, not with the view of checking the expenditure which the local authorities thought advisable to incur, but with the view of securing a greater efficiency of financial arrangements. Whereas it was an axiom with the Local Government Board that the period for repayment of any loan should be in accordance with the probable duration of the works to be constructed, they found great difference in the practice of Parliament with regard to Private Bills; and, again, that whereas the Departmental view was that repayment of the capital should commence at the earliest possible date, Committees varied very much on that point. As instances of Private Acts granting what he thought must be considered, *primâ facie*, an undue period for the duration of loans, he would mention the Birmingham Gas Act of 1875, giving 85 years; the Birmingham Waterworks Bill, 90 years; and the Rochdale Bill, 100 years. And in 1876 the term named in a Leicester Bill was 80 years; in a Stockton and Middlesborough Bill, 90; in two Halifax Bills, 100 and 110 years; and in a Huddersfield Bill the term for the repayment of the loan was 100 years."—[*Ibid.* ccxxxiii. 1723.]

To show how difficult it was to control the action of Private Bill Committees, he might mention that while the Committee to which he had alluded was holding its sittings, and cutting down the period for the loans to 60 years, a Committee, presided over by a Friend of his own in another room, granted 120 years for the repayment of a loan, he being ignorant of what was going on in the other Committee. The object of the reform which he proposed was to secure a certain uniformity of action in future, and a greater efficiency of financial arrangements. Opinion was so strong among many hon. Members on this subject that he was informed that unless this Standing Order was passed this Session, every Private Improvement Bill with respect to which the slightest suspicion was entertained that it would transgress the reasonable limit laid down by the Committee as to the extent of the powers to be given by a Private Bill, and laid down in the proposed Standing Order, would be blocked. The block system now applied to public measures would be applied to Private Bills; and next year would, therefore, witness a dead-lock of the Private Bills. He would, in conclusion, ask the House to accept his proposal as the logical conclusion of the action taken by the House in the present Session, and pass this Standing Order, and see if it would work satisfactorily.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That, in the case of any Bill promoted by a Municipal Corporation or Local Board, Improvement Commissioners, Town Commissioners, or other local authority or public body having powers of local government or rating, the Committee on the Bill shall consider the Clauses of the Bill with reference to the following matters:—

(a.) Whether the Bill gives powers relating to Police or Sanitary Regulations in conflict with or excess of the provisions or powers of the general law;

(b.) Whether the Bill gives powers which may be obtained by means of Bye-laws made subject to the restrictions of General Acts already existing;

(c.) Whether the Bill assigns a period for repayment of any loan under the Bill exceeding the term of sixty years, which term the Committee shall not in any case allow to be exceeded, or any period disproportionate to the duration of the works to be executed or other objects of the loan;

(d.) Whether the Bill gives borrowing powers for purposes for which such powers already exist or may be obtained under General Acts, without subjecting the exercise of the powers under the Bill to approval from time to time by the proper Government Department;

And the Committee shall report specially to the House—

In what manner any Clauses relating to the several matters aforesaid have been dealt with by the Committee; and

Whether any Report from any Government Department relative to the Bill has been referred to the Committee; and

If so, in what manner the recommendations in that Report have been dealt with by the Committee; and

Any other circumstances of which, in the opinion of the Committee, it is desirable that the House should be informed."—(*Mr. Sclater-Booth.*)

SIR CHARLES FORSTER said, that Municipal Bodies were of opinion that this proposed Standing Order would injuriously affect public improvements; and he suggested that the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Sclater-Booth) ought to draw a distinction between securities upon real estate and securities invested upon mere local improvements. He (Sir Charles Forster) felt that on an evening such as the present, when important Public Business was about to be brought before the House, it would be impossible to go fairly into the question. Therefore, trusting it would receive a more lengthened consideration on a future occasion, he begged to move that the debate be adjourned.

Mr. Serjeant SIMON, in seconding the Motion for the adjournment of the debate, said, that the proposed Standing Order involved matters of very considerable importance to Corporate Bodies and other local authorities throughout the country; and he could assure the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Hants (Mr. Sclater-Booth) that strong representations had been made to him (Mr. Serjeant Simon) with reference especially to the hard-and-fast line laid down as to the period for the repayment of loans. When the varied circumstances of the different Corporations and other local bodies were considered, he thought they ought not to lay down a hard-and-fast line, and say that within a given period, no matter what the circumstances of the case might be, repayment must be made. It should be remembered that the expenditure which necessitated these loans was not always a matter of choice with the local bodies, but was often forced upon them by the Local Government Board for sanitary purposes, and by River Conservancy Boards; and when they were obliged to raise considerable sums by way of loans, it was very hard on them that they should be bound to repay the money within a certain period. Under these circumstances, he seconded the Motion of adjournment. The matter ought to be discussed when the House would be more likely to consider it deliberately than at present.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Sir Charles Forster.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *Friday.*

QUESTIONS.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—EMBODIMENT OF MILITIA REGIMENTS.

Colonel STANLEY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, in view of the constitutional obligation to call Parliament together in the event of the Militia being embodied, and of the fact that the extended training of the regiments now kept up for duty, will, probably, in many cases have expired within ten days after Parliament has been prorogued or adjourned, the Government have any intention of taking steps during the present Session to embody the regiments now kept up, or any other regiment?

Mr. CHILDERS: Sir, I think it may interest the House that I should, in replying to my right hon. and gallant Friend, state that the offers we have received from Militia battalions, not only seeking to be embodied, but placing themselves at Her Majesty's disposal for active service in Egypt, are quite without precedent. Fifty-two battalions, representing nearly 50,000 men, have expressed a wish to be embodied, and of these, 37, representing nearly 35,000 men, have volunteered for active service; and I may congratulate my right hon. and gallant Friend on his battalion, the King's Own Royal Lancaster Regiment, being the first to offer to go to the front, which they did some days ago. At present, and before the approaching adjournment, we have no intention to advise Her Majesty to embody any Militia battalions; but should it be necessary to do so, the offers we have received are an earnest of the strong feeling in the Militia, and, considering the strength of the Militia and the Reserves, show what a great addition to our military power is at our hand within a few days of Her Majesty's Proclamation.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—THE VICTORIA UNIVERSITY (MANCHESTER)—POWER TO GRANT DEGREES IN MEDICINE.

Mr. AGNEW (for Mr. Slagg) asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether it is intended

> "To place the Victoria University, Manchester, without delay, on the same footing as the older Universities with regard to the granting of medical degrees,"

in accordance with the recommendation of the Royal Commissioners on the Medical Acts?

Mr. MUNDELLA: Sir, I understand that an application is about to be made to Her Majesty in Council for a Supplemental Charter to enable the Victoria University to grant medical degrees, and that the initiatory steps will be taken at the usual meeting of the Court of Governors in November next. When the Petition is received, it will be submitted to the Queen at the next ensuing Council. I may add that the grant of such a Charter would not be inconsistent with the recent Report of the Royal Commission.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES ACTS—ISSUE OF CONTRIBUTION TABLES.

MR. STEVENSON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether, having regard to the provisions of the Friendly Societies' Act, empowering the Friendly Societies' Office, with the approval of the Treasury, to cause to be constructed and published tables for the use of Friendly Societies, it is proposed to issue such tables; and, if so, when the Societies may expect them to be published?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, this point has already been considered by the Treasury; and I am happy to inform my hon. Friend that a scheme for the preparation of new tables has been approved, and will be commenced in the course of the present financial year. The work will, however, I am sorry to say, necessarily take several years to complete.

ARMY—ARMY CHAPLAINS.

MR. GIBSON asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, while all other Departments of the Army have had their position improved with regard to pay and retirement, the chaplains' warrant has continued unimproved since 1861, and compares unfavourably with the warrants of the other Departments (i.e. the Army Medical Department, the Commissariat, Transport, and Ordnance Staff Corps, and the Veterinary Department); whether a very large proportion of the chaplains now serving entered the Department before the compulsory retirement clause was introduced; whether they are now compelled to retire from the Service at the age of sixty years at the same rate of half-pay granted prior to the introduction of that clause; and, whether it is intended to take any steps to improve the position of the chaplains?

MR. CHILDERS: Sir, in reply to the right hon. and learned Gentleman, I have to say that we find no difficulty in obtaining a satisfactory supply of competent chaplains, and, looking to the the general emoluments of the Clergy, whether of the Church of England, Roman Catholic, or Presbyterian, I see no necessity to improve their position, either as to stipend or retirement. They stand upon an entirely different footing from other Departments of the Army, and I should not hesitate to deal with their emoluments, independently of those Departments, if I thought it desirable. This question was well considered by my Predecessors, and I agree with their decisions.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—ISSUE OF COMMISSIONS IN THE CAVALRY TO YEOMANRY CORPS VOLUNTEERING FOR FOREIGN SERVICE.

MR. SALT asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether commissions in the Cavalry will be given to officers of the Yeomanry or of any Mounted Volunteer Corps who volunteer and are accepted for service in Egypt?

MR. CHILDERS: No, Sir. There are no regulations which would admit of the suggestions of the hon. Gentleman being adopted, and at present I see no occasion for changing the present system.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—THE RESERVE—FRAUDULENT ENLISTMENTS.

SIR HENRY FLETCHER asked the Judge Advocate General, If he will state to the House, or lay a Return upon the Table, of the number of men of the Army Reserve who have been tried and convicted of fraudulent enlistment between the 1st July 1880 and 30th June 1882?

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN): Sir, there will be no objection whatever to this Return being given. I am sorry I cannot state the exact numbers at once; but the cases referred to by my hon. and gallant Friend—which are not, technically speaking, cases of fraudulent enlistment; but cases of false answers on enlistment punishable under the 33rd section of the Army Act—are not classed under a separate heading in my Office, and it will take some time to eliminate them.

VACCINATION—ALLEGED DEATH OF CHILDREN AT NORWICH FROM EFFECTS OF OPERATION—REPORT OF INSPECTORS.

Mr. P. A. TAYLOR asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he has yet received the Report of the Medical Inspector of the Board in regard to the vaccination fatality at Norwich; whether he is aware that other similar cases have since occurred there; instructions forbidding the use of the and, whether he will issue immediate lymph which has produced such results?

Mr. DODSON: Sir, I am as disappointed as my hon. Friend can be that I have not yet received the Report of the Inspector; but the circumstances in connection with these cases, which are very complicated, have required a more detailed examination than was anticipated, and the inquiry is not complete. I am, however, pressing for its completion with the least possible delay. I find that two other cases of erysipelas in recently-vaccinated children have occurred since the original case was brought under my notice; but one of them did not occur in the practice of the public vaccinator. Until I have received the Inspector's Report, I cannot form any opinion as to the origin of the fatality.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—NEWSPAPER CORRESPONDENTS—REGULATIONS.

Colonel NORTH asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether all the newspaper correspondents now in Egypt have signed the Rules laid down by him for their guidance; whether, in accordance with paragraph 7, a staff officer has been named to supervise all Press matters; whether, in compliance with paragraph 8, the article relative to the picket of the King's Own Rifle Corps was sent through him; and, if so, why, in accordance with the power granted to him, it was not stopped; and, if it was not submitted to him, whether that correspondent will be allowed to remain with the Army?

Mr. CHILDERS: Sir, in reply to my hon. and gallant Friend, I have to say that the rules laid down for newspaper correspondents only took effect from the 4th of August, and will be transmitted this week to the General commanding in Egypt. Sir Garnet Wolseley will, on his arrival, appoint a Staff officer for the purpose of supervision. The telegram of which my hon. and gallant Friend very properly complains appeared on the 2nd of August. As the correspondent in question will certainly not be allowed to be employed under the new regulations, I do not think any further notice of the telegram necessary.

BURIAL BOARDS—BURIAL FEES—20 & 21 VIC. CAP. 31.

Mr. RICHARD asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he will present a separate Return of such of the tables of fees of Burial Boards comprised in the unpublished Returns of 1880 as are in contravention of the seventeenth section of the 20th and 21st Vic. c. 81, which requires that the fees paid to incumbents, clerks, and sextons, shall be extra charges in the consecrated parts of cemeteries only; and, whether he will take steps to secure a revision of such illegal charges?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, that the question was one for the Courts of Law; but he would see what could be done.

LAW AND JUSTICE—CRIMINAL LUNATICS—THE COMMISSION OF 1881—REPORT.

Mr. R. H. PAGET asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he will lay upon the Table of the House the Report of the Departmental Commission appointed in 1881 to consider questions relating to criminal lunatics?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, that he had not yet had time to read the Report on the question; but he would lay it on the Table of the House when it had been duly considered.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—THE COLLECTION OF RATES IN MANORHAMILTON UNION.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that the guardians of Manorhamilton Union have passed a Resolution proposing to lower the Poundage Rate for collection from ninepence to sixpence; whether the Local Government Board have refused to allow the proposed reduction to take place; if so, on what grounds; whether Allen Nixon, one of the collectors, has been decreed at Petty Sessions for getting paid twice over for same amounts; and, if so, whether he will be dismissed?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, it is the fact, as stated by the hon. Gentleman in his Question, that the Guardians of the Manorhamilton Union have passed a resolution, proposing to lower the poundage rate for collection from 9*d.* to 6*d.*, and the Local Government Board have declined to sanction the proposed reduction, as they are of opinion that, having regard to the length of time the collectors have been in office, the generally satisfactory manner in which they have discharged the duties, and the increased difficulties which of late have arisen in the collection, it would not be just to the collectors, or conducive to the interests of the Union, to reduce the poundage as proposed. With regard to the case of the collector, Allen Nixon, the Local Government Board have received a complaint stating that he summoned a man for rates which had been previously paid, and that he had been decreed in the manner mentioned; but I am informed that the second demand was made through accident, and, therefore, the Local Government Board have not dismissed him. With regard to the question of the poundage and the power of the Local Government Board, I shall be in Ireland soon, and shall think it my duty to make further inquiries, so that the hon. Member must not take my reply as final. As to Nixon also, I may say that, before taking any definite action, I have required the Guardians to forward explanations.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF A GUARDIAN FOR BELHUBET, CAVAN UNION.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in the election of Poor Law Guardians for electoral division of Belhubet, Cavan Union, Mr. J. Boland was decided by the returning officer not to be elected, he having taken for Mr. Boland's opponent seven proxy votes in the name of Mr. James O'Lawder, when, in fact, the legal title to the property was not vested in Mr. Lawder, but in the Receiver of the Matrimonial Division of the High Court of Justice; and, whether he will have the case reheard?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, at the election of Poor Law Guardians referred to, the Returning Officer recorded Mr. Lawder's proxy votes for Mr. Boland's opponent. The Local Government, having some doubt as to the legality of the decision, procured a legal opinion on the question, which was to the effect that the Returning Officer had acted legally. There is, therefore, under the circumstances, no reason for ordering a rehearing of the case.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—OFFICIAL VALUATORS—MR. JAMES BUTLER.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact, as publicly stated, that Mr. James Butler, secretary to the Carlow Grand Jury, has been appointed valuator to the Land Commission?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, Mr. James Butler, who is secretary to the Carlow Grand Jury, was appointed a valuer under the Land Commission on the 30th of May last. I understand that the terms of his appointment are that his whole services are to be at the disposal of the Land Commissioners; but I am strongly of opinion that he should be called on to elect which office he should resign, and I will communicate my views on the subject to the Land Commissioners.

CRIMINAL LAW (IRELAND)—CASE OF MARY KEANE.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in view of the circumstances of the case of Mary Keane of Waterford, the Government will remit a portion of the sentence?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, Mary Keane was sentenced to one month's imprisonment without hard labour, and His Excellency sees no reason for any mitigation of the sentence.

CRIMINAL LAW (IRELAND)—CASE OF MICHAEL LARKIN.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his Excellency has considered a Memorial on behalf of Michael Larkin, of Salford, signed by sixty inhabitants of that borough, praying for restitution property alleged to have been taken from him on sentence to penal servitude for life for passing a bad half-crown, which sentence was annulled, and a free pardon granted in 1879; and, whether, if that pardon was an acknowledgment of Larkin's innocence of the offence for which he was convicted, on the evidence of a woman of notoriously bad character, his claim for compensation for unjust imprisonment during fifteen years will be regarded by the Irish Government?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, I find that the Memorial in the case of Michael Larkin, referred to by the hon. Member, was carefully considered by the late Lord Lieutenant, who decided that Larkin had no claim upon the Government. The facts of the case are shortly as follows:—Larkin was convicted before the Chairman of the County Limerick in 1862, on a charge of uttering base coin. It was his second conviction for this offence, and he had been previously tried on a similar charge in 1856, when he was acquitted. The County Court Judge sentenced him to penal servitude for life, being under the erroneous impression that the sentence meant in reality only confinement for 12 years. Larkin appears to have memorialized the Government in 1862, 1863, 1865, 1867, and 1873, and on each occasion the Lord Lieutenant at the time decided that the law should take its course, the Chairman having reported that there was no question as to his guilt. Larkin was released on licence in 1877, having served 15 years; and in 1879 the remainder of his sentence was remitted on the recommendation of Lord Chancellor Ball, who made the recommendation on the ground that the County Court Judge was under the impression that the sentence he imposed meant 12 years of actual confinement.

EGYPT (POLITICAL AFFAIRS)—SUEZ CANAL, &c.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government have discussed or concluded any engagement with other Powers for the regulation of the political condition of Egypt, and of the Suez Canal, when order shall have been restored in that country; if so, with what Powers the discussion has been carried on, or the engagement undertaken; and, what is the nature of such engagement, or basis of engagement?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: No, Sir; no such engagement has been concluded, or, indeed, discussed.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government is already in possession of information to show that permanent arrangements insuring the safety of the lives and property of Europeans in, or passing through, Egypt, might now be secured from the "de facto" Government at Cairo, without any further military operation whatever, provided Her Majesty's Government were now to promise to Egypt that they will "guarantee it a constitution compatible with International engagements," in terms of the suggestion made by Sir Edward Malet on 20th January last, as shown in page 52 of the Blue Book, 3230, of 1882, and which he stated "he thought to be the only way out of a situation which was rapidly driving both us and the Egyptians to extremities?"

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: No, Sir; Her Majesty's Government have no such information as that alluded to in the Question.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether steps have been taken to prevent statements in this House with regard to Egypt, and also the movements and strength of our forces in Egypt, or on the way to Egypt, being communicated to Arabi Pasha by telegraph?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I must acknowledge the very considerate manner in which the hon. and gallant Baronet has acted with regard to this Question; but, at the same time, from regard to the public interests, the only answer I can give to it, which I hope will be satisfactory to him, is, that measures have been adopted such as the case seemed to call for. It would not be desirable to enter upon any details.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—THE BELFAST LETTER CARRIERS.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Postmaster General, Whether he has received a Memorial from the letter-carriers of Belfast, and to what extent they will benefit by his proposed new scheme?

MR. FAWCETT, in reply, said, that the Memorial had been received, and that the letter-carriers of Belfast, as of other places, would receive increased pay, together with good conduct stripes and other advantages.

STATE OF IRELAND—ALTAR DENUNCIATIONS—THE REV. P. BRIODY.

SIR HENRY TYLER asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been drawn to the altar denunciations of the Rev. P. Briody, C.C., Mount Nugent; and, whether it is proposed to take any steps in regard to him?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the attention of the Government has from time to time been given to the utterances of the Rev. Mr. Briody; but it has not been deemed advisable to take any notice of them.

EGYPT—THE EGYPTIAN BUDGET—THE CHAMBER OF NOTABLES.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he will give the dates and particulars of the Documents which Her Majesty's Government hold to be International engagements, and of which they have held that the voting of the unassigned portion of the Budget by the Egyptian Chamber of Delegates would be a breach; and, whether he will lay upon the Table Copies of all such alleged International engagements (as distinguished from municipal ones) which the Government hold as binding the Egyptian State to submit its finances to European control?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, I stated in the House on Saturday, the 15th of July, that the question of the powers of the Egyptian Chamber of Notables was one that was still pending, and that the English and French Governments had agreed that it would be unadvisable to publish at present the Papers relating to it. It would, I feel sure, be equally unadvisable to make a statement on the subject at present.

CRIMINAL LAW (IRELAND)—"THE TUAM HERALD"—CASE OF RICHARD J. KELLY.

COLONEL NOLAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been drawn to the following resolution signed by all the seven local magistrates present at the committal for trial of the proprietor of the "Tuam Herald,"—

> "We, the undersigned local justices of the peace for the county of Galway, assembled in petty sessions in Tuam, having heard the case of the Queen v. Richard J. Kelly, although feeling that we have no other course open to us but to send forward the case, yet we desire to express very strongly our opinion that the declaration of the defendant is true; that the letter complained of, purporting to be a transcript of a letter bearing the name of James Redpath, was printed by misadventure during the defendant's absence from home, and that he repudiates same, and expresses his intense regret that it should have appeared; and we wish to state that we have known the defendant for many years, and to our knowledge the 'Tuam Herald' has been at all times a supporter of law and order, and we respectfully suggest under such circumstances that this prosecution be dropped;"

and, if, in consequence of this strong expression of opinion from the bench, he will direct all further proceedings against Mr. Kelly to be dropped?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the resolution of the magistrates referred to in the Question of the hon. and gallant Member has not been officially brought under the notice of the Government; but, nevertheless, I will take care that the matter is referred to my right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General for Ireland, whose function it is to decide whether or not the prosecution should be proceeded with.

COLONEL NOLAN: Will the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland answer the Question now?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): I think I had better get the document before me before I answer the Question.

COLONEL NOLAN: Then I will repeat the Question.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT—HIGHWAY EXPENDITURE—THE GRANT IN AID.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he will lay upon the Table a statement showing the terms and conditions under which it is proposed to distribute the sum of £250,000 in aid of local highway expenditure before the Supplementary Vote for that amount is taken?

Mr. DODSON, in reply, said, that he would state the proposals of the Government when the Vote was taken.

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—ALLEGED DISCONTENT.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether on Friday last Mr. Clifford Lloyd, R.M. addressing the Police of the city of Limerick on parade, condemned their conduct in agitating for an improvement of their position, and informed them that, if they had been soldiers their conduct would have brought upon them an extreme penalty; whether that statement was received by the constables with cries of "We are not soldiers," and whether the constables, on the conclusion of the parade, declared their determination not to parade again before Mr. Clifford Lloyd; whether, on a subsequent parade, Colonel Bruce, Inspector General, declared that the movement of the men was unprecedented in military history, and was an absolutely disloyal combination; whether, on a demand from the men for an apology for what they denounced as an insult, Colonel Bruce explained that he had not meant to insult them; and, whether, after four other parades, the proceedings closed with a refusal on the part of the police to retire from the movement in which they have engaged? He wished also to know, whether, at a meeting of constables yesterday, a resolution was passed calling on Mr. Clifford Lloyd to make a public apology for what he had said on Friday last?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, I have not yet got the official report upon the subject-matter of this Question, therefore I cannot answer it now; indeed, I do not see any reason for an immediate answer in this case. It may become of importance, as a matter of history; and, therefore, before I reply, I should like extremely to know what happened both from Colonel Bruce and Mr. Clifford Lloyd, and if the speeches, so far as they can be given, can be given in extenso. With regard to the last part of the Question of the hon. Member, it is one upon which I have received no information, and I can hardly believe that such is the case. If it is the case, it is an extremely imprudent and improper step to take.

Mr. SEXTON said, he would repeat the Question.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR asked if the right hon. Gentleman was not aware that a communication had been sent to the newspapers by Mr. Clifford Lloyd, giving his version of the story, and practically acknowledging the state of facts as published?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, I have read Mr. Clifford Lloyd's published letter to the newspapers, and I have also received a private letter from him; but my impression is that it is not an affair that calls for Parliamentary inquiry. Mr. Clifford Lloyd is supposed to have used a particular word, and it is rather important to know whether he used it or not; but it seems to me that a gentleman like Mr. Clifford Lloyd, occupying the position he does, has a right to go and try and do all he can, in the interests of duty and discipline, to endeavour to bring the men to a proper condition of mind.

METROPOLIS — THE PARKS — A NEW PARK FOR PADDINGTON — THE ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSIONERS.

Mr. BRYCE asked the honourable Member for the Isle of Wight, Whether, as one of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England and Wales, he can state what is the present position of the negotiations between the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the other owners of the Paddington Estate on the one hand, and those who have interested themselves in the creation of a public park for Paddington on the other hand; and, whether he can give any assurance that, during the pendency of those negotiations, the area of the ground now open will not be encroached upon or diminished by building operations?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: Sir, last year the Ecclesiastical Commissioners offered to sell their interest in the land—which they estimate to represent nearly one-half—for £1,500 an acre. This offer the Park Committee have neither accepted nor declined. Last March the Commissioners authorized their surveyors to join in any conference which might be held between the promoters of the proposed park and the trustees of the Paddington Estate with a view to arrange the price which should be paid for the joint interest of the Commissioners and trustees, without reference to any question as to the apportionment of the money. The only answer I can give to the second part of the Question is the same as that given to a deputation last year—namely, that, while the Ecclesiastical Commissioners are anxious to afford every facility in their power for the acquisition of the land for a public park, they cannot, consistently with the proper execution of the trusts imposed upon them by statute, give a pledge to withhold their sanction to the letting of any further portion of the estate for building. I may add that there is another suitable tract of land which as sole owners they have offered to sell for £1,250 an acre, or less than half the total sum required for the other. It comprises about 94 acres, and lies at Kilburn, forming the site of the Royal Agricultural Show in 1879.

TRADE AND COMMERCE—THE SPANISH TARIFF—DUTY ON CURED FISH.

CAPTAIN AYLMER asked the first Lord of the Treasury, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that Spain has been in the habit of buying yearly about 200,000 cwts. of fish cured in Newfoundland; that from the 1st of August such fish will be charged a duty of 2*s.* per cwt. in excess of that charged on fish from Norway, Denmark, and other countries; and, whether, as such an extra duty will entirely prohibit the importation of British cured fish into Spain, and will seriously injure our fisheries, he intends taking any steps towards remedying this injustice?

MR. GLADSTONE, in reply, said, that the Colonial Office had received, through the Foreign Office, information to the effect stated in the Question, and explanations had been asked for from the Minister at Madrid; but they had not yet been received. At the same time, he could say that, if the intelligence proved to be true, however much he might regret the policy which the Spanish Ministry had thought fit to pursue as regarded the trade of this country, he was not aware that it was in his power to take any measures, if, indeed, there were any, to obviate the consequences, or to relieve the people of Spain from the disadvantages which, as the Government believed, would be inflicted on them.

ARMY — DRUNKENNESS AT ALDERSHOT CAMP.

MR. CAINE asked the Judge Advocate General, How many punishments for drunkenness have been inflicted on soldiers stationed at Aldershot during the year 1881?

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. OSBORN MORGAN): Sir, I am sorry that, for the reasons I have already given, I cannot give my hon. Friend the precise information he asks. But, from what I have already told him, he will gather that the number of individual men punished for drunkenness in the Army during 1881 was between 120 and 130 per 1,000, and the number of punishments inflicted for the same offence about 230 per 1,000. Now, the average number of troops at Aldershot last year was about 11,500. If, therefore, he will multiply the figures I have given him by 11½, he will get the number both of men punished and punishments inflicted for drunkenness, assuming, that is to say, that the state of Aldershot as regards drunkenness is a correct specimen of that of the Army generally. I think, however, that it will be found that Aldershot contrasts favourably in this respect with barracks which are situate in the heart or on the outskirts of large towns, such as London or Manchester. But, even making allowance for this, and for the fact that a soldier is constantly punished for drunkenness where a civilian would escape with impunity, I must admit that the catalogue, though showing a decided improvement upon the state of things which existed only five or six years ago, is a very black one, and I can assure my hon. Friend that both my right hon. Friend (Mr. Childers) and myself are fully persuaded of the importance of the subject, and that whatever we, or the military authorities, can do shall be done to diminish the evils to which my hon. Friend—greatly, if he will allow me to say so, to his own credit, and greatly, also, to the advantage of the Service—has called attention.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) BILL.

CONSIDERATION OF LORDS AMENDMENTS.

Order for Consideration of Lords Amendments read.

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, in rising to move that these Amendments be now considered, I think it will be found, for the convenience of the House, as the scope of the Amendments is limited and capable of being drawn to one head and centre, that I should state, at once, the course which the Government proposes to take in regard to those which they consider as in the least degree material; but I shall not take any notice, in making this brief statement, of changes of a character plainly secondary or purely verbal. On occasions such as this, Sir, when grave and serious differences of opinion arise between the two Houses of Parliament, they are attended with various inconveniences. One of them is that they tend to revive controversies and to set going discussions of various theories which it is better, for the peace and progress of the country, should be let sleep—[" No, no!"]—and another is—[" Oh, oh!"]—well, I am not going to ask the House to vote upon the question; but hon. Gentleman will see why I refer for a single moment to the subject—the other inconvenience is that they undoubtedly appear, on such occasions, to pave the way and lead to the promulgation of extraordinary, novel, and exceptional doctrines. I understand, for instance, that on this very occasion a doctrine has been set up, entirely new, so far as my knowledge goes, and not likely, I think, to receive any countenance from this House, which is that the House of Lords is not only entitled, as it undoubtedly is entitled, to impose an absolute veto upon a measure sent to it from this House of Parliament, but that it is likewise entitled to lay down the doctrine that such a Bill is not likely to be ever received from the existing House of Commons, however long that House of Commons may sit and hold to it, however often it may think fit to revert to the subject again and again, and from year to year, such a measure shall never be received by the House of Lords from the existing House of Commons. Well, Sir—[Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: That is not the case.]—I beg the right hon. Gentleman's pardon; I do not know why he interrupts me. I have stated, what I have heard and understood, that such a doctrine had been put forward. If that doctrine be supported here, it is a doctrine that we shall be prepared to contest. I refer to it for the sake of excusing myself for not taking any detailed notice of it, because I think no advantage to the country and ourselves can arise from entering upon subjects of that class, and my desire is upon the present occasion to pass them altogether. The duty of the Government is to approach a question of this kind with a firm resolution on no account, whatever pressure may be exerted upon them, to swerve from the great public objects they may have in view; but, while remaining faithful to that principle, to avoid, as far as they can, and eschew all reference to matters which can do nothing but promote angry controversy. That is the intention with which we have addressed ourselves to the consideration of the Amendments of the House of Lords, and that is the intention with which we have considered the whole of them, from the beginning to the end. The first Amendment in this Bill is the Amendment which introduces, in a somewhat complex form, the principle of joint or concurrent action of the landlord and tenant as the means of setting the Bill in motion, in lieu of the sole action which was the basis on which we recommended it to the House of Commons, and upon which it was adopted by the House of Commons. The form in which this Amendment has been introduced is, as I have said, one rather of complication. In the first place, it appears to us to contain, perhaps as a consequence of haste and inadvertence—of that I know nothing—but, at any rate, it does, in our view, contain a change in the Bill which is faulty upon the ground of its placing the two parties, not upon a footing of equality, but subjecting the landlord to an absolute disability in respect of the initiative. As the Bill left this House, the two parties were treated with entire impartiality, and either the landlord or the tenant could put the Bill in motion; but, as the Bill came from the House of Lords, the landlord cannot put the Bill in motion at all; and as we are of opinion that there are many cases in which it may be desirable that the landlord — [An hon. MEMBER: The tenant.]—I beg your pardon, the landlord, as the Bill has come down from the House of Lords, cannot put the Bill in motion at all—and what I say is, that as we are distinctly of opinion that there are many cases in which justice to the landlord requires that he should have the power of putting the Bill in motion, that is one of the grounds upon which we shall ask the House to substantially dissent—not to disagree, but substantially to dissent from the main object of the Amendment, as regards the tenant having the right to put the Bill in motion, subject to the veto of the landlord. The introduction of this Amendment into the Bill has made it our duty to consider whether we can make what we think would be a very injurious change in the Bill, and, in fact, I need not hesitate to say, one quite fatal to the Bill; whether we can make that change the occasion of introducing into it any Amendment not at variance with the objects of the Bill as we ourselves sent it to the House of Lords, and we are of opinion that such an Amendment can be made in this way, by restoring both parties to that equality which we gave them when the Bill passed through the House of Commons, and by requiring either of them to give to the other previous notice of his intention to go into Court and take advantage of the Bill. According to our proposal, he would be perfectly free to go to the Court and take advantage of the Act, subject to the conditions of it; but he must give previous notice to the other party. A notice of 10 days is what we should require. I do not know whether it is necessary or convenient that I should state the exact words at the present moment; but that can be done, I think. The Lords Amendment is rather complicated, but substantially the words we propose are these—

> "It shall be open to either of them, after 10 days' notice in the prescribed manner by the landlord or his agent to the tenant, or by the tenant to the landlord or his agent, to go into Court."

That is the form which the Amendment will take, if the House adopt it according to the proposal of the Government. I will assume, therefore, that the question lies between the Amendment in that shape, and the Amendment as it came to us from the House of Lords. I wish the House to consider in this discussion, and I must say I hope the House, without any distinction of Party, will be disposed to consider what is the real nature of the change that has been made. There is no doubt whatever that the landlord has in equity, and I believe there is not the smallest doubt that he had, according to our Bill, a *locus standi* in reference to the application of the tenant. If tenants who are able to pay the whole of their arrears under this Bill seek to obtain an exemption from a part of them, that would be, as we think, an injustice to the landlord. One of the essential conditions of the Bill is the inability of the tenant to pay. We have done everything we could to make the investigation into his inability a real investigation. We have embodied in the Bill the right of the landlord to be heard. The landlord will be, in this investigation, the natural defender of his own interest against the tenant really able to pay, who endeavours to take advantage of a measure not intended for him, but intended for other people; and the landlord, in this respect, will be the ally of the State, and the public interest will run in the same direction as his interest. He will, therefore, be the natural ally of the State in the case of a tenant able to pay. Therefore, we hope that the Bill is perfectly effective for the purpose of giving a fair and open field to the landlord; but then it is something over and above this that the Amendment of the House of Lords desires, and what is it? It is this—that in the case of a tenant unable to pay, it shall rest with the landlord to determine whether he shall or shall not come under the Bill. I wish most carefully to avoid all semblance of exaggeration. I beg that the terms of my proposition may be strictly tested. I affirm that the effect of the Lords Amendment, as distinguished from and going beyond that which we are ready to agree to, and have embodied in the Bill, is to assume to the landlord the right of preventing a tenant unable to discharge his arrears from going into the Court, and from reaping the benefit, for the sake of securing which benefit to him Parliament has been content to confront all the difficulties and the disadvantages of the objections which I admit to attach to such a Bill as this. After having confronted all this, we are to be met, it appears, by the simple veto of the landlord, founded upon what I might almost call his arbitrary will, but which I will call his private choice. Now, Sir, if that be so, and I believe it to be strictly and literally so, surely it is impossible that such a claim can be seriously advanced, and can be made the basis of conflict between the two Houses of Parliament. That is the case with regard to the first Amendment, and I have not thought it desirable to enter at any great length into it, for I believe that the simple explanation of its effect, the simple interpretation of the Act as it would stand, if that Amendment were adopted, is better than any amount of argument, however clear, which it would be possible to advance in respect to it. The second Amendment is not one without difficulty; but it is of a less formidable character, and that Amendment we shall ask the House not to reject, but to amend. It gives to the landlord the right, in the event of a sale of the holding subsequently to the operation of the Act, to charge his arrears of rent upon the proceeds of the sale. Now, Sir, here there are arguments which tell both the one way and the other. Against the Amendment there tells the great desire we have always had that the operation of the Act should be a clear, decisive, and final operation. On that account, when my right hon. Friend behind me (Mr. Goschen) proposed to retain a charge for the State on the holding in the event of a sale, and when, afterwards, from the opposite side of the House, it was proposed to retain this charge for the landlord, to neither of these propositions did the House agree. I admit, however, that there was something to be said on the other side, and that is, that in Ulster, under the old custom of the Province, the landlord has had a lien on the proceeds of the tenant's interest in case of this sale, and he has been able to recoup himself from the proceeds of the sale for his arrears of rent; and when we proposed last year that a legal tenant's interest should be created and recognized all over Ireland, we pointed out the great advantage that, in ordinary circumstances, the landlord would derive from having that tenant's interest as a new security for his rent. I do not admit that it would be reasonable in any way to recognize that claim upon the tenant's interest irrespective of the amount of arrears, because, again, in order to have a true comprehension of this subject, we must fall back upon the fact that a practice has existed in Ireland on certain estates—not very few in number, but far from being the generality—of keeping alive arrears for a course of years, not so much regarding them as an asset capable of being completely realized, but rather, perhaps, retaining them as a powerful leverage over the tenant, by which to obtain any object which the landlord might desire. It is, therefore, only to a certain extent, and when reaching over a moderate term, that arrears can be regarded as representing in Ireland a true and substantial asset. The Bill, independently of the Amendment I am now considering, has made provision for the recovery of the two years of arrear. It may be said that *bonâ fide* arrears may, in certain cases, go a little beyond that, and we are content to recommend to the House to accept this Amendment, amended as follows:—

> "That in the case where the tenant right is sold within seven years from the application of the Act to the holding, the claim to arrears shall be a lien on the proceeds to the extent of one more year's rent;"

so that in such a case where the tenant right is so sold, the landlord will have received, or may have received, in the way of compensation for arrears of rent a sum equal to three years' rent. There is another limitation which we propose to place on the Amendment, which would only, we think, be material in cases of very small holdings, and in times of very great depression; such cases, for instance, as the Donegal holdings may have presented two or three years ago—that is, that the one year's rent so payable to the landlord shall not exceed one moiety of the value of the tenant right. Those who are conversant with tenant right in Ireland are aware that, in general, the rule would be inoperative; but I believe it is a rule that does exist already in Ulster—to what extent I cannot exactly say—and I think it would be a just and beneficial rule in reference to a certain class of holdings under certain circumstances. That Amendment, therefore, we propose to accept subject to three limitations—that the sale of the holding must be within seven years; that the amount of the landlord's claims upon the proceeds shall not exceed one year's rent; and that the one year's rent shall not be more than a moiety of the whole proceeds. The third and the last of the Lords Amendments relates to a controversy which was also raised in this House. The Bill as it went to the House of Lords provided that the Commissioners, in considering the question of the tenant's ability or inability to pay, might, if they should think it reasonable, "take into account the interest of the tenant in his holding." My hon. Friend the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) moved an Amendment against those words; and he proposed to substitute for the words "may, if they shall think it reasonable," the words "shall, so far as they think it reasonable." That was the point upon which we joined issue in this House. We were opposed upon that by hon. Gentlemen opposite, and, of course, by my hon. Friend (Sir John Lubbock); but I do not recollect whether any other hon. Gentleman voted in the minority from this side of the House; but that was the issue joined in this House. Now, the House of Lords have struck out the whole of the words "may, if the Commissioners think it reasonable," and have inserted the simple word "shall." Now, in our opinion, that is distinctly too stringent, having regard to the nature and circumstances of the case. Be it remembered that most of these holdings are holdings which, at the present moment, cannot be said to have a tenant right at all, because the man, being in arrear, is liable to eviction, and because, being in arrear, he has never had the power of having a judicial rent fixed, which is the only natural basis of his future tenant right. In a multitude of these cases, of small holdings particularly, it will happen that there is no assignable value which can be attached to the tenant right; and I think I may say that was the universal feeling of this House, because the demand made in this House was, not that the Commissioners "shall" take the interest into account; but that they "shall take it into account so far as they think it reasonable." But being anxious to accommodate all controversy that we can, without vitally impairing the enactments of the Bill with reference to its purposes, we are prepared to accept the view then sustained by the minority in this House, and to agree to ask the House to substitute for the words "may, if they think it reasonable," the words "shall, so far as they think it reasonable." That will leave the Commissioners with a sufficient discretion, not as wide as that we obtained from this House, but still a discretion with which we think they may safely be invested. The next Amendment of the Lords I will read if the House thinks fit; but the simplest description of it will be "Lord Waterford's Amendment," or the "hanging-gale Amendment." This hanging gale has been a subject of much trouble and vexation to many of us in the various stages of the present Bill. Nor can I think that their Lordships have been perhaps as successful as we were in our attempt to comprehend the question, and to deal with it in an appropriate manner. We cannot ask the House to adopt this Amendment, and I will give three reasons why we are driven to that conclusion. The Amendment has been considered very carefully indeed by my right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General for Ireland and my hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General for Ireland; and, so far as it is possible to convey to a non-legal mind a legal question, they have put me in possession of what appears to me a very good reason against the Amendment, and it is this—that this Amendment is subject to the most dangerous ambiguities and uncertainties of construction. It is quite conceivable that it might be construed in a sense in which it would leave the Bill precisely as it was when it left this House. It provides substantially that the rent, which, in any holding, by the custom of that holding, ought to be paid in 1881, shall be, for the purposes of the 1st clause of this Act, the rent for the year 1881. Now, we are advised that it is perfectly possible that that might be construed to mean that it should be the rent for 1881, in such a sense as to prevent the landlord from obtaining any other rent for 1881; and, if it is so construed, why, then the Amendment has no effect or operation whatever on the Bill as it went from this House. My first reason, then, for objecting to the Amendment is, that it is subject to a most dangerous ambiguity of construction, it being liable to a construction which reduces it to zero; and also to another construction, which magnifies it to very dangerous and formidable proportions indeed; and that second construction, so far as I can understand, is undoubtedly the construction which it was intended to bear by the House of Lords. According to that construction, the rent which ought to be paid in 1881—and here I had, perhaps, better suppose the case of an estate where there is a double hanging gale, or a gale extending over 12 months—the rent which ought to be paid in 1881 on such an estate as that in November or December would be taken as the rent of 1881, simply and solely for the purpose of enabling the tenant to enter the Court and make an application to obtain the benefits of the Act. That is the other construction, totally contradictory, absolutely and immeasurably remote from the construction I before described; but I believe the least sustainable on the words of the section. I will now enter into a detailed explanation of the consequences of that construction; but I will say this, upon the part of my right hon. and hon. and learned Friends and myself, that we are prepared to show, I think undeniably, not by argument, but by simply setting forth the operation of the words of the Bill, that if that be the true construction of Lord Waterford's Amendment, then, under this Bill, it will be open to a landlord, as to a 12 months' hanging gale, to obtain as compensation for two years' arrears, either two years and a-half, or even three years' rent, and as compensation for three years' arrears, either three and a-half years' or four years' rent. Now, these are words that are not used lightly and unadvisedly by us. We have carefully, and with much pain and labour, closely examined into the operation of the Bill; and I would almost undertake to appeal to an enlightened and intelligent mind like that of the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite, the junior Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson), to say whether that would not be the result of the Lord's Amendment; and then I would ask him, whether he could commend it, and was prepared to contend for it? That is my second objection, and I think a pretty strong one; but the third objection is this, and it will be one which will be at once intelligible to the whole House. If there was one thing more clearly than another proposed by us, and accepted by the entire House as the basis of this Bill, it was that we should relieve the tenant absolutely from all liability for rent down to a certain date, and that date was by consent made the 1st of November, 1881. I do not consider the concession we have made about a lien on the produce of the tenant's interest is an infringement of that principle, because that is a claim which only arises when a man is going to leave his holding; and the object of this Bill is not that he should leave it, but that he should continue in it. If there was one thing more distinctly understood over the whole House than another, by hon. Gentlemen on that Bench just as by those on this Bench, it was this—that up to or down from a certain date, whichever you like to call it, by the operation of the Act, the tenant should be absolutely set free from all claims with respect to rent. Well, if this Amendment were adopted, if it be construed according to the intentions with which it is quite evident it was introduced, the tenant, instead of being set free from rent, would be liable for a claim of rent anterior to the date of November, 1881, and the pledges of the Government would be utterly falsified, and the purposes of the Bill would be destroyed. Therefore, I am obliged to ask the House to disagree to that fourth Amendment. The fifth Amendment that I have to name is rather low down in the second page of the Paper of Amendments distributed to the House. The first thing to which I need call attention is the insertion in line 30, after "Sub-Commission," of the words "being a barrister-at-law." Now, the substance of this Amendment we are prepared to concede; but I wish to make two Amendments in it—at least, one Amendment, and another strictly consequential upon it—but I have not the least doubt those Amendments will be approved. We take it that the object of the Amendment made by the House of Lords is that there shall not be a single person to whom a delegation is made by the Land Commission, unless he is a legal person; but we wish to specify "being a barrister-at-law, or a solicitor." [Mr. Gregory: Hear, hear!] I am glad, Sir, to find that the hon. Member for East Sussex is prepared to stand or fall with his order—a very good order, an order as essential to the existence of a well-constituted society as any other order in it. Well, we propose, as consequential upon that, to introduce another Amendment, as we do not believe it was the intention to exclude the delegation of the duties to a single member of the Land Commission itself—it was not the intention to exclude Mr. Vernon, for instance. That clearly was not intended, though it would be an accidental consequence of the Amendment, and we shall, therefore, propose an Amendment providing for it. The next Amendment is in line 33, after the word "shall," to insert—

> "Subject to an appeal to the Land Commission on, and in, such conditions and circumstances as may be prescribed."

We certainly do not consider that Amendment is an admissible Amendment. There is not sufficient ground for it, and the burden of it in reference to the amount of money that would generally be in question would really be enormous; and, wherever that is the case, the power of the appeal, intended for equity, really becomes an instrument of oppression, enabling the power of the stronger party to be exercised upon the weaker. We must, therefore, ask the House to virtually reject the Amendment, and to stand substantially to the arrangement come to before—that is, to confine the appeal to an appeal upon points of law which, we think, may be justly granted, and which is an essential change in the character of the proposal. Sir, there is only one other point which I have to name, and it is one which only requires a word of explanation. There was a clause, Clause 17, as it went from the House of Commons, which related to certain payments in respect of which there was to be a recoupment allowed to the landlord. That clause was passed in this House in great haste, and at the last stage; but when it came to be discussed in the House of Lords, it was agreed there by the Government that the clause had better be dropped, and an amended clause inserted in the House of Commons. We shall, therefore, bring up an amended clause, which we shall ask the House to insert in the Bill in place of the old Clause 17. We only ask it for the sake of clearness; and though it is a change made in the Bill as it came from the House of Lords, we shall, in fact, only amend our clause, adapting it to the purpose we have in view, instead of dropping it entirely. It is not a substantial difference from the Amendment arrived at by the House of Lords. Now, Sir, I need not trouble the House any longer on this matter. I have gone through the different Amendments, and I hope I have gone through them in the spirit I expressed at the opening of my remarks. I set aside all questions of general controversy; I will not enter into that wide and dangerous field. We have not taken this matter in hand in what I may call an huckstering spirit—giving something, and retaining in our hands a little more, to be given up under a little more pressure. We have endeavoured to go at once the whole length we feel to be admissible, and both to endeavour to make these Amendments the occasion of introducing any secondary improvements that might be practicable into the language of the Bill, and likewise to offer every reasonable concession which we could make without impairing the substance and purpose of the Bill. As to that substance and purpose, I need not remind the House how vital and significant in our view they are. This is a Bill, not to relieve distress, but partly to prevent evictions, partly to afford access to the Land Court; and, in both the one capacity and the other, intimately and vitally associated with the great question of peace, order, and tranquillity in Ireland. Nothing, therefore, can be more clear than the limits that are imposed upon our powers of concession, and these limits must be observed. What we offer, we offer freely, and desire to offer without the slightest invidious remark or observation; we desire to offer it in the way which, by men of experience and knowledge, it is most likely to be accepted. We desire to lighten as much as we can the responsibility that must rest upon ourselves, if, needlessly, we carried this House into conflict with the other; and we likewise desire to declare that if conflict arises, it is well understood that the responsibility does not rest upon us. I will not refer to that subject; I will only reiterate to the House the assurance I have already given as to the purpose with which we have examined these Amendments, and with which we make our present proposal; and I conclude with the fervent wish, for the sake of all Parties alike, for the sake of England, and for the sake of Scotland, and for the sake of Ireland, that these proposals may be accepted by the goodwill of the House, and may take their place as law on the Statute Book of the land.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Lords Amendments to the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill be now taken into Consideration."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Mr. Speaker, I need not say that I do not rise for the purpose of following the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gladstone) into the details of the Amendments which he has just described to the House. I admit, however, that it has been exceedingly convenient that we should be given in a general view an account of the course which Her Majesty's Government propose to the House to pursue. But it is perfectly clear that the Amendments, and the mode of dealing with the Amendments which he has suggested, must require careful attention on the part of the House, and that we shall, therefore, do better to discuss them as they arise, and when we have them properly submitted to us. I only wish to express my own earnest hope that the discussion of these Amendments will be conducted in the same spirit as that which has characterized the greater part of the right hon. Gentleman's remarks. At the same time, I must say it is true that there were one or two expressions at the opening of his speech which, I admit, filled me with some uneasiness. He spoke of his unwillingness to open old controversies, which had better be let sleep, and there I quite agreed with him. But it did seem to me that he was a little tempted, if he laid aside old controversies, to spring upon us some new controversies, for he told us that there were extraordinary and novel doctrines promulgated; and he instanced as one of them some doctrine he had read or heard of somewhere, that the House of Lords was entitled to lay down the doctrine that such and such a Bill should never be received from the present House of Commons. I do not know from what source that statement was derived; but, to me, it is a novel and extraordinary doctrine. What I do think the House ought to bear in mind, and it ought to govern their consideration of all this matter, is this—that in discussing this Bill, and especially in its final stage, we are engaged in a complicated and difficult matter. The largest possible additions have been made to the Bill since it was first introduced; and it is enough to point the House to the first copy of this Bill as it was brought into the House of Commons, and the last copy as it went to the House of Lords, and to the fact that the Bill had actually doubled in its length—a Bill of 12 clauses becoming one of 24, and that, from time to time, grave matter arose in the course of our discussions. It was not, therefore, to be wondered at that the House of Lords, in coming to examine a Bill which went through so much modification in this House, when they saw how important were many of the principles which it contained, and the principles which underlie these provisions, it was not at all unreasonable that they should deal in such a manner as they thought proper, and thought it to be their duty to do, with the provisions of the Bill. The House is aware of the Amendments which the House of Lords have suggested. I do not wish to make any statement or observation with regard to these Amendments, as a whole, which would in any way hamper or impede the action of the House in considering them. I only hope that they will be considered with candour and with fairness; because it is very easy indeed to get up prejudice—to get up a cry—and as we have seen quite enough of in various parts of the country, and in various organs of the Press, most extraordinary statements, which seemed, if they meant anything, to mean that this House would not be free to consider the Amendments of the House of Lords upon their merits; but that we were to be hampered by predictions of the most mysterious character as to what might happen. It seems to me—and I claim to exercise in the discussion of these Amendments the same freedom as in the discussion of the Bill in its earlier stage—if the suggestions of the Government commend themselves to us, of course they are such as deserve consideration and assent. On the other hand, if they do not commend themselves, we have a perfect right to maintain our position, and to refuse to agree to them. I hope the House will not be led into any general discussion of this sort. I have felt bound to say what I have done in consequence of the observations made by the right hon. Gentleman. I hope I have said nothing which can in any way impede or hamper the House in its proceedings; and, for my part, I shall be very glad that we should go into a business-like discussion of these Amendments, and that we should endeavour to see what is their real meaning and effect when we have them really and substantially before us, and in what way it will be possible for us to deal with them.

Mr. PARNELL: I have heard, Sir, with very great regret, and, I confess, with considerable misgiving, the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, descriptive of the concessions which he proposes, at this very early stage in the proceedings, to make to the action of the other House. Even if we had been told that the right hon. Gentleman had now announced his finite judgment upon the Amendments of the House of Lords, and if we could forget the history of the Land Act of last Session, when concessions, made upon the stage of that Act similar to that of the one we are now engaged on, were followed, at a subsequent period, by much more important concessions, we should still regard the very important concessions which the right hon. Gentleman now makes to the House of Lords with the utmost misgiving. I look upon these Amendments which have been foreshadowed as, in all probability, likely to be most mischievous to the operation of the Bill. I do not propose now to examine them in detail; but I hope and believe that, when the time comes for doing so, we shall be able to show this House reasons of a very important character against the adoption of several of them. I do not wish to refer to the special Amendments which we shall be obliged chiefly to deal with; but what I wish to do is to ask the Prime Minister, in regard to the statement he has now made that he is going to stand by his concessions in the further stages of the Bill, whether, in the event of this Bill being returned from the "other place," as the Land Act was returned last year, he has told us his mind, and his whole mind, upon the present occasion; and, whether, if we support him, as regards these Amendments, by our votes, and in every way we can on the present occasion, we may feel confident he is going to stand by the announcement he has now made to the House, and that he is not going to be impelled any further into the mischievous course, which, I regret to say, he has adopted, of whittling down this valuable measure to suit the dictates and the feeling of an irresponsible Body in that "other place?"

Mr. GLADSTONE: I do not think it wise or prudent at this stage, notwithstanding what has fallen from the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Parnell), that I should enter into further details; because, when I stated that we would not enter into the discussion of the Amendments to this Bill in a huckstering spirit, and disclaimed such a mode of going to work, I would be understood as not using those words for the purpose of mere declamation. When I stated that we asked ourselves, as strictly as we could, what Amendments we could reasonably agree to, I thought I had made a full and ample disclosure of the general mind of the Government.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Lords Amendments *considered.*

The following Amendments *agreed to*:—In page 1, line 10, leave out "either;" and in line 11, leave out "or," and insert "and."

Page 1, line 11, after the word "holding," insert the words—

"Or of the tenant with the assent of the landlord (such assent to be presumed on the expiration of ten days from the service upon the landlord in the prescribed manner of notice of such application, in the absence of any notice of dissent from such landlord or his agent),"

—the next Amendment, read a second time.

Amendment proposed to the said Amendment—

To leave out after the words "or of," to the words "from such," inclusive, in order to insert the words "either of them after ten days notice in the prescribed manner by the landlord or his agent to the tenant, or by the tenant to the,"—(*Mr. Gladstone,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the said Amendment."

Mr. GIBSON said, that the Amendment now proposed by the Prime Minister made a material alteration in the Bill as it had left that House. The Amendment of the Prime Minister introduced the element of notice, and also recognized the independent right of the landlord, as well as the tenant, to resort to the Court. With regard to notice, it was a distinct improvement upon the original drafting of the Bill as sent up to the "other place," because it would secure that the landlord should have notice of the tenant's application, so that he would be informed of what he meant to do. But, beyond enabling the landlord to make certain inquiries as to the tenant's circumstances, there was nothing of a very efficacious character in that concession. Something more was, however, required ; and, as the Lords held, it was only fair, reasonable, and expedient that the landlord should have, not merely notice, but some potential voice in reference to the application. When the Bill was in that House, his (Mr. Gibson's) right hon. Friend the Leader of the Opposition urged that the landlord should be given the power of concurring in the application. The Lords were more moderate, and they had considered the question from a most temperate point of view. They proposed that the landlord should have the power of joining with the tenant if he pleased; but that the application of the tenant in default of such concurrence should not be sufficient. Well, no doubt, that left a power of veto with the landlord which might, in exceptional cases—such as where he considered it would be for the interest of the tenant and the good of the estate—be made use of; but Parliament did not legislate for exceptional cases, and it seemed to him (Mr. Gibson) that there were sound arguments adducible in support of that veto. The Lords Amendment, it seemed to him, was, on the whole, fair and reasonable. It would remove, to a great extent, if not entirely, the confiscatory character of the proposal. It would enable the landlord or his agent, who knew the property and the position and character of the tenant, to take care that neither the landlord himself was defrauded, or, what was as important, that the taxpayers were not defrauded by claims put forward by tenants who had no right to make them. It had been objected that the veto removed one of the cardinal principles of the Bill—gift and compulsion. He could not see the connection between them. At present the Bill in some of its most important provisions was voluntary—for instance, in the landlord's acceptance of the one year's rent, which he might, if he pleased, remit, and in his joining with the tenant in an affidavit for the latter's benefit. This latter provision was a most important one, and would, he believed, tend largely to obviate that litigation which was a rock ahead to the Bill. A further instance of the essentially voluntary character of the Bill as latterly drafted was, that the landlord had to join with the tenant to enable the latter to avail himself of the very important Loan Clauses. Now, surely, if the voluntary element was recognized throughout the Bill, it was no great stretch of principle to apply it to the Amendment now under consideration. It might be said that the landlords would abuse the power proposed to be given to them. That might happen in exceptional cases; but, as he had already remarked, it was the business of Parliament to legislate, not for isolated individuals, but for the masses. To his mind the Lords Amendment seemed to be perfectly just and reasonable, and he should feel bound to support it with his vote.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER said, that he thought it his duty to say that, from the experience he had had in the spring and winter, and from carefully watching this question, he was convinced that the acceptance of the Lords Amendment, as it was sent down to them, would defeat the real object of the Bill. He would not trouble the House with the arguments he used in support of the original measure on its second reading, except in so far as to state his belief that they were now dealing, not with those small tenants who were able, though unwilling, to pay; but with the class of poor and small tenants who were really unable to pay. It was the latter class that the House had declared, by a large majority, they wished to relieve. The other House also wished to relieve them. They were the very class who, in the two or three years of undoubted great distress, had accumulated arrears which they were unable to pay, and which prevented them from being able to go into Court. To the landlords had been given the power of evicting such tenants, and of clearing their estates, if they thought it necessary to do so. It was to meet the case of such tenants that the present Bill was introduced. He did not wish to blame individuals, much less classes; for it must be expected that all persons would, to a certain extent, act according to their interests. The consequence was that they found evictions largely increasing, and that was a great cause of anxiety to him when he held Office, and he felt sure it must cause anxiety to his Successor, for they would be mainly evictions of poor cottier tenants for non-payment of arrears. One great object of the Government was to stop the evictions, and the other was to enable the tenants to get into the Court; and, in connection with those two points, what would be the effect of the Amendment under notice? Why, it would put it in the power of any landlord to prevent them from getting into the Court, and to evict them from the estate. In some cases, it was the interest of the landlord, and not mere caprice, to prefer getting possession of the land and to get rid of the tenant, instead of obtaining one year's rent from the taxpayers and one year's rent from the tenant. He need not now go again into the argument as to whether the landlord ought to be prevented from so securing his own interest. He had watched carefully what had been said in both Houses, and he did not find that anybody had advocated that the landlords should take that course. He heard the remarks of Lord Salisbury, who had taken the most prominent part in this question in the other House, and who treated any attempt by a landlord to clear his estate as a matter of caprice and wantonness, of hardship and of violence, which his Lordship did not believe any landlord would commit. But there were many landlords who would consider it merely their duty to improve their estates by evicting those who were unable to pay their rents. But what they had to consider was, whether it was for the interest of the State, for the interest of peace and order in Ireland, that there should be these evictions on a large scale? Parliament had come to the conclusion that it was not, and had called on the people of England, through their Representatives, to make every possible sacrifice in order to prevent these evictions. The Lords Amendment would make that sacrifice of no use. It would put it in the power of a landlord to act just as if the Bill had not been passed, for many of the cases for which the Bill had been brought in would be the very cases in which this Amendment would be brought into operation. He could not say how glad he was to see the spirit in which this matter had been dealt with by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Dublin University (Mr. Gibson). He was convinced there was a general feeling that this was not a matter for any great political crisis, or for any grave quarrel between the two Houses. It was hardly sufficient for that, although he thought it was quite clear, at the same time, that it was a matter in which the Government could hardly be expected to go further than they had gone. He only alluded to the possibility of another result on account of what he could see would be the most serious and alarming consequences in Ireland. At present, matters were better in that country, and he must congratulate his right hon. Friend and Successor (Mr. Trevelyan), who, he thought, had an easier time before him. Sometimes he fancied he saw symptoms of considerable improvement in the state of Ireland. But would hon. Members consider what would be the effect in the immediate future if, after the Government had thought it right to bring forward such a Bill as this, to meet the particular cases which he had described, the Bill were lost altogether—which he was glad to think was practically impossible—or that it should be so amended in the manner desired by the House of Lords, as really to lose all its power, and lead to the eviction of tenants who were unable to pay, not through dishonesty, but simply from the great distress with which they had been visited two or three years ago?

MR. CHAPLIN said, the right hon. Gentleman who had last spoken (Mr. W. E. Forster) seemed to base his objections to the Lords Amendment on the effect it would have on the poor tenants who could not pay their rents; but he (Mr. Chaplin) failed to see how the case of the poor tenants would be made worse by the Amendment. One of the essential conditions of the Bill was that they were to pay down a twelvemonth's rent. How was it possible they could pay that if they were in the position described by the right hon. Gentleman? If that were the case, the sole ground of the right hon. Gentleman's object would be cut away. He (Mr. Chaplin) should support the Amendment of the Lords on another ground, because it removed what, according to the admission of Members of the Government themselves, constituted the most demoralizing tendency of this measure. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. E. Forster) was now advocating the principle of compulsion, when, with his own mouth, he told them last Session that any measure of compulsion was not only demoralizing, but very demoralizing. So far as he (Mr. Chaplin) remembered, the sense of the words used by the right hon. Gentleman were—"To force upon either Party a measure of this kind would not only be demoralizing, but very demoralizing indeed." Those words of the right hon. Gentleman were well known.

MR. W. E. FORSTER remarked, that he had used these words in regard to a measure in which there was no necessity for proof of inability to pay.

MR. CHAPLIN said, that raised another question. It was quite true that all of the essential conditions of the Bill were proof of inability to pay; but that was also a question to which the right hon. Gentleman alluded last Session. But what was his view upon that point? Why, that to give to the Court, or to anyone, the power of ascertaining who could or could not pay would be to impose upon the Court an impossible task. On that ground, also, he (Mr. Chaplin) should support the Amendment, because he was anxious to see this provision of inability a real, and not a sham, condition to the benefits of the Bill, and he thought that might be effected by the House accepting the Lords Amendment. If the joint application of the two parties were required, probably the information obtained from the landlord would be the best evidence procurable of the tenant's ability to pay. When hon. Gentlemen on the Ministerial side of the House declared that this measure was absolutely necessary in the interests of peace and prosperity in Ireland, they must forgive hon. Gentlemen sitting on the Opposition side if they did not place implicit trust in their promises. Ever since he (Mr. Chaplin) himself had been in the House, when Irish measures had been introduced by a Liberal Government, they had always been accompanied by assurances of perfect success, and in every instance, he might say, the results had been disastrous.

MR. CHARLES RUSSELL said, he did not see any objection to the proposal of the Government, requiring a 10 days' notice from either of the parties, seeing that it was reasonable in the interests of both, and a proposition which could not generally lead to injurious consequences. But, as regarded the graver question, whether the Bill should be put in motion only upon the action of the landlord and tenant, if they were to adopt the Amendment of the Lords, that would completely deprive the Bill of any force or efficacy. When it was said it was impossible to adduce evidence of the ability or inability of a tenant to pay, it was forgotten that the Judges of the High Court of this country were every day engaged in inquiries of that kind. In Chambers, particularly, they had to deal with judgment debtor summonses, which raised questions that it was now contended it was impossible for any tribunal to decide; and not only so, but they did it under conditions that were by no means favourable, for the evidence consisted mainly of affidavits, while those who administered this Bill would have every means of sifting the cases—they could summon witnesses and obtain whatever materials they thought necessary to the formation of an accurate judgment. Moreover, it was, in the first place, a primary condition of the application of the first clauses of the Bill, that the inability of the tenant to pay should be established to the satisfaction of the Court; and if the inability of the tenant was clearly proved, was the landlord to be able to deprive the tenant of free access to the Court under the Act of 1881? Was it to held that the landlord should be allowed, to the detriment of, and interference with, the peace of the country, to pursue the strict limit of right which the law had given him? It was said that in dealing with questions which affected large classes, Parliament should not legislate for exceptions, but for majorities; but it was also admitted by a noble Lord in "another place" that the Lords Amendment would not touch 99 out of 100 cases; and at the Conservative meeting held yesterday at Hatfield it was said by the Marquess of Salisbury that the question raised was not one of great practical importance. And it was certain that in Ireland the Amendment would be regarded with the greatest possible distrust, therefore he did not see why the House of Commons should be asked to adopt it. Having regard to the action of the House of Lords with reference to the Land Act of 1870 and the Compensation for Disturbance Bill of 1880, which Ministers responsible for the government of Ireland thought necessary for the preservation of the peace of the country, any yielding now on the part of the House would have disastrous consequences. The Bill was not brought forward in the interests of landlords only or of tenants only; and, from the letters he had received, he did not believe that any considerable section of landlords in Ireland viewed the Amendment of the Lords with great favour. The Bill subserved the interests of both landlords and tenants, and it was proposed, above all, in the interests of tranquillity. After the disastrous years experienced by Irish farmers, it was incumbent on Parliament to give Irish tenants the chance of a new starting-point, as proposed by the Bill; and for that reason he hoped the House would reject the Lords Amendment. Remedial legislation had not yet had a fair chance, for these arrears obstructed the entrance to the Court, upon which everything depended, and until that was secured the position to those who owed arrears was the same as if the Land Act had never been passed.

MR. RAIKES said, there was one consideration which had not been pressed very much by hon. Gentlemen from his (Mr. Raikes's) own side of the House, and that was the taxpayers' view of this question. It seemed to him that, by the measure, they were asked to be generous to a certain class of people in Ireland; and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) seemed to forget the importance of being just before they were generous. They were asked to deprive themselves of the best method they could possess of sifting the claims made upon the British Exchequer and determining that public money should be used only to meet destitution. If they could secure, on the side of the Government, the natural self-interest of the landlord, they would have the best protection they could have for the British Exchequer. But if they were to rely, as the Government proposed, upon the judgment of the Sub-Commissioners, who could not know as much of the circumstances of the tenants as the landlords did, they would lack the perfect security of the enlightened self-love of the landlords, who would not refuse a good composition in the case of a tenant whom they knew to be insolvent. But there were some landlords of a different kind—what were called improving landlords. These landlords were suspected of a rather hard-hearted desire to improve their estates, irrespective of the results to their tenants. He would not venture to say a word in defence of such landlords, certainly not a word more than had been said by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford; but it was a question of political economy how far they were justified in giving temporary relief to the tenants of such landlords. A gift of £10, £5, or less, would not rehabilitate a man in a state of destitution; so that this question would come up again year after year, and they would have Session after Session devoted to further remedial legislation, which might be avoided by adopting the Lords Amendment. The result would be that before long they might wish they had relieved themselves of the responsibility they were now undertaking.

COLONEL NOLAN said, that he was among his constituents when the Bill was in the House of Lords, and he was assured that it would not be worth having with the Amendment of the Lords in it. If it were allowed to remain, the Bill would be worse than useless.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, he did not question the motives of the House of Lords in regard to the Amendment; and, so far as it was intended to secure that only those tenants who really could not pay should take advantage of the Bill, he sympathized with it. It was said that if the landlord could get 10*s.* in the pound, he would be willing to take it; but he (Mr. Mitchell Henry) could assure the House that there were many landlords to whom the exercise of absolute power was much dearer than the pecuniary benefit to be derived from the payment of 10*s.* in the pound. On the other hand, concessions were refused to tenants from mistaken notions of duty; and, in either case, the retention of the Amendment would operate most injudiciously. He knew landlords who, considering they were trustees for their infant children, would refuse to make any concession, on the ground that, by so doing, they would be perpetrating a fraud on their children. By disallowing the Lords Amendment, the House would not be casting any imputation upon the motives which prompted it.

MR. PARNELL said, he did not propose to discuss the question of option and compulsion at that moment, because it was manifest, from the appearance of the Front Opposition Bench, that the Tory Party did not intend seriously to reject the concessions which the Government had offered them on this Amendment. What he wished to know from the Irish Law Officers of the Crown was the effect of the Amendment relating to the 10 days' notice upon Clauses 2 and 13? Under Clause 2, a tenant evicted for non-payment of rent was entitled to apply for an extension of the period of redemption by three months. He wished to know whether, by the Amendment, that extended period of redemption would not be limited by 10 days? He also wished to know whether, under Clause 13, a tenant should make his application to the Court under this Bill before applying to have any ejectment proceedings then pending against him set aside? If so, it appeared to him that, during the continuance of the 10 days' notice, the Court would have no power to interfere with the proceedings, or to grant the postponement provided by Clause 13. These were matters of importance, and he hoped an answer would be given to the question.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON), in reply, said, he had no hesitation in saying that the period of redemption would not be limited in the manner suggested by the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Parnell), and that it was provided by Section 13 that the application might be made either before or after proceedings had been taken, those proceedings being stayed pending the decision of the Court.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, with reference to the remarks of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), that the state of the Front Opposition Bench showed that there was no serious objection to the proposal of the Government, it was, no doubt, a very pleasant fiction to indulge in; but he (Sir Stafford Northcote), would not like the hon. Member's challenge to pass unnoticed, and he would, therefore, remind the hon. Gentleman that in a matter of this sort, which had already been thoroughly discussed, and with respect to which the opinion of the Government was well known, the Members of the Opposition could do no more than express their dissent and argue, without taking up the time of the House by unnecessary discussions, against the views of the Government, taking a division by way of protest. They, on that side of the House, were undesirous of delaying the decision; but he, and he hoped all his Friends, intended to adhere to the sound doctrine laid down in Committee, and which was now embodied in the Amendment sent from the House of Lords. They wished that their gravest objection to the Bill might yet be removed by its acceptance. It was to be remembered that the Bill had recently been enlarged by the introduction of clauses into which the principle of compulsion did not enter; so that it might be expected to work without the retention of that principle in the 1st clause. The right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. W. E. Forster) pointed to that particular class of tenants who alone were benefited by the Bill, and urged that, for the peace of Ireland, they ought not to be evicted. Now, if it was a question of the peace of Ireland, he (Sir Stafford Northcote), should like to know why these cases only were to be considered, and whether the tenants above £30 rental would not require the same indulgence? As it appeared to him, no solid reason could be put forward at any future time against an extension of the principle of the Bill, and against more violent propositions than those which this Bill sanctioned. The House might depend upon it that such propositions would be made as the conviction grew among the people that they had only to ask and to agitate in order to obtain. Compulsion might, and, as he had shown, probably would lead to confiscation; but, under the voluntary principle, no such result need be apprehended, because "*volenti non fit injuria*." But if the landlord was to be compulsorily overborne, a dangerous principle would be allowed, of which he would venture to say the House had not by any means heard the last application. As had been said by his right hon. Friend the Member for Preston (Mr. Raikes), they had introduced a great safeguard against extravagance in the interposition of the landlord, who knew the circumstances of the tenant. Though the 10 days' notice was important as far as it went, it did not touch the real subject of complaint; and, therefore, he should think it his duty, and that was the feeling of his Friends, to divide in support of the Amendment of the House of Lords.

MR. HEALY said, that if a tenant had to give 10 days' notice at the time when his period of redemption was on the point of expiring, he might be ousted from his farm. It would be, therefore, only right that the Government should insert a consequential Amendment, extending the time for redemption to a period not exceeding three months and 10 days. He also wished to know whether the tenant was to be put under the liability of paying 1*s*. for the originating notice to be served, or whether it was to be free of cost? The Amendment of the Government had about as much relation to the Amendment of the Lords as Goodwin Sands had to Tenterden Steeple.

Question put.

The House *divided* :—Ayes 157; Noes 293: Majority 136.

AYES.

Alexander, Colonel C.
Amherst, W. A. T.
Aylmer, J. E. F.
Bailey, Sir J. R.
Balfour, A. J.
Baring, T. C.
Barne, F. St. J. N.
Barttelot, Sir W. B.
Bateson, Sir T.
Beach, rt. hn. Sir M. H.
Beach, W. W. B.
Bentinck, rt. hn. G. C.
Beresford, G. De la P.
Biddell, W.
Birkbeck, E.
Blackburne, Col. J. I.
Boord, T. W.
Bourke, rt. hon. R.
Brise, Colonel R.
Broadley, W. H. H.
Brodrick, hon. W. St. J. F.
Bruce, Sir H. H.
Brymer, W. E.
Burghley, Lord
Burnaby, General E. S.
Buxton, Sir R. J.
Campbell, J. A.
Carden, Sir R. W.
Cecil, Lord E. H. B. G.
Chaine, J.
Chaplin, H.
Christie, W. L.
Clarke, E.
Clive, Col. hon. G. W.
Cobbold, T. C.
Coddington, W.
Collins, T.
Coope, O. E.
Cotton, W. J. R.
Cross, rt. hon. Sir R. A.
Cubitt, rt. hon. G.
Davenport, W. B.
Dawnay, Col. hon. L. P.
Dawnay, hon. G. C.
De Worms, Baron H.
Dickson, Major A. G.
Digby, Col. hon. E. T.
Dixon-Hartland, F. D.
Douglas, A. Akers-
Dyke, rt. hn. Sir W. H.
Eaton, H. W.
Ecroyd, W. F.
Egerton, hon. W.
Elliot, Sir G.
Emlyn, Viscount
Ennis, Sir J.
Feilden, Maj.-Gen. R. J.
Fellowes, W. H.
Fenwick-Bisset, M.
Filmer, Sir E.
Finch, G. H.
Fitzpatrick, hn. B. E. B.
Fletcher, Sir H.
Floyer, J.
Folkestone, Viscount
Forester, C. T. W.
Fowler, R. N.
Fremantle, hon. T. F.
Freshfield, C. K.
Galway, Viscount
Garnier, J. C.
Gibson, rt. hon. E.
Giffard, Sir H. S.
Gorst, J. E.
Halsey, T. F.
Hamilton, Lord C. J.
Hamilton, right hon. Lord G.
Harcourt, E. W.
Harvey, Sir R. B.
Hay, rt. hon. Admiral Sir J. C. D.
Herbert, hon. S.
Hildyard, T. B. T.
Hinchingbrook, Visc.
Holland, Sir H. T.
Hope, rt. hn. A. J. B. B.
Hubbard, rt. hon. J. G.
Jackson, W. L.
Lawrance, J. C.
Lawrence, Sir T.
Lechmere, Sir E. A. H.
Leigh, R.
Leighton, S.
Levett, T. J.
Lewis, C. E.
Lindsay, Sir R. L.
Loder, R.
Lowther, rt. hon. J.
Lowther, hon. W.
M'Garel-Hogg, Sir J.
Mac Iver, D.
Macnaghten, E.
Makins, Colonel W. T.
Master, T. W. C.
Mills, Sir C. H.
Monckton, F.
Mowbray, rt. hon. Sir J. R.
Murray, C. J.
Newdegate, C. N.
Newport, Viscount
Nicholson, W. N.
North, Colonel J. S.
Northcote, rt. hon. Sir S. H.
Northcote, H. S.
Onslow, D.
Paget, R. H.
Pell, A.
Pemberton, E. L.
Percy, Lord A.
Phipps, C. N. P.
Phipps, P.
Plunket, rt. hon. D. R.
Puleston, J. H.
Raikes, rt. hon. H. C.
Rankin, J.
Repton, G. W.
Ritchie, C. T.
Rolls, J. A.
Ross, A. H.
Ross, C. C.
Round, J.
St. Aubyn, W. M.
Salt, T.
Sandon, Viscount
Schreiber, C.
Scott, M. D.
Severne, J. E.
Smith, rt. hon. W. H.
Stanhope, hon. E.
Stanley, rt. hn. Col. F.
Stanley, E. J.
Sykes, C.
Talbot, J. G.
Taylor, rt. hon. Col. T. E.
Thomson, H.
Thornhill, T.
Tollemache, H. J.
Tottenham, A. L.
Tyler, Sir H. W.
Warburton, P. E.
Warton, C. N.
Welby-Gregory, Sir W. E.
Whitley, E.
Wilmot, Sir J. E.
Wortley, C. B. Stuart-
Wroughton, P.
Wyndham, hon. P.
Yorke, J. R.

TELLERS.

Crichton, Viscount
Winn, R.

NOES.

Acland, C. T. D.
Agnew, W.
Ainsworth, D.
Allen, H. G.
Allman, R. L.
Anderson, G.
Armitage, B.
Arnold, A.
Asher, A.
Ashley, hon. E. M.
Baldwin, E.
Balfour, Sir G.
Balfour, J. B.
Balfour, J. S.
Baring, Viscount
Barnes, A.
Barran, J.
Bass, H.
Bass, M. T.
Beaumont, W. B.
Bellingham, A. H.
Biggar, J. G.
Blake, J. A.
Blennerhassett, R. P.
Borlase, W. C.
Brand, H. R.
Brassey, Sir T.
Brett, R. B.
Briggs, W. E.
Bright, rt. hon. J.
Bright, J. (Manchester)
Brinton, J.
Broadhurst, H.
Brogden, A.
Brooks, M.
Bruce, rt. hon. Lord C.
Bruce, hon. R. P.
Bryce, J.
Buchanan, T. R.
Burt, T.
Buszard, M. C.
Butt, C. P.
Buxton, F. W.
Caine, W. S.
Callan, P.
Cameron, C.
Campbell, Sir G.
Campbell, R. F. F.
Campbell-Bannerman, H.
Carbutt, E. H.
Carington, hon. R.
Causton, R. K.
Cavendish, Lord E.
Chamberlain, rt. hn. J.
Chambers, Sir T.

Cheetham, J. F.
Childers, rt. hn. H. C. E.
Clarke, J. C.
Clifford, C. C.
Cohen, A.
Colebrooke, Sir T. E.
Collings, J.
Colman, J. J.
Commins, A.
Corbet, W. J.
Cotes, C. C.
Courtauld, G.
Courtney, L. H.
Cowen, J.
Cowper, hon. H. F.
Craig, W. Y.
Cropper, J.
Cross, J. K.
Daly, J.
Davey, H.
Davies, W.
De Ferrieres, Baron
Dickson, T. A.
Dilke, Sir C. W.
Dodds, J.
Dodson, rt. hon. J. G.
Duckham, T.
Duff, R. W.
Earp, T.
Edwards, P.
Egerton, Adm. hon. F.
Elliot, hon. A. R. D.
Errington, G.
Fairbairn, Sir A.
Farquharson, Dr. R.
Fawcett, rt. hon. H.
Fay, C. J.
Ferguson, R.
Ffolkes, Sir W. H. B.
Findlater, W.
Firth, J. F. B.
Fitzmaurice, Lord E.
Flower, C.
Foljambe, C. G. S.
Foljambe, F. J. S.
Forster, rt. hon. W. E.
Forster, Sir C.
Fowler, H. H.
Fowler, W.
Fry, T.
Gill, H. J.
Givan, J.
Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
Gladstone, H. J.
Gladstone, W. H.
Gordon, Sir A.
Gordon, Lord D.
Goschen, rt. hon. G. J.
Gourley, E. T.
Gower, hon. E. F. L.
Grafton, F. W.
Grant, A.
Gray, E. D.
Grenfell, W. H.
Grey, A. H. G.
Gurdon, R. T.
Harcourt, rt. hon. Sir W. G. V. V.
Hardcastle, J. A.
Hartington, Marq. of
Hastings, G. W.
Hayter, Sir A. D.
Healy, T. M.
Henderson, F.
Heneage, E.
Henry, M.
Herschell, Sir F.
Hibbert, J. T.
Hill, T. R.
Holden, I.
Hollond, J. R.
Holms, J.
Holms, W.
Hopwood, C. H.
Howard, E. S.
Howard, J.
Illingworth, A.
Inderwick, F. A.
James, C.
James, Sir H.
James, W. H.
Jenkins, D. J.
Jenkins, Sir J. J.
Johnson, W. M.
Labouchere, H.
Lalor, R.
Lambton, hon. F. W.
Lawrence, Sir J. C.
Lawrence, W.
Lawson, Sir W.
Lea, T.
Leahy, J.
Leake, R.
Leamy, E.
Leatham, E. A.
Lee, H.
Lefevre, rt. hn. G. J. S.
Leigh, hon. G. H. C.
Lloyd, M.
Lubbock, Sir J.
Lusk, Sir A.
Lymington, Viscount
M'Arthur, A.
M'Arthur, W.
M'Carthy, J.
M'Clure, Sir T.
M'Coan, J. C.
Macfarlane, D. H.
M'Kenna, Sir J. N.
Mackie, R. B.
M'Laren, C. B. B.
M'Minnies, J. G.
Magniac, C.
Maitland, W. F.
Mappin, F. T.
Marjoribanks, E.
Martin, P.
Martin, R. B.
Maskelyne, M. H. Story-
Mason, H.
Matheson, Sir A.
Meldon, C. H.
Mellor, J. W.
Milbank, Sir F. A.
Molloy, B. C.
Monk, C. J.
Moore, A.
Morgan, rt. hon. G. O.
Morley, A.
Mundella, rt. hon. A. J.
Muntz, P. H.
Nicholson, W.
Noel, E.
Nolan, Colonel J. P.
Norwood, C. M.
O'Brien, Sir P.
O'Connor, A.
O'Connor, T. P.
O'Donoghue, The
O'Gorman Mahon, Col. The
O'Kelly, J.
O'Shaughnessy, R.
O'Shea, W. H.
Otway, Sir A.
Paget, T. T.
Palmer, G.
Palmer, J. H.
Parker, C. S.
Parnell, C. S.
Pease, A.
Peddie, J. D.
Pender, J.
Pennington, F.
Philips, R. N.
Playfair, rt. hon. L.
Porter, A. M.
Portman, hn. W. H. B.
Potter, T. B.
Power, J. O'C.
Power, R.
Price, Sir R. G.
Pugh, L. P.
Ralli, P.
Ramsay, J.
Rathbone, W.
Redmond, J. E.
Reed, Sir E. J.
Reid, R. T.
Richard, H.
Richardson, T.
Roberts, J.
Robertson, H.
Rogers, J. E. T.
Rothschild, Sir N. M. de
Roundell, C. S.
Russell, Lord A.
Russell, C.
Russell, G. W. E.
Rylands, P.
Samuelson, B.
Samuelson, H.
Seely, C. (Nottingham)
Sexton, T.
Shaw, W.
Sheil, E.
Shield, H.
Simon, Serjeant J.
Sinclair, Sir J. G. T.
Slagg, J.
Spencer, hon. C. R.
Stanley, hon. E. L.
Stansfeld, rt. hon. J.
Stanton, W. J.
Stevenson, J. C.
Stewart, J.
Storey, S.
Stuart, H. V.
Sullivan, T. D.
Summers, W.
Synan, E. J.
Tavistock, Marquess of
Taylor, P. A.
Tennant, C.
Thomasson, J. P.
Thompson, T. C.
Thynne, Lord H. F.
Tillett, J. H.
Torrens, W. T. M'C.
Trevelyan, rt. hn. G. O.
Villiers, rt. hon. C. P.
Vivian, A. P.
Wallace, Sir R.
Walter, J.
Waterlow, Sir S. H.
Watkin, Sir E. W.
Wedderburn, Sir D.
Whalley, G. H.
Whitbread, S.
Whitworth, B.
Wiggin, H.
Williams, S. C. E.
Williamson, S.
Willis, W.
Wills, W. H.
Willyams, E. W. B.
Wilson, I.
Wilson, Sir M.
Wodehouse, E. R.
Woodall, W.

TELLERS.
Grosvenor, Lord R.
Kensington, Lord

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, he proposed to meet cases where difficulty might be experienced in giving the 10 days' notice, by moving the following addition to the Amendment as amended:—

> "Provided that, for the purpose of application under the provisions of Sections 2, 10, and 13 respectively of this Act, the Land Commission may, in respect to such notice, extend the periods in the said sections respectively mentioned, for any time not exceeding 10 days."

Amendment to said Amendment, as amended, *agreed to.*

Amendment, as amended, *agreed to.*

The following Amendments *agreed to:*—In page 1, line 18, leave out "by," and insert "on or before;" in page 2, line 7, after "shall," insert "subject as hereinafter mentioned."

Page 2, line 14, after the word "security," insert the words—

"Provided, That, in the event of the next subsequent sale of the tenancy, the arrears of rent not satisfied by payment or remission shall be a sum payable to the landlord out of the proceeds of the sale within the meaning of 'The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881,'"

—the next Amendment, read a second time.

MR. GLADSTONE said, he proposed to amend this Amendment in the manner he had described, by providing that the sale of the tenant right must be within seven years, and that the amount of the landlord's claim must be limited to one year's rent, and that the claim should not exceed one-half of the saleable value. He would accordingly move, as the first of these Amendments, that the words "the next subsequent," in line 2, be left out and "a" inserted.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, this was the first Amendment of the series, which would make the sub-section read as follows:—

"Provided, That, in the event of a sale of the tenancy within seven years from the making of such order, the arrears of rent not satisfied by payment or remission shall, to an amount not exceeding one year's arrears nor one-half the saleable value of the tenant's interest, be a sum payable to the landlord out of the proceeds of the sale within the meaning of 'The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881.'"

MR. LEWIS said, he would point out that they were dealing under this section with the proceeding of a sale, and not a hypothetical value. He would therefore suggest that instead of "saleable," the word "sale" should be inserted in the third Amendment.

MR. HEALY said, he thought it was very objectionable to make the sale a sale according to the meaning of the Land Act; because, if a tenant desired to dispose of his tenancy, the landlord might apply to the Land Court to have the "true value" fixed. He would therefore suggest to further amend the same Amendment by omitting, after "sale," the words "within the meaning of the Land Act of 1881," and inserting the words "in open market." The provision as it stood would debar tenants from emigrating, because so many obstacles would be raised to the sale of the holding. In any case the provision should not apply to holdings of less value than £15 per annum.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON), referring to the remarks of the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis), said, the contingency which the Government contemplated in the Amendment was that of the tenant turning his tenancy into money. He therefore agreed with the hon. Member as to the necessity for substituting the word "sale" for "saleable." The Government could not agree to the suggestion of the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy). The sale would practically be in the open market, the only difference being that the landlord would have the right of pre-emption.

MR. GIVAN considered it most important to have the sale in the open market. He also thought it highly desirable that the word "voluntary" should be inserted in the Amendment, because the landlord might force a sale on the tenant.

MR. GLADSTONE said, he could not accept the suggestion, because he could not conceive in what mode they could apply the voluntary state. It would be very hard to prevent the landlord from getting his arrears if a tenant were sold up by one of his creditors.

VISCOUNT LYMINGTON thought the limitation of seven years was too long, and would much prefer the period being half the time.

MR. SEXTON said, he fully concurred with the noble Viscount opposite (Viscount Lymington) as to the necessity for shortening the period. At the same time, he hoped the Government would see the desirability of adopting the suggestion of the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy), and insert some value below which the provision would not operate.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, he presumed the Amendment before the House was the substitution of "a" for "the next subsequent."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, that this was so.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed to the said Amendment—

In line 2, after the word "tenancy," to insert the words "within seven years from the making of such order."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. LEWIS hoped the Government would stand by the Amendment. To consent to reduce the time would be to nibble away the concessions of the Government. Considering tenancies frequently lasted for many years in Ireland without change, the period of seven years, instead of being too long, was too short.

Viscount LYMINGTON thought that seven years was too long a period to allow the lien to continue. He therefore moved to insert "three" for "seven."

Amendment proposed to the said proposed Amendment, to leave out the word "seven," in order to insert the word "three,"—(*Viscount Lymington,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the word 'seven' stand part of the proposed Amendment."

Mr. GLADSTONE said, that the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) had expressed the hope that the Government would find themselves able to extend their concessions. Unfortunately, however, they were not able to do so. They could not accept the Amendment, for they felt themselves already tied up on this question. The Government had come forward, not without a great deal of consideration, and had made what they thought a fair and reasonable offer for the settlement of the matter, and they must adhere to the proposal. In Ireland the sale of a tenant right took place, on an average, once in a generation; and in that case, by this Amendment, they had taken a term of years which was about a fourth of the time for which a tenant right was ordinarily held. He did not think it was a very unreasonable number of years to fix; and, under the circumstances, he thought it most consistent with the interest of all parties that they should adhere to it.

Mr. CHARLES RUSSELL said, he should certainly support the Amendment of the noble Viscount the Member for Barnstaple (Viscount Lymington), for the reason that he considered the proposal of the Government highly undesirable, seeing that it proposed to actually keep alive, and hanging over the heads of the tenants, a debt that was practically irrecoverable under the ordinary statutory limitation, which was a period of six years. Why life should be given to those arrears for seven years he was at a loss to know; as the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had said, there were some cases in which this would operate very hardly, and in direct opposition to that in which a great many Members of that House would like to see a movement take place—he meant the voluntary movement by tenants of small holdings, who, if they could realize anything for their holding, would be willing to take the money and seek another field of labour. The majority of that House were in favour of what he (Mr. Charles Russell) would call the healthy and natural consolidation of farms by the means he had described, and he thought the proposal would exercise a prejudicial influence upon such natural consolidation. A man who was unable to farm his holding to advantage should have no obstacle placed in the way of the sale of his interest to his neighbour or some stronger man, bringing his capital and his energy to some other field.

Mr. GIBSON said, he could not allow any principle of limitation of time with reference to arrears, other than that which came down from the other House, to be introduced without protest. The limitation introduced by the Lords had been only the next subsequent sale of the tenancy; but that had been struck out and a proposal made by the Government to introduce a strict limit of seven years. There was no reason whatever for such a limitation, and he thought it far better to leave it as it originally stood—the next subsequent sale of the tenancy. At all events, seven years was too short. These arrears had often been spoken of as irrecoverable; but that was not the case. In Ulster the tenant right, which was sometimes as much as 30 or 40 times the rent, was regarded as the security for the arrears, and on a transfer of the holding the arrears were paid in full. If this alteration of time was put in, it should be done with a great deal of caution, and with every attention to what the subject-matter was; and bearing in mind that the subject-matter was that of a debt, capable of being recovered by legal process, it was rather strange to put in such a limitation as that of seven years. He should say that the alteration should be that of the Land Act of last year, which was a term of 15 years; and it was proposed here to keep the debt alive, not merely as a debt, because to do that would give a right to recover at any time the landlord pleased, and the debt would be one bearing interest; but it would also be kept alive as a mere charge, because it could not be recovered for seven years, and might not be then, unless there was a sale at the time. Though he would not press a division on the point, he would indicate his dissent by calling out "No!" when it was proposed to insert the words in the clause.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, he should greatly prefer the limitation of three years to that of seven; but, as the Prime Minister had spoken so decidedly, he would recommend the noble Viscount (Viscount Lymington) not to go to a division. If he did, he (Mr. Mitchell Henry) would not vote with him; but he hoped that an Amendment, exempting tenancies below £15 a-year, would meet with more favour.

Question put.

The House *divided:* — Ayes 197; Noes 83: Majority 114.—(Div. List, No. 322.)

Words *inserted.*

MR. HEALY, in moving another Amendment to the said Amendment, for the purpose of exempting tenants of holdings valued under £15 from the application of the Lords Amendment, said, he did so, because he thought the tenant right of these miserable holdings were not worth carrying forward, and the only effect of doing so would be to enable the landlord to hold over the tenant's head a sort of sword of Damocles. He contended that if the liability to pay a year's rent to the landlord were to continue for a space of seven years, the tenants of holdings in connection with which tenant right could not be said to exist would be very hardly used. He implored the Government not to put a bar on the improvement of those small holdings for the next seven years, because the tenants could not be expected to make improvements simply to give the landlords their arrears. In the event of their persisting in their proposal, he would impress upon them the necessity of excluding those cases in which the tenant right was of little, if any value. He thought it desirable that some limitation of this kind he proposed should be made on the operation of the Act, otherwise the result of the Amendment inserted just now would be to keep many unfortunate people tied to their holdings. In this way the Bill gave to the tenants with one hand and took away with the other.

Amendment proposed to the said Amendment,

In line 3, after the word "rent," to insert the words "in the case of any holding exceeding fifteen pounds in value."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. GLADSTONE said, he could not say that he felt there was any great force in the arguments of the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy). The hon. Member complained that they were not giving the tenant the clear receipt which they had desired to give him; but what he (Mr. Gladstone) had endeavoured to point out was, that they were giving him as a tenant an absolutely clear receipt. When he ceased to be a tenant, a reduction was to be made from the price of his tenant's interest; and the Amendment of the hon. Member was undoubtedly a serious deduction from the equally serious concession they had made to the House of Lords, and also from the concession which they had always felt, in the course of the discussions on the Bill, was not without some ground, in their own admissions in connection with the Land Act of last year, when they said that the tenant right would be a valuable security to the landlord. He (Mr. Gladstone) assumed that the hon. Member for Wexford did not wish that Bill to be wrecked. The Government had, on full consideration of the Lords Amendments, bound itself by what was really a pledge of honour, which the hon. Gentleman must feel they were not in a position to recede from. They had promised a concession; and of that concession the hon. Member would now withdraw three-fourths by his Amendment, for of the tenants under £30 valuation, to whom the Bill would apply, an enormous majority in point of numbers, and probably not less than three-fourths in value, were under £15. After the Government had made a proposal and announced it as part of the scheme on which they intended to deal with the Lords Amendments, he need hardly point out that if they were to recede from three-fourths of that proposal, they would be giving the very best plea to those who, perhaps, desired that the measure should come to grief in "another place" for attaining that end. If they were to agree to the Amendment it might fairly be said that the Government had not kept faith with the other House, and for those reasons he could not accept the Amendment.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY said, he was extremely sorry that the Prime Minister could not make a concession on that point, which he did not think would imperil the Bill in the House of Lords, because he thought their Lordships really would not attach any importance to a concession in regard to the small tenants to whom the Amendment of the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) applied. The whole tenour of the debate in the other House showed sympathy with the miserable tenant of £4 or £5 annual value in the West of Ireland, and he believed that the Lords would have gladly made a present of their arrears to those miserable tenants, who could not, under any circumstances, obtain more than a few pounds to enable them to emigrate. In his opinion, the Government and the House had not sufficiently grasped the fact that the small tenants in the West of Ireland ought to be dealt with in a totally different manner from the other Irish tenants; whereas, by applying this provision to them, the Government would stereotype the misery that existed in that portion of the country. As he wished the Bill to become law, he could not divide in favour of the Amendment.

Mr. SEXTON said, he could assure the House that neither himself, the hon. Member for Wexford, nor any other Member of the Irish Party desired to see the Bill wrecked; but he did not think the adoption of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) would have such an effect on the House of Lords as the Prime Minister seemed to apprehend, while he believed that it was required for the beneficial operation of the measure, as well as for the accomplishment of its professed objects. He considered the concession which the Government had made to the House of Lords would take away the benefits of the Bill from the necessitous classes in Ireland. In the West of Ireland many families, if they sold their little holdings, would not realize more than a £10 or £20 note, for the purpose of taking them where they could begin some new career. It was only that day that the Irish Members had learnt what the Government intended to do; and he must say he thought the Government had put the cart before the horse by pledging themselves to certain proposals before the House had an opportunity of considering the matter. The Government had at the last moment, and without any previous notice, proposed to give to the landlords a third year's arrears of rent.

Mr. DAWSON thought that the Amendment of the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) was one which the Government might accept without exciting the anger of the Upper House.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 73; Noes 135: Majority 62.—(Div. List, No. 323.)

Mr. GLADSTONE proposed to further amend the Lords Amendment, by providing that the sum payable to the landlord out of the proceeds of the sale of a tenancy in respect of unsatisfied arrears should be limited to "an amount not exceeding one year of such arrears, nor one-half of the proceeds of such sale."

Amendment proposed to the said Amendment,

In line 3, after "shall," insert "to an amount not exceeding one year of such arrears nor one half of the proceeds of such sale."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. GIBSON said, he thought that the limitation proposed in this Amendment by the Government was open to grave exception, in regard to its extreme smallness. He did not propose to discuss the limitation of time, as that had already been dealt with; but with regard to the limitation of amount, he thought that if there were four or five years' arrears due to the landlord, and some of those arrears were readily recoverable if time were given, it would be a harsh measure to tell the landlord that he was only to have a charge in respect of one of those years. That seemed to him to be a limitation of too drastic a character. He was disposed to think that the limitation could be obtained in a wiser way, and in a way less open to exception, if the latter half of the Government's alternative was taken as a basis to work upon. He would suggest that a limitation, to the effect that a certain proportion of the amount realized in the sale should always reach the tenant's hands, would be a limitation which might be worked with advantage, and would supersede the necessity of making any limitation of years. The Government could hardly expect that it would be satisfactory to the landlords, or to the other House, to put in a limitation so restrictive in its nature as to prevent a landlord, under any circumstances, from recovering more than one year's arrears of rent. He protested against the statement so constantly made in that House that arrears beyond those of three years were to be regarded as irrecoverable. It was perfectly absurd for anyone who knew the state of the facts to say that three years was the limitation that was to be taken as the rough measure of arrears that were recoverable, as distinguished from those that were irrecoverable; and he was distinctly of opinion that the limitation adopted here by the Government was entirely too narrow.

Amendment *agreed to;* words *inserted* accordingly.

On the Motion of Mr. GLADSTONE, further Amendment made in line 4, by leaving out after the word "of," the words "the proceeds of the sale," and inserting "such proceeds."

Amendment, as amended, *agreed to.*

Page 2, lines 15 and 16, leave out the words "may, if the Commissioners think it reasonable," and insert the word "shall,"—instead thereof,—the next Amendment, read a second time.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) (for Mr. GLADSTONE) moved to insert, in lieu of the word "shall," the words "shall, so far as the Commissioners think it reasonable."

Amendment proposed to the said Amendment, after the word "shall," insert "so far as the Commissioners think it reasonable."—(*Mr. Attorney General for Ireland.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, the proposed Amendment would not attain the object of the Lords Amendment. As the Bill originally stood, there was a limitation as to the extent to which the tenant right was to be taken into consideration; but there was no direct instruction to the Commissioners that it should be taken into consideration. Their Lordships had, therefore, amended it, as it now stood, and their reason for doing so was a doubt as to whether some of the Sub-Commissioners, judging from some of the decisions they had hitherto given, had so much discretion as to make it justifiable to appeal to it; and the object of it was that there should be a distinct injunction that the saleable value of a tenant's interest was to be taken into consideration, subject to the limitation that the tenant was not to be turned out of his holding or deprived of the means of cultivating it. The Lords, therefore, struck out the words "may, if the Commissioners think it reasonable," and substituted "shall." The Prime Minister did not altogether disagree with the Lords Amendment; but he proposed to insert after "shall," the words "so far as the Commissioners think it reasonable." The concession of the Government was a small one, as compared with that which would be made by the Lords; for by putting in the words proposed the discretion was again placed in the hands of the Commissioners to a large extent, and the effect of the Amendment would be to restore practically the words struck out by the House of Lords.

MR. PARNELL feared that the Government were about to make too great a concession. He believed that the Amendment practically made it compulsory on the Commissioners to take into consideration the value of the tenant right. As regarded the relief originally intended to be granted to them, he could not imagine an Amendment more calculated to lessen the belief of the Irish tenants in the justice of that House and the other House towards them than this Amendment, for it would have the effect of practically telling them that arrears which had accumulated over a series of bad seasons, or in respect of rent which the Land Court appointed by Parliament was every day denouncing as unjust rent, and which they had been unable to pay, that then they must borrow or sell their tenant right. If the value of the tenant's interest exactly equalled the amount of his arrears, he would, on the one hand, have nothing left if it were regarded as an asset, and, on the other, would be excluded from the benefits of the Bill. He believed such an Amendment was most unprecedented and unjust, and that it would go far to check and control the tribunal appointed from doing an act of justice to the tenants. He could not understand why the Government had brought it forward, as it was opposed to the whole principles of the Bill. He should divide against it.

Mr. LEWIS supported the compromise suggested by the Government, and thought that the Commissioners would not be absolutely bound to take the value of the tenant right into consideration. He was very glad that the Government had found the middle course, and had rejected both extremes; on the one hand, of the Commissioners being bound to take the value of the tenant right into consideration as an asset; and the other extreme, of its not being taken into account at all. The matter was placed within the unlimited discretion of the Commissioners.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Words *inserted.*

Motion made, and Question put, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment, as amended."

The House *divided:*—Ayes 152; Noes 55: Majority 97.—(Div. List, No. 324.)

Page 2, line 22, leave out "that year," and insert "the year expiring as aforesaid,"—the next Amendment, *agreed to.*

Page 2, line 24, leave out from the word "where," to end of the sub-section, and insert the words—

"According to the ordinary course of dealing between the landlord and tenant of a holding, the rent of such holding has actually been paid at some time after the day on which it became legally due, the rent which according to such usual course or dealing ought to be paid in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one, shall, for the purposes of this section, be deemed the rent payable in respect of the year expiring as aforesaid,"

—the next Amendment, read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth disagree with the Lords in the said Amendment."—(*Mr. Attorney General for Ireland.*)

Mr. GIBSON said, he had listened with great attention to the Prime Minister when explaining that three out of four meanings might be given to the Lords Amendment; but he failed to follow the right hon. Gentleman, and was unable to put any of those meanings upon it. He knew that the Amendment was made in the other House with the most sincere desire to amend a section which left the House of Commons in entire confusion. He (Mr. Gibson) had spoken upon the section with extreme reluctance, and he came to the conclusion that the whole thing was in such absolute confusion that the wisest course would be to leave out the sub-section altogether. He moved that it be struck out and divided upon it; but, as often fell to the lot of public men, he was beaten. The Government must take the consequences of their own drafting, which they probably were not now so fond of as they had been. It was apparently now a choice between the confusion of their own sub-section and what they alleged was the confusion of the Amendment. He would be glad to hear the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown, English, Irish, and Scotch, on the subject; and if, after listening to his right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General for Ireland first and to his hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General for Ireland, giving his own independent view of it afterwards, the House was not satisfied, why, then let them leave the matter to the arbitrament of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department, who was an authority on International questions. The Lord Chancellor, whose private and legal character they all so much respected, at one time thought he had a gleam of meaning on the question, and accordingly he rushed hastily into the fray. The noble and learned Lord thought he would clear up the whole matter by striking out one word and inserting two. But next day the Law Officers must, doubtless, have got at him, and begged him for God's sake to leave it alone, because he was then ready to adopt those particular words, or, in fact, any others which noble Lords might suggest. Personally, he (Mr. Gibson) had, he thought, most reasonable and intelligible views upon it, and had endeavoured to state them to the House. He had considered the Government Amendment with care—no one could say he had considered it with pleasure—and he came to the conclusion that the Government drafting was so involved, confused, and hopeless in its complication that it would be better to drop the sub-section altogether. The Government, however, thought that the wise men who had to administer the Land Act would be the very men to administer it; and if they (the Government) were not satisfied with the carefully drawn Amendment sent down from the Lords, and it was so, it was impossible to say what would please them. He thought that the Lords Amendment was open to fewer misconceptions than the Government drafting, and he hoped the House would decide in its favour.

MR. GLADSTONE said, that it could not be said that the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gibson) had delivered a speech couched in the extreme of Party spirit. His candour had not gone to extreme lengths in favour of the Amendment of the House of Lords. On the contrary, the right hon. and learned Gentleman had left it open to them to address an appeal to his understanding, of which he (Mr. Gladstone) need not say he had an extremely high opinion, which was not lowered when the right hon. and learned Gentleman gave play to the lighter faculties of his nature and treated the Amendment of his Friends in "another place" in a tone of humour of which he had given such a pleasant example. He would submit that the House was not now dealing with what the right hon. and learned Gentleman called the "Government drafting." Assuming now that the Amendment were perfectly clear, it amounted to this. It said that the rent which ought to be paid in 1881 by the custom of the particular estates should, for the purposes of Clause 1 of the Bill, be taken to be the rent of 1881. In the case of an estate upon which there was a double hanging gale, the landlord would get two years' rent for the years 1880 and 1881, and he should think that was about enough. But this was not all. By this Amendment the Land Commission would have to pay the landlord half of the rent for 1880, for which he had been already paid, so that he would get two and a-half years' rent in two years. This was certainly pretty well, especially in a case of confiscation. He must say it was not a bad arrangement at all for the landlord; but he (Mr. Gladstone) could hardly be expected to agree to a step which would lead to such a result. But that was not yet all, because they had now admitted into the Bill a clause providing that if the first sale of the tenancy occurred within seven years, the landlord would come forward and say it was quite true that under the Arrears Act he got one-half of his rent of 1880, but he had six months still outstanding, and he was entitled to claim that out of the price of the tenant right, so that the landlord would get three years' rent in two years through the medium of a bill of confiscation. He submitted that statement to the judgment of the right hon. and learned Gentleman. [MR. GIBSON: I have no right of reply.] That was quite true; but possibly there might be a division, and the right hon. and learned Gentleman would, by voting, have an opportunity of showing how open his mind was to the force of truth, and to demonstration little short of mathematical. Under the circumstances, it was impossible for the Government to accept the Amendment.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Page 3, line 7, after the word "money," insert the words—

"Provided always, That where two or more parties are entitled to the arrears, the Land Commission shall have power to decide the rights of the parties, and the proportion in which the said arrears shall be divided amongst them,"

—the next Amendment, read a second time.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, the Government would accept the Amendment, provided the words "the said arrears" were deleted, and the following inserted, "the sum so ordered to be paid to or for the benefit of the landlord."

Amendment proposed to the said Amendment, in line 4, to leave out the words "said arrears," and insert "sum so ordered to be paid to or for the benefit of the landlord."—(*Mr. Attorney General for Ireland.*)

In reply to Mr. GIBSON,

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, the opinion of the Government was that the Amendment was unnecessary, because the 4th section gave ample power to the Land Commission to determine all matters which were to be determined by them for the purposes of the Act, and also to deal with the money in their hands. The Lords, however, were apparently of opinion that the section did not meet all that was required, and therefore proposed the Amendment, and it was in order to make that Amendment intelligible that the verbal alteration was suggested.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Amendment, as amended, *agreed to.*

On the Motion of Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND, the following Amendments *agreed to*:—In page 3, line 13, after "apply, "insert "with the consent of his landlord in the prescribed manner;" line 27, after "restitution," insert—

> "Provided that an order of the Land Commission under this section shall not take effect until and unless the tenant is restored to his holding;"

leave out lines 38 to 40; page 4, line 23, after "court," insert—

> "The Land Commission may of its own motion, or shall on the application of any party to any proceeding pending before it unless it considers such application frivolous and vexatious, state a case in respect of any question of law arising in such proceedings, and refer the same for the consideration and decision of Her Majesty's Court of Appeal in Ireland;"

and in lines 25 and 26, leave out from "delegate" to "any" in line 27.

On the Motion of Mr. GLADSTONE, the following consequential Amendment made:—In page 4, line 30, after "or," insert "any member."

Page 4, line 30, after the words "Sub-Commission," insert the words "being a barrister-at-law," the next Amendment, read a second time.

Amendment proposed to the said Amendment, in page 4, line 30, after "barrister-at-law," insert the words "or solicitor."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

MR. GREGORY congratulated the Government on their proposed addition to the Lords Amendment.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Amendment, as amended, *agreed to.*

Page 4, line 33, after the word "shall," insert the words "subject to an appeal to the Land Commission, on and in such conditions and circumstances as may be prescribed," the next Amendment, read a second time.

On the Motion of Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND, Amendment *amended* as follows:—In line 1, before "subject," insert "in reference thereto;" and in line 2, after "appeal," insert "on matter of law."

Amendment, as amended, *agreed to.*

On the Motion of Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND, the following consequential Amendment made:—In page 4, line 33, leave out "in reference thereto."

On the Motion of Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND, the following Amendments read a second time, and *agreed to*:—In page 5, line 21, leave out "to receive any money from the Land Commission;" and in page 10, leave out Clause 17.

On the Motion of Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND, the following consequential Amendment made:—In lieu of Clause 17 (omitted by the Lords) insert the following clause:—

(Exemption in respect of public charges upon arrears of rent extinguished.)

> "Where, in the case of a holding of which any person is owner, antecedent arrears of rent due in respect of any year or years, or portion of a year, have been extinguished in pursuance of this Act, and any public charge or tax accrued during such year or years, or portion of year or years, is due from such person as or in consequence of his being owner of such holding, then, on proof to the satisfaction of the Land Commission that the owner has, during such time as aforesaid, received no rent, or an amount of rent less than the full rent, such public charges or taxes shall, if no rent has been received, be wholly remitted, and if an amount of rent less than the full rent has been received, be remitted in proportion to the amount of rent not received.
>
> "Where a person has paid any public charges or taxes which, if not paid, would be remitted

under this section, the amount which would have been so remitted shall be allowed as a deduction from any future payment or payments of the public charges or taxes of the same description, or may be recovered as a debt from the authority to whom it may have been paid.

"Any payment which an owner may receive under this Act in respect of arrears of rent shall, for the purposes of this section, be taken into account as rent.

"The Land Commission shall ascertain, for the purposes of this section, in such manner as they think best calculated to ascertain the truth, the amount of public charges or taxes due in any year or portion of a year from a person as or in consequence of his being owner of a holding.

"'Public charges or taxes' means tithe rent-charge payable to the Land Commission, income tax, quit-rent, or any of such charges or taxes."

Committee *appointed*, "to draw up Reasons to be assigned to The Lords for disagreeing to one of the Amendments made by The Lords to the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill:"—Mr. GLADSTONE, Secretary Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, Mr. DODSON, Mr. TREVELYAN, Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE, Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND, Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND, and Lord RICHARD GROSVENOR:—Three to be the quorum: —To withdraw immediately.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £52,552, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of the Irish Land Commission."

MR. SEXTON said, it was an exceedingly singular fact, and one which could not escape remark, that the Committee were asked to vote this large sum of money for the salaries and expenses of the Irish Land Commission at a moment when no Representative of the Irish Government was to be seen on the Treasury Bench.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that the Members of the Irish Government had simply retired for the purpose of drawing up Reasons for disagreeing with the Lords Amendments on the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill.

MR. SEXTON said, that in that case he would move that the Chairman report Progress, so that an opportunity might be afforded to the Attorney General for Ireland and the Chief Secretary for Ireland of being present to discuss the Vote after the Government had drawn up their Reasons for disagreeing with the Lords Amendments.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

MR. SEXTON said, he saw that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had returned to his place; and he would not, therefore, persist in dividing the Committee upon the Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

MR. SEXTON said, he thought it was desirable, in connection with this Vote, that the Committee should have some exact information as to the progress the Land Commission had been able to make in fixing fair rents. They had heard some time ago that out of some 600,000 tenants in Ireland, about 80,000 had made applications to the Land Commission to have fair rents fixed, and the Government told them that there had been 10,000 settlements. He (Mr. Sexton) thought, however, that if they looked very closely into the matter it would be found that a very considerable portion of the settlements which the Government claimed credit for were settlements out of Court. Personally, he was disposed to limit the credit to be given to the operation of the Land Commission to the settlements actually carried out in Court. As far as he was able to ascertain, the landlords, in many cases, used the arrears due on various holdings as a means of preventing the tenants from going into Court; and he was inclined to think that the number of settlements out of Court, and the growth of those settlements, was rather a proof of the helplessness of the tenants than the healthy operation of the Land Act. He should be glad to hear from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland what evidence he had in his possession that would enable him to inform the Committee that the settlements out of Court were settlements by the free will of the landlord and the free will of the tenant. He should be glad, indeed, if he could believe that the settlements out of Court had been settlements arising from a mutual sense in the minds of the landlord and tenant of the propriety and justice of the settlement made. He was afraid there was sad reason to suspect that the 10,000 settlements which had been made out of Court had been made by landlords who had used the arrears as a weapon of terror, and that the tenants had no option but to accept such terms as were preferred by the landlords or else to leave their farms. He strongly objected to the method in which the results of the action of the Land Commission had been tabulated and laid before the House. He had, he believed, on one occasion, already referred to the form in which the information relative to the decisions of the Sub-Commissioners had been laid before the Members of that House. They had been told what was the Poor Law valuation of the holdings, what was the old rent, and what was the new rent. He maintained that that was very insufficient information to enable the House of Commons to judge of the manner in which the Sub-Commissioners were doing their work, because the Poor Law valuation was, at the best, a very rough and very inconclusive test of the value of the holding. It was oppressive in some cases, and more oppressive in others. In some cases it marked about the level of a fair rent; in others considerably above that level; so that to tell the House what the Poor Law valuation and the old rent were was not to place in their hands information at all sufficient to enable them to judge with what degree of propriety and good judgment the Sub-Commissioners had exercised their functions. The curious part of the case was this, that the Sub-Commissioners supplied to the office of the Land Commissioners in Dublin—and he would be glad if the Land Commission in Dublin would duplicate the records in that office—two items of information very valuable to the Commissioners themselves, and very valuable because of the information they afforded as to the real value of the holdings. Nevertheless, those two items had hitherto been studiously and obstinately withheld from the knowledge of the House of Commons. Now, what were these two items? The first gave the amount sworn by the valuator of the landlord as being the true value of the farm; and the second gave the amount sworn by the valuator of the tenant as the true value of the farm. Why had the Land Commission withheld those two items from the House of Commons? Why had they merely given them the Poor Law valuation, the old rent, and the new rent, and abstained from informing them what the landlord's valuator and the tenant's valuator respectively declared to be the true value of the holding? He was inclined to think that if the information he asked for were submitted to the House, there would be a stronger case against the Sub-Commissioners in Ireland, from the tenants' point of view, than the noble Lord, fanciful author of *Fairy Tales*, who occupied a seat in "another House" (Lord Brabourne), had made out against that body. The noble Lord to whom he referred, who was certainly more effective in the region of romance than in that of practical politics, seemed to think that the Sub-Commissioners were a body of men who were acting very much in the interest of the tenants. But he (Mr. Sexton) would tell the Committee that if he could extort from the Government the information supplied to the Land Commission, to which he was now referring, he would be able to show that the Sub-Commissioners, as a general rule, had kept very much more closely to the lines laid down by the landlords' valuator than that which had been fixed by the valuator appointed on behalf of the tenant. If the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland could give the Committee any good reason why this information should be withheld, he should be glad to hear it. When the Irish Members asked for information from the Government, they were often told that it would be inconvenient to give it; that it would take time to collect it; or that the process of collecting it would be costly. He (Mr. Sexton) was, however, in a position to say that the information for which he asked was actually tabulated and written down in two separate columns, in an account book in the office of the Land Commission at Dublin. He was certainly curious to hear what reason the right hon. Gentleman could give for withholding the information. He should be glad to learn from the Chief Secretary for Ireland whether, if he (Mr. Sexton) moved for a Return, showing not only the Poor Law valuation with the old and new rent, but also the amounts sworn respectively by the valuator of the landlord and the valuator of the tenant, the right hon. Gentleman would consent to give that information to the House, so as to enable the House to judge with what impartiality, or the reverse, the Sub-Commissioners of the Land Court were discharging their functions. Looking at the Vote, he found that 12 Sub-Commissions were at present in full swing in Ireland, and he believed that an addition had been made since the present Estimates were presented. The greater portion of these Sub-Commissions had now been in operation for three quarters of a-year, and he believed they had really actually settled about 10,000 cases. If 80,000 applications had been made, and only 10,000 cases had been settled by the Court, he should like to hear from the right hon. Gentleman at what time the Government expected the Land Court and the Sub-Commissioners would have dealt with the bulk of the applications of the Irish tenants? Did they propose to allow this Court to run out in the dim future, after endeavouring to apply its comparatively feeble power to the immense task before it; or did they intend to extend the Paradise for lawyers which Ireland had become, and increase the number of Sub-Commissioners? Unless that were done, he saw no prospect for the tenants, beyond having to pay for years to come the present unreduced rents. Too much emphasis could not be laid on the fact that the reduced rent fixed by the Court was only to come into operation on the next gale day succeeding the judgment of the Land Court. Therefore, in regard to the great mass of the tenants, the judgment of the Court would not come in for several years to come. It was a fact that, up to the present moment, a very large proportion of the neediest and most helpless of the tenants had been shut out from the benefits of the Act owing to the circumstance that they were in arrear. The fate of the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill was now depending in the balance, and no one was able at that moment to say what the result would be. There were some who thought the country was on the eve of a great Constitutional crisis. Some were credulous enough to believe in Dissolution in the immediate dim future, and to think that they had been going that evening through a sort of performance which might be called a political autumn manœuvre. It was, however, pretty evident that the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister and the noble Marquess who led the Opposition in "another place" (the Marquess of Salisbury) had come to an understanding, and there could be very little doubt that the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill would soon become law; and noble Lords in the Upper Chamber, having saved their character for chivalry by a demonstration of valour, would prudently yield to the hostile battalions arrayed against them by Her Majesty's Government. Assuming that the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill speedily became law, it was to be inferred that these poor tenants in arrear would be able, not merely to remain on their farms, but to go into the Land Court; but, at the present moment, they were prevented from making an application to the Court, because the landlords said to them—"If you go into Court in order to get my rents lowered, I will immediately proceed to evict you for arrears." Under the Arrears Bill, that threat of eviction would have no effect, and the tenant, while saving an eviction, would be able to go into the Land Court. It was only reasonable, therefore, to infer that the number of applications for the fixing of fair rents would be largely increased. Already there had been from 70,000 to 80,000 applications made, and they would probably swell into two or three times as many, so that they might have 200,000 or 300,000 tenants applying for relief to the Land Court, in order to obtain the fixture of fair rents. It was only natural that the number of applications to the Land Court would very largely increase if the tenants saw any hope of a speedy adjudication. No doubt, the certainty of a delay in the adjudication had, up to the present moment, greatly limited the number of applications to the Court; but the comparative security which he hoped the tenants had now got as to the matter of arrears, in the knowledge that they would not be evicted in consequence of arrears, and the additional freedom of access to the Land Court, would increase the number of applications. He, therefore, wanted to know what provision the Government proposed to make for increasing the strength of the present Land Commission. Hitherto the Court had proved woefully inadequate to the demands made upon it; and, up to the present year, the Commissioners had only got rid of 10,000 cases out of the 80,000 applications made to them. If the number of applications was to be multiplied by two or three, there would only be a very miserable prospect before the tenants of Ireland, many of whom would be compelled to wait for three or five years before they were able to get the decision of the Court. He thought the Irish Members were entitled to ask for some specific declaration from Her Majesty's Government upon this point, because it must be borne in mind that throughout all the years which must necessarily elapse before the tenants could procure the decision of the Court they would be required to pay the whole of the unreduced rent. There was no provision whatever that, in the interval, the rents would be reduced to Griffith's valuation; or, indeed, to any reasonable extent. On the whole, the experience they had had of the operations of the Land Court last year tended to show that the rents were even now, in the opinion of persons well qualified to judge, one-fourth above what they ought to be. That was universally declared to be the fact, and yet they allowed the bulk of the tenants who had sent in applications for the fixing of fair rents to go on labouring under the burden of the old rents. He could not help regarding such a state of things as an extraordinary contradiction of justice; and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland would be able to tell the Committee that the tenants who went into the Land Court, from this time forward, would be able to have some slight hope of a speedy adjudication upon their cases. He had already said that the Sub-Commissioners had kept much more closely to the value given by the landlord's valuator than that given by the valuator of the tenant; but the case was made even worse when the landlords appealed from the Sub-Commissioners to the Commissioners themselves. The appeals had been very numerous in various parts of Ireland, and they had had a double effect. In almost every case, the Land Commissioners had acted upon the evidence of the official valuers, and the result had been to bring the rent back again almost to what it was before the application was made. The double effect had been this —the general body of tenants all over Ireland had been brought into a frame of mind in which they had come to the conclusion that it was almost useless to approach the Land Court at all; because they said to themselves—"If we go into the Land Court for the fixing of a fair rent, and we have our rents reduced by the Sub-Commissioners, the landlord is certain to appeal against the decision of the Sub-Commissioners, and the effect of the appeal will be to take the case to a higher Court; and, then, whatever benefit I may have obtained in the lower Court will be taken away." That fact had produced very evil consequences in the minds of many of the tenants. But there was another, and a most disastrous, effect upon the tenants whose cases had been carried by appeal to the higher Court. The tenants who had gone into Court, and had then had the decisions of the Sub-Commissioners appealed against, found themselves obliged to pay the costs of two hearings—the trial before the Sub-Commissions in the first instance, and a second trial before the Land Court itself. Thus it had not unfrequently happened that a tenant, in the endeavour to obtain justice, had to pay the costs of two trials, and having expended money which he had not anticipated in his effort to procure a reduction of rent, found himself, when all was over, with his pockets quite cleaned out, and his rent very little improved from what it was before the Land Act passed. He (Mr. Sexton) thought there was a fundamental error in the course of the proceeding under that Act, because the Land Commissioners acted on the unsworn evidence of the official valuator. Would the right hon. Gentleman say why that should be? The valuators for the tenants in the lower Court had to give their evidence on oath; and, as far as he knew, everybody who appeared in a Law Court, whether on the side of the landlord or of the tenant, had to verify and solemnize the evidence he gave by the sanction of an oath. That had been the practice from time immemorial. The Commissioners themselves, of all grades, from Justice O'Hagan himself down to the youngest Sub-Commissioner, had to take an oath upon entering into his office that he would do justice between the landlord on the one side and the tenant on the other. Under such circumstances, he (Mr. Sexton) thought he was entitled to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland to explain why this apparently sacred person, the official valuator, should be the only person in the whole hierarchy of the Land Commission in Ireland who was to be free from the obligation of subscribing an oath? The present practice in connection with applications to the Court to fix a fair rent was this—a certain rent was fixed by the Sub-Commissioners in the Court below. That rent was fixed on the evidence of men who were acquainted with the circumstances of the case, the nature of the holding, and the value of land in the district, men who, being residents in the locality, and persons of respectability, were experts as to the value of the land dealt with; and in every instance they gave their evidence on their oath. The Sub-Commissioners, who were also bound by oath, decided upon the sworn evidence laid before them, and they declared that a certain rent was the value of the farm or holding. And, then, what happened? The landlord appealed against the decision of the Sub-Commissioners, and a certain gentleman called the official valuator was sent down from Belfast or Cork, as the case might be, to the district in which the holding happened to be situated. This official person, at the very outset, failed to fulfil the first stipulation of the Act of Parliament, because the Act of Parliament said that the Court should have regard to all the circumstances of the case, of the holding, and the district; and this official valuator knew nothing about the holding or the district whatever. He was an exotic, who, knowing nothing of the circumstances of the district or the nature of the holding, paid the farm a flying visit, went hurriedly over it, and, returning to Dublin by the next train, gave evidence as to what the value of the holding was. It was upon the word of a gentleman who knew so little about the tenant or the farm that the Land Commissioners set aside the decision of three sworn Sub-Commissioners who had acted upon the sworn evidence of local experts, thoroughly acquainted with every peculiarity of the district, and the character of the holding they had valued. The entire proceeding was a most extraordinary contradiction of justice, and it was the most indefensible anomaly it was possible to conceive. Even if the official valuator were a gentleman of the highest character and reputation, who was not open to attack, the fact that his calculations were placed before the Court upon unsworn evidence would be objectionable; but the official valuators themselves were not above suspicion, and the attention of the House had been already called to the circumstances under which Mr. Charles Gray had been appointed. He asked the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland to apply himself to the facts of that case, and inform the Committee how it was that Mr. Gray was ever appointed at all. He (Mr. Sexton) might name other gentlemen who had been appointed official valuators, whose nomination was equally objectionable; but he would not do so. Nevertheless, if the noble Lord of the *Fairy Tales* (Lord Brabourne) and other noble Lords, acting in concert with certain hon. Members of that House, deemed it their duty to attack the Sub-Commissioners from the landlords' point of view, he (Mr. Sexton) thought he was fully entitled to show, from the tenants' point of view, that persons who held official posts in connection with the Land Court possessed anything but an unblemished reputation. It had been pointed out that Mr. Charles Gray was altogether an Englishman, who on going to Ireland distinguished himself on his arrival by buying a townland in the county of Tipperary. Immediately he bought it he raised the rents upon the tenants, and sold it again at a very smart profit. That was a case of sharp practice—a piece of Shylockism indeed, which no landlord in Ireland of any pretension to character would dream of being guilty of. It was a gentleman of this kind, who had indulged in these proceedings, who had been selected by the Government of Ireland to be an official valuator to decide any points of difference between the landlord and the tenant, and to overturn by his unsworn testimony the evidence of sworn experts, thoroughly acquainted with the condition of the holding, and the circumstances of the locality. The gentleman in question—Mr. Charles Gray—was the man whose conduct led to a conflict between the police and the people in 1869, which occasioned the loss of several valuable lives and much misery. As the land agent of the Earl of Derby and Sir Stafford O'Brien, he distinguished himself by his rent-raisings and exactions. Indeed, the estate of the Earl of Derby, as administered by Mr. Charles Gray, was subject to the most oppressive, severe, and stringent measures ever known upon any estate in Ireland. He warned Her Majesty's Government that, if they carried out the appointment of official valuator in this reckless manner, it would be impossible to predict any brilliant career in the future for the Land Court. There was some reason to hope that a clear road was about to be opened for the admission of the general body of the tenantry of Ireland within the portals of the Land Court; and he trusted sincerely that the tenants, when they had entered the Court, would find nothing inside to discourage them, or to induce them to believe that they would derive no advantage from bringing their cases under the notice of the Court. In order to supplement the action of the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill, to give confidence to the tenantry in the Court, it was absolutely necessary that the Government should appoint to such an important post as that of official valuator gentlemen who could be relied on to act impartially between landlord and tenant. He trusted that the Government would inquire into the appointment of Mr. Charles Gray; and it was not too much to expect that in any future appointment that had to be made in relation to the Land Commission, they would take the trouble to appoint gentlemen whose minds had not hitherto been biassed in favour of the landlords against the tenants. The least that could be expected was that any gentleman appointed to fill so important a post should act impartially between the two classes.

Mr. BRODRICK said, the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had travelled over a wide field, into which he (Mr. Brodrick) did not propose to follow the hon. Member. There were, however, one or two questions which he should like to lay before the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and to emphasize in an opposite direction. The hon. Member had called attention, as he had done on previous occasions, to the dilatory nature of the proceedings under the Irish Land Commission. The attention of the Chief Secretary for Ireland had already been called to the feeling which extensively existed in Ireland, and which was not confined to any section or body of persons, that the Sub-Commissioners, owing to the haste with which they were called upon to complete their duties, found it impossible to bestow proper time and attention upon the cases submitted to them. That was a question which had been brought before him (Mr. Brodrick), as well as before other hon. Members of that House, not merely by landlords, but by the tenants also; and the Sub-Commissioners themselves, by the remarks they had made, showed that they felt the pressure of the hurry and haste to which they were goaded. It was most desirable, in his opinion, that the Government should consider whether they could not, by some means, moderate the pressure upon the working of the measure. The result of requiring the Sub-Commissioners to go over large tracts of country, in order to value them, in this hasty and precipitate manner, brought about the natural result mentioned by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton)—namely, general dissatisfaction with the working of the Act; and when the official valuer was sent down to report on the cases referred to the higher Court, the conclusion he arrived at was almost always different from that of the Sub-Commissioners themselves. It was no small task to impose upon the Sub-Commissioners, to go over some thousands of acres, and fix a fair rent in a space of time in which it was wholly impossible that they could devote proper attention to the subject. For his own part, he confessed that he would gladly welcome any step taken by Her Majesty's Government to lighten the duties of the Sub-Commissioners in this respect. With regard to the mere duties of valuation, he wished to say but one word. When the Land Bill was before the House last year, he (Mr. Brodrick) had called the attention of the Government to the necessity of appointing a body of efficient valuers. At present there was a great need for efficient valuers to act on the part of the Sub-Commissioners. At present there were objections taken both by the tenants and the landlords to the valuation conducted on the respective sides; and he ventured to point out to the Chief Secretary for Ireland that the number of valuers provided for in this Vote—namely, nine chief valuers and four minor valuers, was altogether insufficient for the discharge of the duties they would be required to perform under the claims made upon them by the 12 Sub-Commissions which were now at work throughout the country. Until satisfactory valuators were appointed, there would not be content on either side, and any steps taken in that direction would greatly facilitate the business of the Sub-Commissioners. Not only should the body of valuators be larger, but they should be men of the greatest experience in regard to the value of land. The Sub-Commissioners ought not to be required to trust to the valuation of the landlord's valuer on the one side, or of some other person appointed on the part of the tenant, who was nearly always a tenant himself, on the other. In the case of the tenant's valuator, he was generally a man connected with the Land League, or some association in connection with the non-payment of rent, or by some person who was shortly afterwards promoted to the post of Sub-Commissioner. He hoped, also, that the Chief Secretary for Ireland would take into consideration the effect of the Court being so inadequately constituted as it was at present. It had led to appeals, numerous as they were, becoming increasingly numerous in that part of the country in which certain appointments had been made which had been frequently commented upon in that House. The right hon. Gentleman must not ignore the fact that the same cause of complaint came from both sides—from the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), who represented the tenants, and from the Conservative Benches, which represented the interests of the landlords; therefore, if the Government had any real wish that the decisions of the Sub-Commissioners, as decisions in the first instance, should be valid, and upon which both parties must depend, they must appoint more satisfactory valuators. While matters remained in their present position, the decisions of the Sub-Commissioners would fail to give contentment to either side, and they would continue to have these constant appeals. He would content himself with these remarks, and would not enter into the controversial questions which had been raised by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton).

MR. PARNELL said, that when the Sub-Commissioners commenced their labours last October, their decisions were not so unsatisfactory, or nearly so unsatisfactory, to the tenants as they had since become. He thought, if they asked anybody who was acquainted with the circumstances of the case, they would coincide in the statement he had just made; and they would tell the Committee that gradually, from that day to this, owing to various causes, but more especially to a judgment given in the case of "Adams *v.* Dunseath" in the Superior Courts of Dublin, the decisions of the Sub-Commissioners throughout Ireland had been daily creating more and more dissatisfaction amongst the tenants. They had heard, when the Land Court first commenced its operations, a good many expressions of dissatisfaction with the decisions from the Landlord Party in that House, and also in the House of Lords; but they had seen that, as months went by, the dissatisfaction of the Landlord Party and the House of Lords was gradually becoming less intense and sincere, and more of a pretence. Their complaints and expressions of dissatisfaction had not that air of reality about them which they had some eight or nine months ago. He attributed this to various causes. In the first place, to the judgment in the case of "Adams *v.* Dunseath;" and he proposed to refer to that matter now, because it was one of considerable importance, and very well worthy the attention and consideration of the Government between now and the next Session of Parliament. When the Land Act was being passed through the House of Commons, unfortunately Her Majesty's Government gave in so far to the representations of the landlords in that House, and afterwards to those which were made in "another place," as to provide an appeal on matters of law to the Supreme Court of Dublin. The result was that when the case of "Adams *v.* Dunseath" was brought before the Supreme Court as a test case, it was found that the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, who had been principally instrumental in passing the Land Act through the House of Commons, and who was well known as a sound lawyer of great erudition and experience, was left in a minority of the Judges; and in two most important points the decision of the

Supreme Court was given against the interests of the tenants, and in favour of the interests of the landlords. It was roughly calculated that the increase of rents, consequent upon the decisions in regard to these two points, amounted to fully 15 or 20 per cent. That was not the first time there had been dissatisfaction expressed at the working of the Act; but, in consequence of that decision, the dissatisfaction of the tenants with the adjudications of the Sub-Commissioners had become most alarming. The two points decided by the Supreme Court against the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and against the opinion of all the Judges who had been appointed by the present Liberal Administration, or by any Liberal Administration, were of a very important character. They had reference, in the first place, to the improvements of the tenants executed at any time whatever, either previous to the Act of 1870, or subsequent to it; and, secondly, they had reference to improvements executed by the tenant since 1870. As regarded improvements executed at any time within the statutory limitation provided by the Act, it was held by the majority of the Judges of the Supreme Court that the tenants, under the Improvement Clause of the Land Act, were only entitled to claim credit for the improvements so far as the actual cost of the improvements went, and were not entitled to claim credit for the exemption of rent as regarded the value added to the land by them. Now, it would at once be evident to the Committee that this was a very important matter. A practical farmer, when he went to work to make an improvement upon his farm, expended something besides his capital—he expended his experience and his time—the experience and knowledge that he had gained with regard to the cultivation of his holding over a long series of years, and the experience which he had gained, of course, in his occupation as a farmer. Consequently, it happened that he would naturally expect—any farmer would expect—that he would be deemed to be entitled to benefit by those improvements more than the 5 per cent interest which might be supposed to be the strict commercial return for the expenditure in the actual cost of the improvements. A farmer, by his skill and by his enterprize, might lay out upon his holding £100, and make it worth £50 a-year more; yet, according to the judgment of the Supreme Court, in the case of "Adams *v.* Dunseath," that farmer was only to be credited with a reduction of his rent by £5 a-year, being the ordinary rate of interest upon the £100 he had laid out, and which he would have received from any other investment of his money, without any trouble on his part. He (Mr. Parnell), and many others, thought that that was not a fair construction of the Land Act, and that it was a point well worthy of the serious consideration of the Government before next Session, in order that they might carry out the intentions of the Legislature, which appeared to have been, if any conclusion was to be formed from the judgment of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, who was mainly instrumental in passing the Land Act through the House of Commons, that the tenant should, to some extent at all events, receive an adequate share of the increased value of the holding arising out of the improvements he had effected, and that he should not be held to be compensated for his improvements by receiving the ordinary rate of interest on the capital he had expended. Let them take the converse case. Suppose a farmer expended £100 upon a farm with the object of effecting improvements, but that the result, instead of increasing the value of the holding, was a total loss—in such a case the tenant was not even allowed interest upon his outlay; he was allowed nothing whatever. In fact, the result of the decision of the Supreme Court, with respect to the tenant's improvements, was that the landlord would say, "Heads, I win; tails, you lose." No matter in what direction the coin turned, the landlord was sure to be a disproportionate gainer. In point of fact, the landlord would reap where he had not sown; whereas the tenant, who ran all the risk of the investment turning out badly, had not the ordinary privilege which appertained to skilled investors, in investments even of a doubtful character, of gaining the full extent of the value of his exertions in the event of the investment turning out well and profitable. The next point to which he wished to direct the attention of the Committee was also one of importance, and it related to improvements executed since 1850. He found, upon reference to the judgment of the Supreme Court, that these improvements, owing to the effect of an Amendment inserted by the House of Lords in the Act of last year, at the last moment, the Court was obliged to hold that the tenant might be compensated for those improvements by length of enjoyment. This interpretation, which had been placed upon the Act by the Supreme Court, was also arrived at against the opinion of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland and the minority of the Judges; and, as he had said, it was entirely in consequence of an Amendment inserted in the Land Bill by the House of Lords while it was passing through Parliament. This decision had done more, almost, than anything else to deprive the tenants of Ireland of that confidence in the Act which they were beginning to entertain, up to the date of the judgment in the case of "Adams *v.* Dunseath." Personally, he (Mr. Parnell) was of opinion that the tenant should be entitled to reap the benefit of his improvements, however long he might have enjoyed them; that he should be entitled to receive a fair reduction of rent upon those improvements executed by himself, or by his predecessors in title, provided that such improvements had added to the value of the farm. None of the increased value should go to the landlord, but simply to the man who made them, either by the strength of his brains, or by the money he laid out. There was another matter to which he also wished to advert, and which, in his opinion, had done very much to take away the confidence of the Irish tenants in the Land Act, and which, although it might not immediately result in bad effects any more than the judgment in the case of "Adams *v.* Dunseath," might immediately result in bad effects, because he admitted that, owing to a rise in the prices of agricultural produce in Ireland, many of the Irish farmers might be willing to go on paying rack rents, and would not be pulled down by the operation of the Land Act for a few years longer, any more than by the operation of the Coercion Act they were to be coerced into doing certain things—he submitted that it was the part of a statesman to look ahead. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was one who had probably a long lease of political life before him, and he might not wish to limit his views by a consideration of what might be tolerated for two, three, or four years to come. He (Mr. Parnell) wished, therefore, to tell the right hon. Gentleman that although this Land Act of 1881, taken in conjunction with the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill, and in conjunction with the Coercion Act, might bring about a state of quietude in Ireland for a few years to come, yet if it was not immediately and permanently amended in the direction he (Mr. Parnell) had indicated that night, and in other directions to which time did not permit him to allude; if the right hon. Gentleman happened to hold the position of Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland at the commencement of the next cycle of bad seasons, would find himself confronted by the same difficulties with which his Predecessor had had to contend. He (Mr. Parnell) thought the wise statesman and the prudent politician would do well to look ahead in this matter. They ought not to wait until they were compelled to introduce fresh legislation. One of the great mistakes of English dealing with Ireland had been that the Imperial Parliament had never done anything for Ireland to remedy the admitted and crying wants and necessities of the people, until they were almost practically compelled to do it. That had been the lesson taught to the Irish people from time immemorial. Even in the days of the old Irish Parliament, it required almost a revolution to get a grievance corrected. And so it had been since the Union. Every single concession the Irish people ever gained had been the result of agitation, almost bordering upon rebellion; and he would entreat the Government, now that quietude had been to a great extent restored in Ireland, to study the question of the permanent amendment of the Land Act, and to see how far the necessities of justice and rectitude required a further extension of those principles in the land legislation of the country. If Her Majesty's Government would only show that they were conscious that the results of the toil of the poor man should be his and his children's—that they belonged to him only and to those who might come after him, and not to the landlord—if they went further, and enacted legislation of that character, he believed their exertions would be rewarded by a greater desire on the part of the Irish people to admit that, at all events, they had attempted from the best motives, and a genuine desire to do justice, to remedy the grievances under which the Irish people had laboured for so many years.

Mr. LEWIS said, that on various occasions, and in various ways, since the passing of the Land Act of 1881, the question had frequently been raised as to the amount of confidence which the public, and especially the landlords, in Ireland, might be called on to repose in the Commissioners appointed to adjudicate under the Land Act. He (Mr. Lewis) had ventured, himself, on one or two occasions, to make remarks on some of the appointments of the Sub-Commissioners; and he felt bound to say that the experience he had gained in reference to the class of persons selected, and their history and antecedents, induced him to believe that the landowning class had very small grounds indeed for reposing confidence in the administration of the Act at their hands. But, as a matter of fact, that was the first occasion on which the House of Commons had had an opportunity of taking in review the whole scope of the appointments to the Land Commission. He believed that many of the appointments were far from satisfactory. It was quite true that before the Land Act passed the Government inserted in it the names of the gentlemen who were to be appointed Chief Commissioners; but he need not say that the time which elapsed after the nomination of the Commissioners and the passing of the Act was so short, that it was impossible to trace with accuracy the history of these gentlemen, and the claims which they possessed to the confidence of the public. The House was told by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, on the occasion of inserting the names of the Commissioners in the Bill, that one of the chief—in point of fact, the chief title to the confidence of the public in nominating the gentlemen who were to administer the Land Act, was to nominate persons who would be imbued with the spirit of the Act. It would be impossible, they were told, under other circumstances, to confide in the proper working of the Act. There was another qualification — namely, loyalty to the State, because men placed in such a position might be able to do an immense amount of damage, and to set a very bad example. He wanted to read to the Committee a poem which had been written by one of those gentlemen. ["Oh, oh!"] He would not trouble the Committee at any length, but would only read two or three verses. The title of the poem was "The Union," and he would read the first verse. [*Cries of* "Order!"] He was dealing with the question whether the gentlemen who had been appointed Commissioners to administer an Act of Parliament, and who were the express subject of this Vote, were persons who were entitled to the confidence of the public; and he maintained, subject to the correction of the Chairman, that that was a subject which was perfectly regular, and altogether germane to the question now before the Committee. The poem was entitled "The Union," and this was the first verse—

"How did they pass the Union?
By perjury and fraud;
By slaves who sold their land for gold,
As Judas sold his God.
By all the savage acts that yet
Have followed England's track;
By pitch cap and the bayonet,
The gibbet and the rack.
And thus was passed the Union,
By Pitt and Castlereagh;
Could Satan send for such an end,
More worthy tools than they?"

He did not propose to read the whole poem; but he would afford every hon. Member the opportunity of reading it. The second verse ended thus—

"Then curse with me the Union;
That juggle foul and base;
The baneful root that bears such fruit
Of ruin and disgrace."

The last verse ended thus—

"Then rend the cursed Union
And fling it to the wind;
And Irish laws, in Ireland's cause,
Alone our hearts shall bind."

[*Cheers from the Home Rule Members.*] He fully understood those cheers; but when he recollected that they had been told, both inside and outside that House, times without number, that the landowning class were what was called the English garrison, he thought the application of this charming ditty, or whatever else it might be called, to the subject in hand, was very great.

An hon. Member asked, what was the date of the verses the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) had read?

Mr. LEWIS said, he would come to the date in a moment. In the first place, he wished to inform the Committee that the verses were the production of the Chief Commissioner. It was a poem written by a gentleman who had been appointed by Her Majesty's Government to preside over a Commission which was to arbitrate between landlord and tenant, and which was expected to obtain and retain the confidence of the people of all classes among whom they were to work, and with whose property they had to deal. When he (Mr. Lewis) had this book, which could be bought both in Dublin and London, placed in his hands, he saw at once, on looking at it, that it was not printed now for the first time, but that it was a republication issued in 1881. He had thought that it would not be fair towards Mr. Justice O'Hagan to quote it without communicating with him, and he was able to state with great accuracy what passed between Mr. Justice O'Hagan and himself. He had drawn the attention of the learned Judge to the republication last year of the poem, which was originally written under a fictitious name, and Mr. Justice O'Hagan admitted that the name in question was a *nom de plume* which he had borne, but said that the lines had been put aside for some time, although the original publication was undoubtedly his. He (Mr. Lewis) was quite aware that the lines were written many years ago; but what he desired to call attention to was their recent republication. On receiving this communication from the author, he wrote again to him, calling attention to the fact that the poem was now being republished, and that it was extensively advertised in the Dublin newspapers as being the production of Mr. Justice O'Hagan, the Chief Commissioner of the Land Court; and, he added—

> "It remains with you, Sir, if you think proper, to take any course you think right with reference to this republication."

Mr. Justice O'Hagan wrote a letter in reply, stating that he had nothing further to say on the subject. He (Mr. Lewis) would appeal to the Committee whether, in point of fact, a gentleman dealing with the republication of a work in that way was not republishing it himself? He confidently appealed to the Committee, and, through the Committee, to those outside the House, whether a gentleman who could commit himself in reference to the Union between England and Ireland in that way, who saw no cause whatever for repudiating in his riper years what might probably have been merely his youthful aspirations and views, but who, in that way, did what was equivalent to acknowledging the same views now, was a proper man to place at the head of the Land Commission for the purpose of presiding over the Court which was to discharge these important functions? They had been told over and over again that these Commissioners were in the position of arbiters between the land-owning class and the land-occupying class; and he would ask anybody what opinion and impression he could form, when he found a gentleman who had such a profound detestation of the Union under which he lived, as to write, and not to express his disapproval of the republication of such a production as that which he had read to the Committee, had been placed by the Government at the head of the Land Commission? What had been the result of the appointments which had been made? It was that there had prevailed among those, or, at all events, among one class of those who had been subjected to the decisions of the Court, a widely-spread want of confidence, which had created much heartburning, constant bickerings, and much apprehension as to the future effect upon the preservation of law and order of the working of the Act. At all events, he was entitled to say upon this occasion that the Government had been signally unfortunate in many of the appointments they had made. He had no hesitation in taking up the challenge given to him on a former occasion with reference to the appointments made during the election of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland. He was not going to repeat the statements which had been made; but he referred to them simply for the purpose of saying that they had been abundantly proved. Mr. Cunningham was a constituent of his own, and it was stated over and over again that he had no business relations with the particular district round Derry in which he was called upon to perform the duties of a Sub-Commissioner. But it was perfectly well known that he had dealings with the retail tradesmen in the very district in which he was called on to act as a Judge. Another gentleman, a barrister on the North-Western District, was only temporarily withdrawn from the district in which he conducted his practice, and he relied upon his position as a barrister unattached, although he was very much attached to the district, and was likely to resume his duties on Circuit immediately his duties as a Sub-Commissioner ceased. When he saw such cases, it was not at all surprising, when they were called upon, as they had been, to entrust large discretionary powers to the Sub-Commissioners' Court, that they should express the want of confidence in that Court, which prevailed all along the line. Personally, he strongly objected to any proposal which would place unfettered discretion in the hands of the Sub-Commissioners. It was not his intention further to detain the Committee on the present occasion; but this was the very first opportunity they had had collectively of dealing with the Comsioners and the Sub-Commissioners appointed to act under the Land Commission. He thought that everyone—at all events those who were directly interested in the preservation of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland—would very much regret to find that the gentleman who had been placed at the head of the Land Commission, who had published such strong views in regard to the Union when young, was not prepared to disown them now that he was an older man, but who seemed to be disposed, notwithstanding the high and responsible position he filled, to stand by the violent and intemperate language he (Mr. Lewis) had ventured to quote.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he must say that the right of discussing the Estimates had, in the speech to which the Committee had just listened, culminated in very serious abuse. The hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) had spoken at some length of the antecedents of an eminent Irish Judge. He (Mr. Trevelyan) could find a good deal to take exception to in the remarks of the hon. Gentleman. In the first place, the salary of the eminent man the hon. Gentleman had been commenting upon did not appear in this Estimate; and, therefore, how the Business of the Committee of this deliberative Assembly was to be conducted regularly and orderly, if such speeches were to be permitted, he could not conceive. Since these remarks had been made, he (Mr. Trevelyan) must protest against them in the name of every one who took part in Public Business. Having, early in life, courted the Muses, he must protest against the idea of fixing upon a grave Judge of 58 the responsibilities—he would not say so much as the principles, but the literary merit of lines which he wrote when 22 or 23. Eminent Members of the Conservative Party—men whom the Conservatives might be proud to number in their ranks — such as Wordsworth and Southey, when of the same age as Judge O'Hagan when he wrote these lines, wrote works which were of the same character in political thought as that from which the hon. Member had read. It really would shortly come to this — that the hon. Gentleman would get up and taunt any Members of the Committee who had been in public schools or College with being pagans, because, in youth, they had written Sapphics and Alcaics in praise of Venus and Minerva. He preferred to discuss these Estimates in the same business-like way that Estimates ought to be discussed; and, therefore, he should confine himself to the few practical remarks which had interspersed the somewhat discursive discussion the Committee had just listened to. He might begin by regretting that the incomes of the Land Commissioners and Sub-Commissioners were not, as the incomes of Judicial Commissioners, a charge on the Consolidated Fund, because it was certainly a very unfortunate thing that so very many occasions were given and taken in this House for discussing the decisions of a tribunal which, after all, was a judicial tribunal. At any rate, the Commissioners and Sub-Commissioners had no reason to regret the discussion of this evening, because he should say, as a general rule, that a tribunal which did not give complete satisfaction to either Party must, on the whole, be a tolerably impartial tribunal. It must be pretty evident to those who had listened to the discussion that night that the decisions of the Commissioners and Sub-Commissioners did not give entire satisfaction, either to the hon. Gentlemen sitting below the opposite Gangway, or to the hon. Gentlemen who sat above the opposite Gangway. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) told them, as far as he (Mr. Trevelyan) could make out, that the particular epoch when the dissatisfaction of the tenants with the decisions of the Land Commissioners began to be most marked was coincident with the time that the dissatisfaction of the landlords with the decisions of the Commissioners began. The hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had made one or two practical observations on the proceedings of the Sub-Commissioners. The hon. Member asked why he could not have a Return published giving, not only the Government valuation, not only the former rent, not only the judicial rent, but likewise the values which were given both by the landlords' valuators and the tenants' valuators of the holdings? Now, what were the values of the landlords' valuators and the tenants' valuators? They were nothing more nor less than *ex parte* evidence and he (Mr. Trevelyan) could not think that a Return, laid on the Table of this House, and published under the order of the Chair, should contain *ex parte* evidence. The hon. Baronet the Member for Coleraine (Sir Hervey Bruce) pressed him (Mr. Trevelyan) very much, and with some show of reason, to give a Return of the values of the Government paid valuator; but when that question was referred to the Land Commission, they objected to give the Return, on the ground that evidence might be brought that these valuations only applied to the actual value of the land, apart from certain questions of improvements which had been subsequently made in the land, and apart from the evidence which was brought forward on both sides. For that reason, the Government could not give the values of the Government paid valuator; and if they could not give those valuations—and he had never heard hon. Members below the opposite Gangway object to the decision which the Land Commission came to on the question—how much less could they give *ex parte* valuations of the landlords' valuators and the tenants' valuators? The hon. Member (Mr. Sexton) went on to explain that the Government valuator was not sworn, and said that it was contrary to the Act of Parliament. But under Sub-section 4 of the 48th section of the Land Act, it was laid down clearly and decidedly that in determining any question relating to holdings the Commission might direct an independent valuator to report to it his opinion on any matter the Commission might desire to refer to such valuator; and there was not a word in that sub-section, from first to last, which implied that the evidence must be given upon oath. He would pass on now to the question which seemed to him to be much more of an administrative nature, and to come much more within the scope of the debate, and that was the question with regard to the rapidity, or the opposite to rapidity, with which the proceedings of the Land Commission were carried on. On that point, he gathered, there was no divergence between the two Parties. He concluded that the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) felt exactly the same as the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) on that point, and he supposed all hon. Gentlemen desired the proceedings under the Act should be quickened as much as possible. He had been asked a definite question, and it was necessary to give it an answer. Up to the end of June, the Land Commission and the Civil Bill Courts, between them, had disposed of about 21,700 cases. [Mr. HEALY asked if that included voluntary arrangements?] It included every case; 21,700 cases had been disposed of up to the end of June, and something over 5,000 cases —he was now quoting from memory— were disposed of in the month of July, so that something like 27,000 cases had been disposed of by the Land Commission in all its branches. But the hon. Member was unwilling to take into consideration anything except fair rents that had been fixed by the Commission. Now, the number of fair rents fixed from November to the end of April was 4,023. There were some originating agreements which he (Mr. Trevelyan) considered himself to have as equal authority as fair rents. In May, 2,350 fair rents were fixed; in June, 2,287; and in July, 2,363. In all, in three months 8,000 fair rents had been fixed, so that, in the first six months that the Land Commission sat, 4,000 fair rents were fixed, whereas in the last three months, 8,000 were fixed—that was to say, the case of the Land Commission had improved by about four to one, the number of Sub-Commissions during the latter part of that period being, he supposed, about 17, as against 12 in the first six months. Now, that increase in rapidity was satisfactory as far as it went; but it was needless to say that if hon. Members, whose interest in the matter was only that of Representatives, and he might say of loyal Irishmen—if they felt rather anxious about the comparative slowness with which this work was being done—it was needless to say that the Government, who were responsible for the peace of Ireland and for the prosperity of Ireland, were specially anxious to quicken the work of the Commission. Nothing could be more remarkable than the manner in which the peace and prosperity were connected with the settlement of cases by the Land Commission, whether by means of the judgment of the Commissioners in fixing fair rents, or by means of originating agreements, or by private settlement between landlord and tenant. Well, the Government, being impressed with that view, had already turned their attention to the best means for quickening the action of the Land Commission, and already their schemes were to a certain extent matured, and during the Recess the attention of the Irish Government and of the Land Commission would be earnestly directed to bring those schemes to maturity, and to practical determination.

Mr. HEALY asked if the right hon. Gentleman would give the proportion of settlements in each Province?

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he had not got such a statement with him. He did not know the deduction which the hon. Member would draw from such a statement; but he could tell the hon. Member one other point which had given the Irish Government great hope, and that was that yesterday a Return came in with reference to the payment of rent in Ireland. On that point they had Returns from the Resident Magistrates in 24 counties. In 20 of those counties rents were being paid in a manner which, he ventured to say, would arouse envy in the hearts of a Wiltshire or Warwickshire squire. The accounts from one county—Cork—were dubious. There were only three counties in which the rents were represented as decidedly badly paid, and these counties were those which had been lately desolated by distress—namely, Galway, Mayo, and Kerry. In 20 out of the 24 counties rents were being well paid, and to preserve that state of things, and to secure peace and order in Ireland, hon. Members might be sure that it would be the first care of the Government.

Mr. COURTNEY said, it was necessary that he should move to report Progress, in order that the Committee appointed earlier in the evening might present their Reasons for disagreeing with the Lords Amendments to the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Courtney,*) —put, and *agreed to.*

House *resumed.*

The Chairman reported Progress; to sit again immediately.

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) BILL.

COMMONS REASONS. REPORT OF COMMITTEE.

Reasons for disagreeing to the Lords Amendment *reported*, and *agreed to:*—To be communicated to The Lords.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

Supply—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Class III.—Law and Justice.

Question again proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £52,552, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of the Irish Land Commission."

Mr. BRODRICK said, he had not received an assurance from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland that he would use such influence as he had for increasing the number of Sub-Commissioners, and that he would turn his attention to the question of the appointment of official valuators, the number of whom was wholly inadequate.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he had listened to that part of the hon. Member's speech with great interest, and he could assure the hon. Member that both his points should receive the most careful consideration.

Mr. HEALY said, a moment ago he asked the right hon. Gentleman a question which he was unable to answer. He asked him if he could give any Return as to the proportion of settlements by the Sub-Commissioners in the different Provinces of Ireland? He (Mr. Healy) himself was able to give an idea of that proportion, and he thought it would amount to little less than a revelation as to the manner in which one Province was being favoured by the Sub-Commissioners above the others. When the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) was in Office, they could only learn from that right hon. Gentleman that there was such fluxion in the work, and such changes going on, that it was quite impossible for him to give any sort of Return as to the way in which the Sub-Commissioners were working. He (Mr. Healy) had three Returns, showing that a large proportion of the cases had been decided in Ulster, and he wanted to know the reason why? He presumed that the rest of the three Provinces were paying their share of the taxation for the maintenance of the Commissioners as well as Ulster; and he wanted to know why Judge O'Hagan, whose patriotic songs had a short time ago been brought before the attention of the Committee, showed such preference to the Northern Provinces? Taking the first Report, issued on the 28th January, he (Mr. Healy) found that in Ulster 530 cases had been settled; in Leinster, 259; in Connaught, 221; and in Munster 304; so that in Ulster 50 per cent more cases were settled than in any other Province. The next Return issued was dated the 25th April, and he found in Ulster there had been 962; in Leinster there had been 561; in Connaught, 258; and in Munster, 726. According to the last Return, he found that in Ulster 804 cases had been settled; in Leinster, 344; Connaught, 408; and Munster, 399. Now, that was an extraordinary state of things. He thought the Sub-Commissioners ought to deal with these cases *pari passu,* and not single out one particular Province for its work rather than another. There was sufficient work in the South to engage six Commissions; and, supposing there were 32 Commissioners, what ought to be done was to send eight to each Province. Was it fair that the tenants in Munster and Connaught, the poorest parts of Ireland, who had sent in their applications to have their rents fixed, should be neglected, because Ulster had a superior name for loyalty to the case represented by Members of the Liberal Party. He argued it was not fair, and he trusted they would have some re-arrangement on this point. What was going on in Ireland was a thing that, if it were going on in England, would be considered farcical. He should suppose that no less than 90,000 tenants had made applications to the Land Court, and thousands had refrained from entering it, knowing that it was useless to do so for three or four years to come. He found from the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland that up to April last 12,000 cases had been settled. The Courts began in November and December, so that it might be said that six months were occupied in settling 12,000 cases. Allowing for the rate of acceleration — and he quite admitted there had been considerable acceleration—it would take at least three years before all the fair rents could be fixed. He was quite willing to accept the estimate of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland—namely, two years. What he wanted to know was this—why did they not spend money and do in Ireland what they were doing in Egypt; why did they not send out men to do the work required? He considered that every county in Ireland ought to have its own Sub-Commissioners; and that was the way the work would be considerably accelerated, and the minds of the people considerably appeased. When an unfortunate man sent in his application and did not hope to have his case dealt with for two years, and in the meantime was turned out upon his old rent, it was not a state of things which it was desirable to see maintained. In the case to which he (Mr. Healy) had drawn attention recently, Judge O'Hagan had pronounced a certain lease of Lord Kenmare's to be the most iniquitous he had ever had before him, and broke it. He said it was so bad that it would not stand in any Court of Equity; yet the tenant, Daniel O'Shea, would have to pay the rent under the lease until the Court was relieved of its present congestion, and if he did not pay he might be turned out on the road. Within the last three months Lord Kenmare had issued a writ against Daniel O'Shea, involving him in £5 or £6 costs. Attacks had been made upon the Chief Commissioner in that House and in "another place."

Judge O'Hagan had written some excellent poetry—some of the most beautiful love poetry written in Ireland. Attacks had been made on the Bill by Lord Brabourne, who had referred to a case of the hon. Baronet the Member for Coleraine (Sir Hervey Bruce) as one of special hardship. The position of the case was this—the hon. Baronet went to the Court to get the true value of a tenancy fixed, and the tenant was put out of pocket £20 or £30. Attacks had been made on the Sub-Commissioners; but if attacks were made on one side, there was something to be said on the other side. In 1871 the hon. Baronet the Member for Coleraine announced his intention to raise the rentals of 19 holdings, and communications passed between him and his tenants on the subject. These holdings were originally held by the Clothworkers' Company, who had not raised the rents for a considerable time. They had a valuation made in 1840, and on the expiry of the leases in 1862 they had another valuation made at the rents assessed in 1840, and made increase; and in 1871 they sold their interest to the hon. Baronet, who, although the Company had made no increase in the rents, announced his intention to raise the rents on the holdings. The tenants first asked that the holdings should be valued and two valuators appointed, one by the landlord and one by the tenants; but he refused to assent. According to the hon. Member for Carrickfergus (Mr. Greer), the tenants then proposed that a valuation should be made by one valuator appointed by the landlord, and they offered to defray the cost of the valuation themselves. To this the hon. Baronet also refused to accede, and expressed his intention to adhere to an assessment of rents which he had himself caused to be made. Most of the tenants refused to pay the increased rent; but notices to quit were served upon them, and then they paid. The gross increase in the rents was £400. Between 1840 and 1871 the tenants had effected considerable improvements in reclaiming and draining, and the increase in the rents was considered, to a great extent, as a tax on the individuals. This was the case noticed by Lord Brabourne in "another place" as one of special hardship. What did the tenants then do? They got the rents brought down; and it was only after the hon. Baronet had complained of injustice having been done to him, and said he could supply Lord Brabourne in "another place" with statistics and details——

Sir HERVEY BRUCE: I had no communication with Lord Brabourne on the subject.

Mr. HEALY: Lord Brabourne adduced the hon. Baronet's case as one of special hardship; and he (Mr. Healy) presumed the noble Lord got his information from some quarter. That was one of the cases of hardship. Another was the case of the famous Lord Donoughmore. It was he who proposed this Session the Select Committee of the House of Lords to inquire into the working of the Land Act; and it was in consequence of his action that the Prime Minister called upon this House to pass what had been called a Vote of Censure upon the action of the House of Lords. In regard to the case of the innocent Lord Donoughmore, who considered that the Sub-Commissioners were acting in a very harsh manner, he found two decisions reported in *The Cork Examiner*. The Sub-Commissioners stated — and this was a remarkable indictment of Lord Donoughmore for his manner of dealing with the tenants—that when the originating notices were served by the tenants on his estate Lord Donoughmore requested Mr. Fennell, a land agent, to make a valuation of the holdings. What his valuation was they did not know; but Lord Donoughmore did not think it satisfactory, and he engaged another valuator, Mr. Cox, who gave evidence before the Court. According to the experience and evidence of Mr. Cox, Lord Donoughmore's tenants had, up to that time, been paying a great deal too much rent. Besides that of Mr. Cox, the Commissioners had the evidence of another gentleman, who agreed that the rents were too high. It was not alone the tenants or their valuator who said the rents were too high, but the landlords' valuator. This and thousands of other instances could be obtained of the treatment of tenants by their landlords; but he thought the two cases he had named might be taken as a fair test of what had been going on all over Ireland. There was in that House the hon. Baronet, who considered himself a fair landlord, and upon his action the Court had given a sweeping decision; and, in "another place," there was the noble Lord who thought he was so unjustly dealt with that he had obtained a Select Committee of the House of Lords, and upon his dealings with his tenants the Sub-Commissioners had given a decision. He had no doubt the hon. Baronet the Member for Coleraine was as good a landlord as the average of landlords all round; and, in that case, he (Mr. Healy) was driven to the conclusion that the rents in Ireland were unjustly high. That was a painful fact, when it was recollected that last year the Prime Minister declared, on the evidence of Lord Bessborough's Commission, that the Irish landlords had been trying to act equitably in regard to rents. He could not help recalling that statement, and, at the same time, recollecting that that Commission was purely a landlords' Commission. What else could be expected from what was known of the interests of these gentlemen? Now, it was found that one of those gentlemen whom the Government appointed, as a fair man, was no less a person than Mr. Kavanagh, the founder of the Tenants' Exterminating Company—a gentleman who believed that the land was in a most valuable condition. What did these things bring him (Mr. Healy) to? To this—that when there were Sub-Commissioners operating all over Ireland, and receiving evidence that these unjust rents were being extracted, the Government ought not to be slow in their remedy to bring relief to the tenants, and not wait until the landlords should tie further meshes round the tenants, and get them at their mercy—or until another bad harvest should occur. It was a terrible thing that peace and order in Ireland depended on a little sunshine—that the rents were so high, and the people were so near famine, that the question of a little solar heat more or less in August involved the possibility of a terrible agitation, with murder, rapine, and disorder. The Government should appoint plenty of Commissioners and get decisions pronounced at once, so that the people might know what they had to expect. Unless the Government did this, and applied their power to bringing down the rents, they could never expect peace in the country.

MR. T. A. DICKSON said, the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) had stated that Ulster was favoured to a very considerable extent in the number of Sub-Commissioners in the Province, and in the numbers of decisions given; but the hon. Member had forgotten that on July 28th last there were 69,000 originating notices served in all Ireland, of which 31,000 came from Ulster, and only 38,000 from the entire three remaining Provinces. Therefore, if the decisions of the Sub-Commissioners in Ulster had been more numerous than elsewhere, that was simply because in that Province there were more cases than in the other three Provinces combined. The reason of that was very simple and plain. The tenant farmers in Ulster flocked to the Courts when the Land Act was passed. They determined to test the Act by going into Court, and they went into Court; so that if Ulster was favoured in the number of decisions given, that was because of the prompt action of the tenant farmers. But his (Mr. Dickson's) experience was that Ulster had not been favoured. He and his hon. Friends were rather disposed to think it was the prodigal children on the opposite Benches who had received favours from the Government, while they who sat behind the Government were very often treated with scant courtesy. He quite agreed with the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) when he said that the fatal block in connection with the Land Act was the slowness of its administration. The Government had only thought of appointing four Sub-Commissioners, but they soon increased them to 12, and then to 16; but, in his (Mr. Dickson's) opinion, 16 were not sufficient. There should be three for each county; and he believed there would have been great economy in administering the Act promptly and swiftly over the whole country. The present Sub-Commissioners would take five years to get through the work; and he would call the attention of the Government to the urgent necessity of increasing the number of Sub-Commissioners, so that the tenants who had served originating notices might not have to continue their present high rents. It was a very remarkable thing that the attacks made in that House on the Sub-Commissioners, and in "another place," were all directed against the eight Sub-Commissioners in Ulster, although there were 32 Assistant Commissioners. Had a single charge been established in that House, or in "another place," against the integrity and honesty of a single Commissioner? Not one. The charge made against them was that they had reduced the rents 22 or 23 per cent. What was the Land Act passed for, if it was not to effect a reduction in the rents? Since the debate raised by Lord Brabourne in "another place," it had been circulated by the Conservative and landlord Press in Ireland that, owing to that debate, the Sub-Commissioners had been changed all over Ulster. If the Government yielded to attacks in that House, or in "another place," on the honour of the Sub-Commissioners, and changed the Sub-Commissioners from county to county, they would do more to weaken the administration of the Land Act than anything else that could be done; and if they were unwise enough to be guided by "another place," and did not stand by the Sub-Commissioners, they would deal a fatal blow to the administration of the Land Act in Ireland.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy), the hon. Member who had last spoken (Mr. T. A. Dickson), and the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had made certain demands upon the Government; but, up to the present time, although there were on the Treasury Bench the Law Officers and the Prime Minister, who was mainly responsible for the Land Act of last year, not a single satisfactory reply had been made to these demands. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had listened to the greater part of the speech of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and his interpretation of that speech was that the only answer to the several questions addressed by the hon. Member for Sligo was one of absolute silence. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) would take up the last point raised by the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Dickson). What the Irish people were demanding was this—not only in the parts from which he and his hon. Friends came, but in the part which the hon. Member represented—Were the Government to allow this Act to become a nullity because they would not spare money for the appointment of additional Sub-Commissioners? He could not understand what was the attitude of the Government upon that point. Surely it would not cost much money to appoint Sub-Commissioners who would settle all the cases in the next year or two. Surely the Government must see that, and that in a few days under the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill the work placed on the Commissioners and Sub-Commissioners would be largely increased, and that the desire to take advantage of the Land Act would be largely stimulated. In the face of the large amount of further demand which would be made upon the Sub-Commissioners, the Government gave no definite pledge that they would give that increase of staff which was urgently demanded by all parts of Ireland. The Chief Secretary for Ireland had given no satisfactory answer—in fact, he had not attempted to answer the hon. Member for Sligo. As to the authority given to the unsworn testimony of the official valuator, in the whole course of English jurisprudence there had been no more startling departure from the proper course of law. A Sub-Commission, assisted by three sworn officers, decided on the rents, on the sworn testimony of valuators employed by the landlord and tenant, and then the Chief Commissioners overruled the decision of the three Sub-Commissioners. That was a most monstrous state of things. Secondly, the Chief Secretary for Ireland had not attempted to answer the demand of the hon. Member for Sligo as to why Mr. Gray was appointed. The hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) had thought proper to rake up the poetry written by the Judicial Commissioner (Mr. O'Hagan) in the days of his youth. No doubt, if one could penetrate into the inner mind of the Judicial Commissioner, it would be found that his opinions remained the same to-day as in the days of his verses. But the right hon. Gentleman did not condescend to say one word as to why one man, whose whole career had been one of rack-renting, had been appointed a valuator in a case in which the rent was in dispute. Thirdly, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had not replied sufficiently to the point raised by the hon. Member for Sligo with reference to the valuators. His hon. Friend complained that two items of information which could have been furnished, and which had been collected by the Commissioners—namely, the amounts of the valuations for the landlords, and those for the tenants, had been entirely withheld, and that the only information given was that the former rents had been reduced to such and such amounts. The right hon. Gentleman had replied that the valuators on behalf of the landlords and the tenants only gave what was more or less *ex parte* evidence, which was not such evidence as ought to appear in a formal Return presented to that House. No doubt, the evidence of those valuators was of the kind described; nevertheless, it was evidence which, if it had been laid before the House, would have enabled them to see whether, in their decisions, the Land Commissioners leaned towards the side of the landlords or the side of the tenants. His hon. Friend and himself would have been glad to know something on that point; but, as the Government would not lay the Return on the Table of the House, he felt justified in concluding that the reason why the desired information had been withheld was because the House would otherwise see that the Land Commissioners leaned towards the landlords' valuations and not towards the valuations of the tenants. There was another point on which no answer had come from the Treasury Bench. He supposed the Committee had heard so much of what was called the Healy Clause of the Irish Land Act, that he should be consulting the wish of the Committee by making his remarks upon that subject as brief as possible. Roughly speaking, he believed the Land Commissioners must be given credit for having cut down the rents that came before them to something a little above Griffith's valuation. Healy's Clause would exclude the improvements of the tenants from the consideration of the Court in fixing the value of the holding; but it would seem that the whole purpose of that clause had been nullified, and that the Commissioners had not reduced the rents to the extent which the improvements of the tenants would justify. Even making full allowance for the work actually got through by the Land Court, he was afraid it would remain a fact, borne out by the testimony of his hon. Friends around him, and that of the hon. Members for Ulster, that the progress made by the Court was very little indeed. But, while the Land Courts were progressing slowly with their work, he could inform the Committee that the landlords were by no means slow in extracting from the tenants those rents which, in the majority of cases, would probably have been reduced had they come before the Court by about 20 per cent. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) said it was a scandal that the tenants should be compelled to pay rents which, if brought before the Court, would probably be reduced by the proportion named. However, he did not want to speak with any acrimony upon that subject; but he urged the Government to bear in mind the impressive words which his hon. Friend the Member for Wexford had just addressed to the Committee. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had made great sacrifices, both of his personal position in this Parliament and in respect of his Party, by passing the Irish Land Act of last year; and he had now made a greater sacrifice, in commencing what might end in a Constitutional struggle and a Ministerial crisis, by endeavouring to pass the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill. What was the reason for the introduction of that Bill, but to protect tenants from eviction, and for which the right hon. Gentleman had so strongly resisted the Amendments sought to be introduced in "another place?" The main reason was that the Land Act of 1881 was intended to confer certain great benefits and blessings on the tenants of Ireland, and that as long as the tenants were steeped in arrears those benefits could not be obtained; and, accordingly, another Act of Parliament was necessary in order that those benefits might be secured to them. But was it not inconsistent with the former action of the Prime Minister, with regard to this legislation, to allow the Land Act to be nullified by the slowness of the Land Commission? He thought the right hon. Gentleman should listen to the appeals which came from all parts of Ireland to accelerate the work of the Land Court by the appointment of more Sub-Commissioners, and thereby complete the work of rescuing the rack-rented tenants of Ireland from the rapacity of their landlords.

MR. GLADSTONE said, the hon. Gentleman had laid down a proposition in which Her Majesty's Government were very much disposed to agree; nevertheless, he laboured under what appeared to be a great misconception. He appeared to think that the Government were satisfied with the great acceleration which had taken place in the proceedings of the Land Commissioners. He (Mr. Gladstone) was willing to confess that they were gratified with that acceleration; but satisfied they were not. They were desirous of further acceleration in the proceedings of the Land Commissioners, and that was his general answer to the representations which had been made upon this subject by hon. Members opposite. He must point out that the erection of new Courts was a work always of great difficulty, and his right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) appeared to him to deserve much honour for the manner in which he had accomplished that portion of his duty. He thought that in a very short space of time he had made a selection of Sub-Commissioners who, upon the whole, were of a character to justify the general remark that they were deserving of confidence. But he would remind the Committee that the number of persons qualified in all particulars to undertake the duties of Sub-Commissioners was, after all, limited. Hon. Gentlemen, he thought, had the strongest reason for urging that no time should be lost in accelerating the progress of these most important labours; but they must, perhaps, be content to abate something of their pretensions, owing to the limit which was, in this matter, necessarily imposed on the operations of the Government by the absolute duty of considering the qualifications of persons appointed to the office. He by no means said that the limit had been reached. It had been stated by his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland that it would be a main part of the duty of the Executive Government in Ireland to apply themselves to the consideration of what further measures could be adopted for considerably accelerating the progress of the labours of the Sub-Commissioners; and, upon that most important subject, it was not necessary for him to do more than repeat that statement in order to show that Her Majesty's Government and the Irish Executive Government were of one mind. No doubt, the charge for these Courts was enormous; but, in the first place, he was not content to regard the question involved as solely one of money; and, in the second place, if he did so regard it, he should recollect that whatever the charge might import, the charge for the Irish Constabulary was, at the present time, about 16 times as large; and that this, in a more satisfactory state of affairs in Ireland, ought to be considerably reduced. If he were asked how that more satisfactory state of things in Ireland might be expected to be brought about, he would refer to the particular provisions introduced this year for the purpose of rendering the operation of the law more effective. But he looked still more to the operation of the Land Act, which, impartially and judiciously administered, would, he hoped and believed, improve the relations between landlord and tenant; and, therefore, hon. Gentlemen behind him, and those who had spoken from various parts of the House, might be assured that there was really no question or contention upon this subject between themselves and Her Majesty's Government. Subject only to this—that Her Majesty's Government must not go blindly to work. They were earnestly desirous of accelerating progress in the Land Courts by the means he had indicated. The hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had inquired why Mr. Gray had been appointed chief official valuator in Ireland. He was in a position to give to that question the very simple answer that he had been appointed exclusively on account of what were believed to be his pre-eminent merits. It was true that Mr. Gray's associations happened to have been in many cases with Conservative estates. Mr. Gray had been employed in a very large number of cases connected with such estates, and, whatever his politics might be—of which he (Mr. Gladstone) knew nothing, having in view the abilities and experience of the man, and what they believed to be his impartiality—Her Majesty's Government did not consider the fact of his having been so employed was a disqualification, because they believed his valuation would be just and fair. In saying that, he believed he expressed the opinion not only of his right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford, but of all the Members of the Government; and most certainly that was the opinion which he (Mr. Gladstone) himself had formed from all that he had learned of the proceedings of Mr. Gray and of the valuations at which he had arrived. He believed that the expectations entertained at the time of his appointment had been completely fulfilled, and that it was not possible to make, on the whole, a more satisfactory selection of a person to discharge the responsible duties of the office of chief valuator that had been made by his right hon. Friend. That was his answer with regard to Mr. Gray; and with reference to the main subject, he hoped he had made it clear to the Committee that the disposition of Her Majesty's Government was to use every possible means for accelerating the operations of the Land Court.

MR. SEXTON said, the first portion of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman would be read in Ireland with great satisfaction. It was a subject for congratulation to find the mind of the right hon. Gentleman so possessed with what Irish Members considered to be the common sense of increasing the power of the Land Court. On a former occasion, the Prime Minister had estimated the number of tenants in arrears in Ireland at 190,000; and it was important to bear the figures in mind, because even if the majority of those tenants were enabled, by the operation of the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill, to go into the Land Court, the Committee would see that the work of the Commissioners would probably be quadrupled. That being so, he said nothing could be more important than, as soon as possible, to take steps to bring up the staff of the Land Court to an equality with the enormously increased demands that would be made upon it. The right hon. Gentleman had pointed out, with perfect propriety, the obligation under which the Government lay of selecting duly qualified persons to fill the office of Sub-Commissioner, and had spoken of the difficulty experienced in making selections of the kind. But he (Mr. Sexton) ventured, with all humility, whilst admitting that some difficulty undoubtedly existed in finding fit persons to discharge the office in question, to say that the Irish Bar was a large body, and that it contained gentlemen eminently qualified, from amongst whom a selection could be made without unnecessary delay. Moreover, Ireland was an agricultural country, and, therefore, abounded in persons who were, by their special knowledge, qualified for the position of Sub-Commissioner. It would be easy to increase indefinitely the number of qualified persons who could be drawn from that source. With reference to the appointment of Mr. Gray to the office of chief valuator to the Land Commissioners, he thought the reply of the right hon. Gentleman upon that subject called for a little comment. He was thankful that any reply at all had been given, because, on the last occasion when he brought forward the subject, no answer was given. The right hon. Gentleman said that the Government had appointed Mr. Gray because of his ability; but he (Mr. Sexton) would remind the Committee that ability was one thing and impartiality another; and, so far as the belief of the right hon. Gentleman and the Government in the fitness of Mr. Gray for the office which he occupied was founded on the impartiality of Mr. Gray, he said that their belief was not founded on fact. Mr. Gray had formerly bought a townland, and having increased the rent of £300 by the gross amount of £200 a-year, sold it to another person, the transaction having produced a state of things which was one of the proximate causes of the introduction of the Land Act of 1881. He did not believe the decisions of such a man between Irish landlords and tenants could be just, and, whether they were just or not, they would never be believed to be just by the tenants in Ireland, and that in itself was a great evil.

MR. HEALY said, the figures relating to the decisions of the Land Court in Ulster, as compared with those throughout the rest of Ireland, were very striking, and claimed the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman would devote to them the amount of attention which they deserved. It appeared that, whereas in Ulster the number of originating notices was 30,470, the number of decisions was 2,296; and that, whereas, for the rest of Ireland, the number of originating notices was 39,125, or nearly 9,000 more than in Ulster, the number of decisions was only 3,479. The disparity between the two sets of figures was immense. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman would hereafter take care that while speedy justice was done to the Province of Ulster, it should also be done to the rest of Ireland. He did not know whether the Ulster Sub-

Commissioners were better or more numerous than their comrades in the South, and he had no means of finding out, because that was one of the things with regard to which the Government would furnish no Returns; but, whatever might be the cause, he trusted the right hon. Gentleman would be able to say that in future the unfairness complained of would be put a stop to.

Mr. GIVAN said, he thought the argument of the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) had been answered by the hon. Member for Tyrone (Mr. T. A. Dickson). One reason why the number of the decisions in Ulster was greater than for the rest of Ireland was because the Ulster farmers accepted the Land Act of 1881 from the first, and were ready to go into Court at the earliest moment. He pointed out that one of the chief causes of discontent all over Ulster and the rest of Ireland was the manner in which the official valuators discharged their duties under the directions of the Chief Commissioners on the hearing of appeals. It had been objected to by hon. Members opposite that the Sub-Commissioners did not take enough time to consider the cases that came before them. But he (Mr. Givan) himself had been present in those Courts, and was intimately conversant with the procedure of the Sub-Commissioners. They heard evidence on behalf of the landlord, and examined three or more witnesses on behalf of the tenant; they then went to the farm, and examined the land minutely before they came to their decision; and these decisions, he believed, were in 99 cases out of 100 sound. But what was the procedure of the Court of Appeal when any of these decisions came to be reviewed? They sent their official valuator, an unsworn and irresponsible man, however able and honest he might be, to view the land. Having done that, he returned, gave in his report, and upon it, as against the sworn testimony of several other valuators and persons examined by the Sub-Commissioners, the Judges of Appeal decided the case frequently against the tenant. He held in his hand a letter received that morning from a tenant whose rent was reduced from £240 7*s*. 8*d*. to £214. The Sub-Commissioners examined the man's farm, and found he had expended £750 in improvements, and, after a full and exhaustive inquiry, they reduced the rent to the amount named. But, on appeal, the Commissioners brought the rent up again to £240, merely making a reduction of 7*s*. 8*d*. in the amount originally paid, and that upon the unverified report of the official valuator. The landlord was Mr. Shirley. He (Mr. Givan) thought that was not the way in which the appeals ought to be conducted; and he would only repeat that the present practice with regard to the official valuators was exceedingly unsatisfactory and irritating to the tenants who, having been dragged into the Court of Appeal, were obliged to pay all the costs incurred before the Sub-Commissioners, as well as those in the Court of Appeal, which together amounted to a large sum of money.

Sir HERVEY BRUCE said, if he had understood the hon. Member for Tyrone (Mr. T. A. Dickson) aright, he complained that he (Sir Hervey Bruce) had given no assistance to the Sub-Commissioners when they went over his estate. If the hon. Member had received that account from others, he could inform him that his informants had grossly misled him. The hon. Member said it was so stated in the judgment of Mr. Greer; but he cared not what was in the judgment of that gentleman. When he was in Ireland he not only sent persons with the Commissioners to assist them, but on three or four occasions he had gone with the Commissioners himself, and given them all the assistance he could. He had already, on a former occasion, explained to the hon. Gentleman in that House why he was not present when they were going over one part of the estate—the reason being that he considered his Parliamentary duties of more importance than his presence in Ireland at the time. But on the occasion referred to he had taken every precaution that the Commissioners should be attended on every farm by persons perfectly competent, even more so than he was himself, to assist them in their examination. If Mr. Greer had stated that he did not assist the Commissioners in this way, he stated what was incorrect.

Mr. T. A. DICKSON asked whether the hon. Baronet had given any assistance to the valuator, either of himself or by his agent?

Sir HERVEY BRUCE said, he had been examined and cross-examined upon every case that came before the Commissioners. He was not examined when he was in London; but was perfectly prepared to be examined on any subject connected with his estates, and to give a flat and distinct contradiction to the reports that had been published in various Liberal periodicals concerning himself—a contradiction that would not depend alone on his own statement, but on documents which would conclusively establish his position. He should be happy to meet any learned counsel that the hon. Gentleman might send to cross-examine him, and, to facilitate this meeting, it was his intention to start for Ireland to-morrow evening.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN said, he had received a strong complaint with reference to the appointment of Mr. Russell as valuator in the county of Mayo. He held in his hand some of Mr. Russell's valuations, to which he should presently have to ask the attention of the Committee. But, in the meantime, he had received a letter which he felt bound to refer to. His correspondent asked him to give attention to the antecedents of Mr. Russell, valuator to the Commissioners. It appeared from the letter that Mr. Russell at one time bought a small property, the tenants of which had not paid their rents. The day after he took possession he gave notice to quit to every one of these people. On the hearing of the case, Mr. O'Hagan expressed his surprise, and said he would adjourn it till the next day, even remarking to Mr. Russell's attorney that he hoped everything would be right in the morning. In one sense, however, everything was right, for each one of the tenants was evicted. He would now compare some of Mr. Russell's valuations with Griffith's valuation, and the judicial rent fixed. In one case—a farm of eight acres—Original rent, £7 4*s.* 10*d.*; judicial rent, £3 10*s.*; valuation, £4. The next case was a farm with Poor Law valuation, £7; judicial rent, £5 10*s.*; valuation by Mr. Russell, £8. In the next case the judicial rent was £8 12*s.*; Mr. Russell's valuation, £11 5*s.* Finally, in another case the farm of John Healy was valued by him at £8 10*s.*; whereas Griffith's valuation was £5 10*s.* What sort of justice could there be in that sort of valuation; or how could anyone believe that Griffith's valuation was under the market value of the holdings? In his valuations Mr. Russell seemed to be indifferent to the improvements of the tenants; and, as a matter of fact, in cases of appeal the decision was always against the tenant. In a case where the estate belonged to a notoriously rack-renting landlord in the West of Ireland, who went there originally as a hired process-server, there was one farm where the old rent was £13 8*s.*; the judicial rent, £10; Mr. Russell's valuation, £13, at which the rent was fixed on appeal. There was another case—the farm of Anthony Sullivan—judicial rent, £7 10*s.*; Mr. Russell's valuation, £12 15*s.* He would only read one more case; but he did not know exactly how the figures stood. In the case of Anthony M'Guire his valuation was £7; while Mr. Russell's valuation was £20 10*s.* There was another case, in which a tenant hired eight acres at a value of £4 5*s.*; the Court valuation being £5—he could not say whether that was Mr. Russell's valuation. These were all matters of fact on record. Taking Mr. Russell's action with his antecedents, he (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) would ask the Committee what sort of care could possibly have been exercised by the Government in selecting that gentleman for the duty of making valuations? What had the poor people, whose interests were affected, to look to in cases where Mr. Russell was sent in as a valuator, with the result of raising the rent very considerably on appeal? It was necessary, of course, to appoint some such gentleman; but he trusted in future the Government would exercise great care in preventing persons of that precise stamp being appointed.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £63,238, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries, Allowances, and Expenses of various County Court Officers, and of Magistrates in Ireland, and of the Revising Barristers of the City of Dublin."

MR. SEXTON said, he need scarcely remind the Government of the importance and complexity of matters arising under this Vote. It included the whole of the recently re-organized Magisterial Service of Ireland, the special superintendent officials, and the salary of that eminent administrator, Mr. Clifford Lloyd; and when he said that he thought he rather foreshadowed the possibility of some considerable discussion on the Vote. He simply wished to ask if it would not be more convenient to take the Committee on the Royal Irish Constabulary Bill that night, and resume the consideration of the remaining Irish Votes to-morrow? He raised the question just now simply for the sake of ascertaining the views of the Government.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, that as he saw several hon. Members present who were interested in the Royal Irish Constabulary Bill, he should be inclined to accede to the hon. Member's request. If he was to understand from the silence of hon. Members opposite that they thought it probable that they would be likely to dispose of the Committee stage of that Bill that night, he should be inclined to stop Supply.

Mr. SEXTON said, he was not aware of any reason why the Committee on the Bill should not conclude that night.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

House *resumed.*

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY BILL.—[Bill 264.]

(*Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 7th August.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Short title) *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Revised scale of pay for certain officers).

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he wished to move the Amendment that stood in his name, to leave out the word "six," and insert the word "three." The Amendment was a very reasonable one, and he did not think the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland could object to it.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 8, leave out "six," and insert "three."—(*Mr. T. P. O'Connor.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'six' stand part of the Clause."

Mr. TREVELYAN said, the object of making the period a comparatively short one was to show that the scale of pay was to be fixed once for all. The object would be obtained more completely by accepting the shorter date, therefore he should be glad to agree to the Amendment of the hon. Member.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Amendment *agreed to;* word *inserted* accordingly.

Mr. SEXTON said, that he desired, in the same line of the same page, after the word "sanction," to insert the words "of Parliament, and." The clause, as it at present stood, was to enable the Commissioners of the Treasury to sanction the Lord Lieutenant to carry out the powers; and his (Mr. Sexton's) desire was that the sanction of Parliament, as well as that of the Commissioners of the Treasury, should be necessary. He desired to take away from the Lord Lieutenant the unrestricted power which he would have under the present scheme. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had given certain figures; but those figures, and the speech in which they had been given, did not bind the Lord Lieutenant, and could not be held to be binding on the Irish Executive. They might believe as much as they liked that the figures would bind the Lord Lieutenant; but they could not be sure of it. He wanted to know what was the meaning of the new departure taken in the Bill with regard to the fixing of salaries? When he went back to the year 1864, when the last Bill for fixing the salaries of the Constabulary in Ireland was passed, he found that when the Government desired to make an increase in the pay, they set out section after section, and mentioned each officer in each grade, setting a limit, beyond which the Lord Lieutenant should not go; and that, he (Mr. Sexton) took the liberty of saying, was a proper statutory method of proceeding. It was for that House to oversee that expenditure, and take care that no officer of the Executive, however exalted he might be, had power to deal with these matters as he liked. The Government should say, for instance, how much the maximum salary of a first class County Inspector should be, and how much the salary of a Sub-Inspector. He proposed his Amendment, with some confidence that it would be accepted by the Government.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 8, after "sanction," insert "of Parliament, and."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. TREVELYAN said, he was no more certain of the object of the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Sexton) than he was of the process by which he wished to attain that object. Last time they discussed the subject on going into Committee, the hon. Member had said that he should be glad to see the scale of pay fixed in the Bill, and, in order to meet the hon. Member, he (Mr. Trevelyan) had prepared a clause and Schedule with all the rates of pay; but he had fancied that by his (Mr. Trevelyan's) allowing the first Amendment in the name of the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) to be put and carried, that he (Mr. Sexton) intended to acquiesce in the terms on which the Government proposed to fix the pay for the Constabulary. He did not think the present Amendment would meet the purpose. If the Amendment were agreed to, after the Lord Lieutenant and the Commissioners of the Treasury had fixed the pay of the police, they would have to take Parliament into their councils, and an Act would have to be passed for the purpose of sanctioning the salaries decided upon. That, of course, would have been almost impossible if they had retained the words "six months" in the Bill, and utterly impossible if they left in it the words "three months."

MR. SEXTON said, his object was only to enable the right hon. Gentleman to do what he seemed disposed to do—namely, to put the rates in the Bill.

MR. TREVELYAN said, he was not sure that it was not too late to do that; but, at any rate, it might be possible to put some words in the Schedule, if the Committee should determine upon having the scale fixed. Personally, he should deprecate it, because there was always some chance of a mistake being made, especially at this distance from the Central Constabulary Office. He wished the Committee would allow him to read to them the Schedule, and to give them a positive assurance that the rate of pay therein stated would be eventually ordained by the Lord Lieutenant, because it was the rate sanctioned by the Treasury. If the hon. Member would be satisfied with that assurance, it might be unnecessary to proceed further in this respect. A part of the clause might be left out and a Schedule inserted, and he would propose to leave out from line 10 to the end of line 12, and to say, "the rates specified in the Schedule of this Act." If hon. Members were seriously intent on that form of proceeding, he should be glad to make that alteration, and in that case he would ask the hon. Member to withdraw his Amendment.

MR. SEXTON: Certainly; on that understanding, I will be glad to withdraw it.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 11, to leave out "such rates as the Lord Lieutenant," in order to insert the words "rates not exceeding those specified in the Schedule of this Act."—(*Mr. Trevelyan.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Amendment *agreed to;* words *inserted* accordingly.

MR. SEXTON said, he wished the rate of pay to take effect from the passing of the Act, therefore he proposed to leave out from "thirtieth," in line 14, to "eighty-two," in line 15, inclusive, and to insert "passing of this Act." He was not aware that the usual rule in such cases had been adopted. The Government had dealt with past services of constables and sub-constables by means of a special gratuity. If they thought that the officers deserved payment for past services, and gave them a special grant, why should they not deal with them in the same way as they had dealt with the men? Why should this Bill come into operation on the 30th June?

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 14, leave out from "thirtieth," to "eighty-two," in line 15, inclusive, and insert "passing of this Act."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. TREVELYAN said, he would read the Schedule containing the rates of pay. It was as follows;—

> "For county inspector £350 per annum on appointment to that rank, increasing by £20 per annum to £450. For sub-inspectors: For sub-inspectors of the 3rd class, £125 per annum; for sub-inspectors of the 2nd class, £165 per annum during the first five years of service in that class; £180 per annum during the remaining service in that class. For sub-inspectors of the 1st class, £225 per annum during the first three years of service in that class; £250 per annum during the subsequent three years of service in that class; £275 per annum during the subsequent six years of service in that class; and £300 per annum during the remaining years of service in that class."

As to the proposition that the pay should begin on the 30th of June of this year, it was convenient that it should begin on quarter day; and the Government, in the date they had fixed, had only followed the precedent of the last revision of salaries on the 17th of August 1874. The scale at that time came in operation on the 1st July previous. The increase had practically been promised in the House of Commons to the officers for a month past; and the allowances both to the men and officers, to the best of his belief, came into operation on a date so far back that the gratuity which the men would receive to-morrow would be given to them on a principle which would go back three years. The hon. Member had no objection to retrospective action, but simply said they ought to pay for the past by gratuity. At this time of the Session it would be inconvenient to proceed in that way.

MR. SEXTON: I said if you pay the officers for the past, you should do it by way of gratuity.

MR. TREVELYAN said, the Government did wish to pay them for the past, on account of their great labours and the sacrifices they had made, just as they wished to pay the men, without taking into consideration the proportion received by the different classes; and for that reason they thought it convenient to give back pay from the 30th June.

THE CHAIRMAN: There are some words here that ought not to be left in, therefore it would be well that the Amendment should be withdrawn.

MR. HEALY said, his hon. Friend (Mr. Sexton) proposed to press the Amendment. The Bill would give pay back from the 30th June; but he would point out that on that date this Bill was not so much as thought about. They might as well go back to the 30th June, 1870, as to the 30th June, 1882, because they had as much notion on the former date of passing a measure of this kind as they had on the latter. Hon. Members might think this a small matter on the part of his hon. Friend to object to the payment being made in the manner proposed by the Government; but, after all, a principle was involved, and the question naturally arose, why were they so nice in dealing with the officers when they could not deal in a liberal spirit with the men? Coercion Acts might be retrospective; but this was not a Coercion Act—it was a beneficent measure. No doubt, some pressure had been put upon the right hon. Gentleman by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the Dublin University (Mr. Gibson). That was the genesis of the measure, and the right hon. Gentleman was making the matter still worse by adhering to that date, the 30th June. The right hon. Gentleman completely exposed the harsh character of the treatment of the men on the one hand, compared with the kid-gloved handling of the officers on the other.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Amendment, as proposed, will not read. The words, "with such sanction as aforesaid, may think fit," would be struck out. If that alteration is not made, it will have to be amended on Report.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Pensions and allowances, 37 & 38 Vict. c. 80).

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR moved, as an Amendment, in page 2, to leave out the word "five" in line 25, and insert "seven." The sub-section would then read—

> "The gratuity referred to in sub-section one of the said section may be granted to any county inspector or sub-inspector whose service has exceeded seven years, and has been less than ten years."

The reason why he proposed the Amendment was that five years was really too short a term for any County Inspector or Sub-Inspector to serve before he was entitled to the gratuity. Seven years was the very least term they could be expected to serve before the gratuity might be granted to them. He knew the right hon. Gentleman would say he had copied the Act of 1874; but still, he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) hoped the Government would see their way to accept his Amendment.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 25, to leave out "five," and insert "seven."—(*Mr. T. P. O'Connor.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'five' stand part of the Clause."

MR. TREVELYAN said, the object of this gratuity was one common enough in all branches of the Public Service—namely, to meet the case of a person who had done respectable service, and who had retired on account of ill-health, before he had come to that period of service at which he could obtain a pension. This provision was inserted in the clause on account of the change in the salary of the future officers of the Force that was made in the next sub-section. Hitherto, Constabulary officers had began, in respect of pension, after 15 years' service; but it was proposed they should begin after 10 years' service. Consequently, the gratuity was given at the end of 10 years' service, instead of 15 years. There was always a certain objection to amending a clause which was merely a re-assertion of an admitted principle in the management of a Force. In the Civil Service a gratuity could only be granted on a medical certificate; and in this case it would not be granted, as he knew full well, having had to do with gratuities of this description, if the ill-health for which the man retired from the Force had been contracted owing to some previous illness which he had concealed when he entered the Force, or if it was caused by circumstances unconnected with the Force. In the Civil Service Act, 1859, there was actually no minimum of limit to these gratuities; and, therefore, to accept the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) would be to put the Constabulary of Ireland in a decidedly disadvantageous position, as compared with other branches of the Civil Service.

MR. SEXTON asked, what would be the maximum amount of gratuity in the case of a County Inspector, and also of a Sub-Inspector? Of course, it would to some extent meet the objection to the granting of a gratuity at the end of a short period of service, if the amount was moderate. He would like to know whether it was by this Bill, or by previous legislation, that the period had been lowered from 15 to 10 years?

MR. TREVELYAN said, the amount of gratuity given would be one month's salary for every year's service; so that if a man had served for six years he would get six months' salary, according to the scale of pay for the time being. On the question of pension, he might make his remarks now: The pension which was laid down in the Sub-section (*b*) was the well-known pension of the Civil Service Act of 1859, which the Government proposed to adopt for the Constabulary officers, with all the reservations and conditions which were always made when a new scale of pension was adopted. They had, at the same time, not thought fit to adopt the regulations which were adopted in the case of the Forces Act, 1874, by which a certain number of the Forces were put in a very much too good a position.

MR. SEXTON said, his question was, whether the proposal to make an officer entitled to pension at the end of 10 years was new?

MR. TREVELYAN said, it was new under this Bill. So far, the officers would be benefited; but no officer would retire between 10 and 15 years' service, except he was actually broken down. Generally speaking, the new scale would not operate until an officer had served 36 years, and then it would be slightly better.

MR. HEALY asked what the right hon. Gentleman meant by "respectable service?" The clause provided—

> "The gratuity referred to in Sub-section 1 of the said section, may be granted to any county inspector or sub-inspector whose service has exceeded five years, and has been less than ten years;"

and then he understood the right hon. Gentleman to say this gratuity was to be given for what he called "respectable service." Was respectable service to be measured by the number of people a constable had caused to be sent into gaol under the Coercion Act?

MR. TREVELYAN said, by the word "respectable," he meant what was meant in all Services under the Crown—namely that a man should have done that which was considered by the proper authorities to be his duty in the position he occupied.

MR. HEALY said, he took an interest in this matter, because he found that there was a Bill before the House dealing with another class of public servants. That Bill was introduced by the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. H. Gladstone), and it went upon entirely different principles. He presumed that the public servants dealt with by the Bill of the hon. Member for Leeds were as much entitled, in their own sphere, to gratuities and pensions, as the rough-riders of the Irish Constabulary; and he wished to know on what principle these gratuities were to be given, and why it was that, in dealing with other Services, the Government did not make pension compulsory? Under this Bill, the men would have the option given to them of retiring either upon the old or the new scale. Under the Bill of the hon. Member for Leeds, retirement was to take place upon the old scale of payment. Why was it that these special privileges were only to be held out to the Royal Irish Constabulary?

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he spoke without book. He should say that among the 80,000 persons who, in one capacity or another, were employed under the Admiralty, there was probably not one who did not, in one way or other, enjoy the prospect of gratuity. As he had said before, in case of retirement, under this Bill, a man would get six months' pay after having served six years; and this was the actual gratuity allowed by the Civil Service Superannuation Act, which regulated the entire Civil Service of the country. With regard to pensions, when a new scale of pay was laid down, as in the present case, it had sometimes been the case, and certainly was in a very marked way in the Bill of 1874, with reference to the men retired before the year 1866, to allow them to keep the old reckoning of the pension, and the new scale of pay, and in that way to place them in an extraordinary position; and that was the cause of a great deal of the discontent which existed in the Irish Constabulary, because they saw men who were treated in an exceptional way, and were treated as these officers would be if they were allowed to take this new scale of $\frac{40}{60}$, or their old scale of pension with the new pay now being laid down. It was not proposed to treat them in that way. Under the Bill they were obliged to take the new scale of pension and the new scale of pay, which did not put them in a more advantageous position than at present, or they were obliged to take the old scale of pension and the old scale of pay. It might be fairly said that the officers of the Constabulary did not gain anything perceptibly by the pension provided by this Bill. He thought it would be found that a great many would prefer to retire on their old pensions.

Mr. HEALY said, he was anxious to know why the Government should wish to place the Royal Irish Constabulary on a higher level as regarded pay and pensions than the other classes of the civil servants? Did the Government favour a particular class of Her Majesty's servants above others? If not, why did the Committee find this principle of gratuity introduced in this perfectly novel Bill brought in last week, whereas, in the Bill introduced at the commencement of the Session by the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. H. Gladstone), dealing with another class of public servants, there was no mention of gratuities? He objected to gratuities; but if the principle was to be adopted, it ought certainly to be applied uniformly.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, the principle of gratuity was introduced in the Act of 1866. It was continued in the Act of 1874; and it had been in operation ever since, and was so at that moment.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Mr. HEALY said, he found that it was proposed to include in the pension given to the Constabulary officers allowances for their servants. While he was quite willing to agree to the principle that what these gentlemen had received should include what might be fairly considered house-rent, and so on, he thought allowances ought not to be made for servants. During their term of office, these officers had a horse, and they received an allowance for a groom; but, surely, when they left the Constabulary they should not receive an allowance for a servant they no longer required. It was said, with what truth he could not say, that Mr. Clifford Lloyd kept a man to roll his cigarettes. Surely, the Government did not wish to provide a pension for this cigaretteer! On every ground an allowance for servants was too much to ask. He was ready to agree to the principle that "house-rent and lodging" should be included; but he thought the words "and servant" should certainly be omitted. He was very curious to know what defence could be made for the inclusion of servants. He would propose to omit the words "and servant."

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 14, to leave out the words "and servant."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'and servant' stand part of the Clause."

Mr. TREVELYAN said, that, in the Civil Service, where a man got his salary and absolutely nothing besides, his pension was calculated on salary alone. The general object of this Bill was to increase the pay of the Constabulary, and to regulate their pensions without seriously increasing them. To enable the officers of the future to have as good pensions as the officers of the present, it was necessary to regulate their pensions upon their pay and allowances, or their pay and a portion of their allowances. If so many quota parts of the pay and the whole of the allowances were granted, the pensions would have been larger than it was thought the country was bound to give. If pay alone had been taken into account, the pensions would have been decidedly smaller than they were at present, and, therefore, he presumed, smaller than the country should give. There was no intention to put the retired officer of Constabulary of the future in a worse position than the retired officer of the present time. He held that a very good scale of pension was found by taking the pay and certain allowances, those allowances being the fixed allowances for lodging, house, and servant. The allowances in the Bill were chosen for the purpose of making the pension of the officer of the future practically the same as the officer of the past.

Mr. HEALY said, he would like to know how the pay of a servant was arrived at? Was it provided, under the Constabulary Rules and Regulations, that a Sub-Inspector and a County Inspector should have a servant?

Mr. TREVELYAN said, every officer in the Constabulary had a servant, the allowance being £45.

Mr. CALLAN asked whether, in addition to the allowance of £45 a-year for a servant, there was not also given to a Sub-Inspector and County Inspector the service of a sub-constable?

Mr. HEALY said, that after the explanation of the right hon. Gentleman, he would withdraw his Amendment; but he would suggest, that as there were so many allowances—namely, one for servant, one for horses, one for forage, and so forth—it would be better to lump them together, and give the officers their salaries as such.

Mr. CALLAN said, he had asked his question in the interest of the Force itself. In addition to the servant, the officers took an orderly, who had to do the most servile work.

Mr. H. H. FOWLER asked, whether officers in the Royal Irish Constabulary had the same privilege as officers in the Army, of having a man from the ranks appropriated as their personal servant? If that were so, he objected to the system very much, because it was simply increasing the expenses of the country for the benefit of individuals. He was appalled at the charges now being put on the country for the extension and perpetuation of this military force in Ireland, when it was patent to most people that a civil force was required in the place of it. He wished to know, whether, in addition to the amount allowed for servants, the officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary were allowed to appropriate a constable for their own personal service?

Mr. CALLAN said, that the young men employed in the manner indicated by the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) were, as a matter of fact, taken out of the Constabulary Force and made use of as stable-boys—they were not even allowed to wear the uniform more than once a-month. He knew that this was the cause of considerable dissatisfaction amongst the men, who said they entered the Service to be policemen, and not servants and supernumeraries. In this way the ranks were deprived of the services of some of the best men. The County Inspectors and other officers, whenever they noticed a smart man in the Service, asked him to act as their orderly, saying, "You won't have the same chance of promotion, but you will have an easy life."

The CHAIRMAN reminded the hon. Member (Mr. Callan) that the question before the Committee was simply whether the amount of allowance to officers for servants should form part of the pension.

Mr. LEWIS said, the Proviso at the end of this clause seemed to be very doubtful in its meaning, and he took that opportunity of calling the attention of the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill to the fact, in order that he might furnish the Committee with some explanation. The provision was to the effect that no County Inspector and no Sub-Inspector respectively appointed before the passing of the Act, should be qualified to receive pensions of greater amount than either might be granted to them respectively under the scale prescribed by the Act, or than it would have been lawful to grant them if the Act had not been passed. He did not know whether the right hon. Gentleman was aware that the effect of this would be to take away entirely from a certain class of officers, who had been in the Service 30 or 40 years, the benefit of an Act which was passed in order to give them full retiring pensions? The first part of the clause limited the pensions to officers who had served 40 years to two-thirds of their annual salary. He believed the Proviso originally was intended to provide that the officers should be entitled to the same pensions after the passing of this Act as they would in some cases have been entitled to before; but, as a matter of fact, there were two alternatives given in the Proviso as it was now worded, and an officer who came within either one of them was caught by it. The particular words of the Proviso which he had before him were—

> "Shall be qualified to receive pensions of greater amount than either may be granted to them respectively under the scale prescribed by this Act only," &c.

In his opinion, the effect of this would be to take away from the officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary the benefit of the Act to which he had referred.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, the officers of the Constabulary had the advantage under this Bill either of the scale of pensions under Sub-section (*b*) with the new salary, or they had the benefit of the clause with the old salary. But they were not to have the old scale of pensions with the new salary, which would give them considerably larger pensions than they would enjoy under either of the two systems which were open to them.

Mr. LEWIS said, the point raised by the Proviso was a difficult one, and with regard to its effects, a considerable number of competent persons were in favour of the view he had expressed. He was quite sure the right hon. Gentleman would not wish to make a mistake in this matter, and he could assure him that there were at least 100 officers of the Constabulary who, if the clause were passed in its present form, would be excluded from the old pensions they were now entitled to. The right hon. Gentleman, he was satisfied, desired only that the fullest justice should be done to the officers of the Force; and on that ground he appealed to him closely to study the effect of the Proviso before it was passed. It stated that the officers were not to receive anything greater than one of two amounts, and that wording, he submitted, could only bear the interpretation he had placed upon it.

Mr. TREVELYAN pointed out that if the Act were not passed, the officers would get a pension of a certain amount. That they might still have. But if they chose to take advantage of the new scale, then they would get another pension; but what they could not get was a pension compounded of the new scale and the old pension.

Mr. H. H. FOWLER hoped the right hon. Gentleman would answer his question with reference to the employment of constables as officers' servants, and not shelter himself behind the plea of irrelevancy. If the question were not answered, then he should feel it his duty to raise the whole question at a future stage of the Bill.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he believed it was a fact that officers of the Constabulary did have the service of orderlies, chosen from amongst the men.

Mr. CALLAN pointed out that the clause contained the words "and servant." The cost of a servant was allowed for in the salary.

The CHAIRMAN said, it had been ruled out of Order to discuss the question of officers' servants on this clause. The question as to the propriety of the employment of the men as orderlies had nothing whatever to do with the clause.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Retirement of officers).

Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

MR. CALLAN said, he had a considerable objection to urge to the provisions contained in this clause, which enacted that on the 1st day of October, 1882, every Assistant Inspector General and County Inspector and Sub-Inspector should cease to be a member of the Force if he had on that day attained the age afterwards defined in the Bill as the specified age for retirement, and should be qualified to receive the maximum pension of the rank and class in which he was then serving, notwithstanding that he might not then have served the full number of years which qualified him to receive it. The next paragraph of the clause specified the age of retirement as 65 years in the case of an Assistant Inspector General and County Inspector, and 60 years in the case of a Sub-Inspector. He thought there was no sufficient reason for compelling the officers of the Irish Constabulary to retire at the ages specified. He knew a number of officers who had passed those ages, and who were perfectly well able to serve the country for years to come. There had been one of them in the Lobby that evening, as hale and active a man as many younger men in that House. Why should that officer be compulsorily retired at 60 years of age? Surely it would not be wise to part with the services which the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland was able to render to the country, because he was verging upon the age of 60. There were many hon. and gallant Members of the House who, notwithstanding their years, probably believed themselves still able to command the Channel Fleet or fight Arabi Bey. He did not see why they should retire men at 60, many of whom were in the prime of life. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department was in the prime of life. Why should he be retired from the service of the country in a few years because he would then have attained the age of 60? If there was no reason for retiring the right hon. and learned Gentleman to whom he had alluded, there was no reason for retiring the Sub-Inspectors of Constabulary at an age when they were still able usefully to serve the country. Again, there was no reason why these men should be imposed upon the country as pensioners in the prime of life, when they were still capable of performing their duties. He begged, therefore, to move the omission of the paragraph contained between lines 21 and 23 inclusive.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the Amendment could not now be put. No Amendment having been moved, he had put the Question "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

MR. TREVELYAN said, he would point out that the principle of retiring officers at a certain age was established in all the Services of the State, although there might be some doubt existing as to the age at which they ought to be retired. The principle was acted upon in the Army and Navy, where the duties were analogous to those of the Constabulary, which, he believed, it would not be denied were so far of a military nature that they required for their performance robust and energetic men, as well as men of intellectual and moral qualities. It was therefore deemed essential to have a clause in the Bill that fixed the age of retirement, which, in the case of an Assistant Inspector General or County Inspector, was 65 years, and in the case of a Sub-Inspector 60 years. But it did not follow that the services of these men would be lost to the country at the ages specified, as it sometimes happened that a man at 60 or 65 years of age had still got some years of very good work in him; and the Government retained the liberty to keep anyone they chose out of the operation of the rule, and the consequence was that when it was found that men were fit for further employment, they were always continued in the Service. It was, however, necessary to have some rule with reference to the age at which persons in case of need could be retired.

MR. DALY said, the rule in question constituted a great hardship on many deserving men, notwithstanding the explanation of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland. He regarded it as shabby treatment on the part of the Government to compel the officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary to retire at the ages specified, when, as a rule, they were not physically impaired or disqualified for their work.

MR. CALLAN said, he should vote against the clause unless there was some promise made or intimation given by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland that he would fix the age for the retirement of Assistant Inspectors General and County Inspectors at 70 years, and that for the retirement of Sub-Inspectors at 65 years. Taking up *Dod's Parliamentary Companion*, he thought it would be a great hardship if the Members of that House were obliged to retire who had reached the age of 60. It would be undoubtedly a hardship if the right hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Committees were compelled to retire at his present age; and he was bound to say that at the age of 63 the right hon. Gentleman was just as active as any Sub-Inspector who would be required to retire at 60 under this clause of the Bill. He contended that the retiring age of Sub-Inspectors should be fixed at 65, instead of 60 years; and he certainly felt inclined to divide against the clause if that limit were not adopted by Her Majesty's Government.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (An additional county inspector may be appointed).

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY said, he objected to the clause, which empowered the Lord Lieutenant to add one County Inspector to the number of County Inspectors appointed under the Acts in force at the time of the passing of this Act. The Bill professed to be for the purpose of regulating the pay of certain officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary Force, yet it went on to provide for the appointment, or to allow of the appointment by the Lord Lieutenant, of new officers. There were already 35 County Inspectors, including the official Inspector for the town of Belfast, and as there were only 32 counties in Ireland, the number of Inspectors was three in excess of the number of counties. That was a sufficiently large number of Inspectors for all purposes, and he could not see that there was any necessity to make a single addition to it. Besides this, he was disinclined to allow the Viceroy to have any arbitrary power whatever. He admitted that, in the present instance, no great evil could come from it; even the most arbitrary Viceroy could not do much harm by adding one Sub-Inspector to the number already existing; but he saw no use in giving him this power, which appeared to him entirely inappropriate to this scheme of legislation. He therefore moved that the clause be omitted.

Amendment proposed, "To leave out Clause 5."—(*Mr. Justin M'Carthy.*)

Mr. TREVELYAN explained, that the Lord Lieutenant would only exercise the power of appointing a new County Inspector when it became necessary to fill up a vacancy which might be caused by the promotion of one of the County Inspectors to the position of Inspector at Dublin Castle. If that explanation satisfied the hon. Member for Longford, he (Mr. Trevelyan) trusted he would withdraw his opposition to the clause.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 6 and 7 *agreed to.*

Mr. LEWIS, in rising to move the following Clause:—

(Calculation of pensions of persons who retired before the passing of the Act of 1874.)

"All persons who, previous to the coming into operation of 'The Constabulary (Ireland) Act, 1874,' retired from service in the Royal Irish Constabulary are hereby declared to be entitled to have the superannuations or pensions granted to them respectively under the provisions of the Act passed in the Session of Parliament held in the tenth and eleventh years of Her present Majesty, entitled 'An Act to regulate the superannuation allowances of the Constabulary Force in Ireland, and of the Dublin Metropolitan Police,' calculated upon the scale or rate of pay of which they were respectively in receipt at the respective dates of their retirement,"

said, it was rendered necessary in consequence of the questions which had arisen as to the interpretation of the clause relating to pensions in the Act of 1874, with regard to persons who joined the Force before 1866. This question of interpretation had been raised several times during the last Parliament, and the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer under the late Government (Sir Stafford Northcote) undertook, on one occasion, to take the opinion of the English Law Officers of the Crown upon the subject. The result of this reference, which was afterwards communicated to the House, was that the Law Officers of the Crown advised that the Government had power to award pensions on the scale provided by the Act of 1874, but that they were not legally bound to do so. A constable who retired before the passing of the Act of 1874 was awarded a pension calculated on the salary payable between the years 1847 and 1866, although he might have continued to serve until 1874; in other words, his pension was not calculated upon what he was receiving at the time of retirement, but upon what he had received some years anteriorly, whereas a constable who retired after a certain day in 1874 received a pension of larger amount, although he had not served for so many years. Thus it sometimes happened that persons received pensions 100 per cent greater than those received by others of the same rank and longer service. Again, a constable who entered the Force after 1866 had 2½ per cent deducted from his pay, so that the men were worse off in two respects. He believed he had put the case of the men correctly before the Committee as it was affected by the Acts of Parliament to which he had referred, because he found that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) had stated the matter in the same way in a letter which he sent to the hon. Member for Kildare (Mr. Meldon); and, therefore, he took the present opportunity for moving the second reading of a new clause, which would rectify the inequalities now existing.

Clause (Calculation of pensions of persons who retired before the passing of the Act of 1874), *brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Lewis.*)

MR. TREVELYAN said, the Government were not in a position to admit the clause into the Bill. In the first place, it dealt with the position of the men of the Royal Irish Constabulary; whereas the Bill was for the purpose of regulating the pay of the officers of that Force. That might not be a very great objection to hon. Members who took a strong interest in the Bill. But he said that if the Government had proposed to deal with the officers, as the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) proposed to deal with the men, there would have been an outcry that would certainly have wrecked the Bill. He did not propose to go into the question from a legal point of view—first, because he did not feel competent to do so; and next, because the late Chancellor of the Exchequer had taken the opinion of the Law Officers upon the meaning of the Act of 1874, that opinion being that it would have been legal for the Government to pay the sums in question had they been pleased to do so, but that the Act of 1874 did not render this obligatory. Under those circumstances, he thought the Government were entitled to regard the question from an administrative point of view. Looking at it in this light, the question stood thus. The men appointed before 1847 received a very low scale of pay as compared with that which the men at present enjoyed; but with this low scale of pay, they were entitled to pensions on a much higher scale—that was to say, after 20 years' service they obtained a pension equal in amount to their pay. But in 1847, and afterwards in 1866, the scale of pay was very much raised; and the question presented itself as to whether the men were entitled to receive, with a higher rate of pay, pensions upon the same principle as had been in operation when the salaries were so much lower. It was obvious that that would be a very great burden indeed on the public; and such a change was not the intention of the Legislature at any time, because the 7th section of the Act of 1866 said that—

> "Whereas it is expedient that the present members of the Constabulary force should continue to be entitled to receive retiring allowances calculated on the rates of pay existing before the passing of this Act."

It was quite true that the persons who retired between 1866 and 1874 did enjoy exceptional advantages—advantages so exceptional that the contrast between those and the men who were now beginning to retire was a part, and a very serious part, of the cause of the feeling which now existed in the Force. But it was very hard on the Government, if a certain number of persons enjoying very special advantages made everyone who came after them discontented, and that hon. Gentlemen in this House should also urge the case of men who came before the recently-appointed men and had retired long ago on pensions. The men referred to did not enter the Service under the condition of getting this pension. They entered under conditions that they thought good enough at the time, and he did not think it would be to the public advantage to go back and grant to the men the new scale of pension, adding to it all the arrears of pension that would accrue to them.

Question put, and *negatived.*

House *resumed.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

NAVY AND ARMY EXPENDITURE, 1880-81.—COMMITTEE.

MATTER *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

1. *Resolved*, Whereas it appears from the Navy Appropriation Account for the year ended 31st March 1881, as follows, viz.:—

(a.) That the sums expended for certain Navy Services exceeded the Grants for those Services, and that the deficits on such Grants amounted together to £87,533 19*s*. 8*d*. as shown in column (a) of the Schedule hereto appended;

(b.) That the sums received in respect of Appropriations in Aid of the Grants for certain Services fell short of the sums estimated, and that such deficiencies amounted together to £14,891 13*s*. 1*d*. as shown in column (b) of the said appended Schedule;

(c.) That the sums received in respect of Appropriations in Aid of the Grant for Naval Stores exceeded the amounts estimated by the total sum of £17,603 7*s*. 10*d*. as shown in column (c) of the said appended Schedule;

(d.) That surpluses arose on the Grants for certain Services, and that such surpluses amounted together to £274,288 9*s*. 7*d*. as shown in column (d) of the said appended Schedule.

2. And whereas, in order to provide for the first two above-mentioned sums (a) and (b), amounting together to £102,425 12*s*. 9*d*. the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury have temporarily authorised the application of the third above-mentioned sum (c) of £17,603 7*s*.10*d*. and of £84,822 4*s*. 11*d*. out of the last above-mentioned sum (d).

3. That the said application of such sums be sanctioned.

SCHEDULE.

No.	Navy Services, 1880-81, Vote.	(a) Deficits on Votes.			(b) Deficiencies of Appropriations in Aid.			(c) Excess of Appropriations in Aid.			(d) Surpluses on Vote.		
		£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*
1 ..	Wages, &c. to Seamen and Marines ..	..			819	4	2	..			66,933	10	5
2 ..	Victuals and Clothing for ditto	..			2,325	17	4	..			63,564	8	2
3 ..	Admiralty Office ..	..			..			..			5,078	16	10
4 ..	Coast Guard Service and Naval Reserve ..	..			..			..			935	18	5
5 ..	Scientific Branch ..	..			..			..			6,848	2	9
6 ..	Dockyards and Naval Yards, &c.	5,768	5	6									
7 ..	Victualling Yards, &c. ..	..			..			..			2,107	14	4
8 ..	Medical Establishments, &c.	..			..			..			871	9	7
9 ..	Marine Divisions ..	..			..			..			1,024	4	0
10 Sec. 1 ..	Naval Stores	49,970	3	4	..			17,603	7	10			
Sec. 2 ..	Machinery, Ships built by Contracts, &c. ..	..			..			..			78,917	4	11
11 ..	New Works, Buildings, and Repairs ..	..			..			..			29,064	6	6
12 ..	Medicines and Medical Stores	..			2,047	17	8	..			11,260	3	1
13 ..	Martial Law, &c. ..	1,228	11	3									
14 ..	Miscellaneous Services ..	..			..			..			7,682	10	7
15 ..	Half Pay, &c. ..	2,658	10	8									
16 Sec. 1 ..	Military Pensions and Allowances	9,681	13	3									
Sec. 2 ..	Civil Pensions and Allowances	6,156	14	4									
17 ..	Army Department — Conveyance of Troops	7,095	7	9	9,698	13	11						
	Amounts written off as irrecoverable ..	4,974	13	7									
		87,533	19	8	14,891	13	1	17,603	7	10	274,288	9	7
								84,822	4	11			
		£102,425	12	9				£102,425	12	9			
	Total Surpluses on Votes							274,288	9	7			
	Less amount applied to make good deficiencies ..							84,822	4	11			
	Net surplus to be surrendered							£189,466	4	8			

SIR HENRY HOLLAND said, that he was glad to be able to congratulate his hon. Friend the Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) upon the great improvement, both in form and substance, of these Resolutions, an improvement which could not but be very satisfactory to all who had to consider these matters. The Committee could now see at a glance the several amounts of deficits on Votes; of Deficiences of Appropriations in Aid; of Excesses of Appropriations in Aid; of the Surpluses on Votes; and also the amount applied from the Excesses and Surpluses to make good the Deficiences. Not only was the form improved, but the improvement in substance was really very material. Up to that time, no Resolution had been taken to sanction expenditure for certain Navy services unprovided for, and temporarily defrayed out of the sum realized in excess of the estimated Appropriations in Aid. Such a Resolution had been regularly passed for some years with respect to the Army; but for some reason, which was not explained to the Public Accounts Committee, a like course had not been pursued with respect to the Navy. That irregularity was now put an end to, and the practice was made uniform for both these large spending Departments.

4. *Resolved,* Whereas it appears from the Army Appropriation Account for the year ended 31st March 1881, as follows, viz.:—

(a.) That the sums expended for certain Army Services exceeded the Grants for those Services, and that the deficits on such Grants amounted together to £207,944 14*s.* 1*d.* as shown in column (a) of the Schedule hereto appended;

(b.) That the sums received in respect of Appropriations in Aid of the Grants for certain Services fell short of the sums estimated, and that such deficiencies amounted together to £24,533 5*s.* 2*d.* as shown in column (b) of the said appended Schedule;

(c.) That the sums received in respect of Appropriations in Aid of the Grants for certain other Services exceeded the amounts estimated by the total sum of £137,571 18*s.* 6*d.* as shown in column (c) of the said appended Schedule;

(d.) That surpluses arose on the Grants for certain Services, and that such surpluses (including a disallowance of £61) amounted together to £374,767 17*s.* 7*d.* as shown in column (d) of the said appended Schedule.

5. *Resolved,* And whereas in order to provide for the first two above-mentioned sums (a) and (b), amounting together to £232,477 19*s.* 3*d.* the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury have temporarily authorised the application of the third above-mentioned sum (c) of £137,571 18*s.* 6*d.* and of £94,906 0*s.* 9*d.* out of the last above-mentioned sum (d).

6. *Resolved,* That the said application of such sums be sanctioned.

SCHEDULE.

No.	Army Services, 1880-81, Vote.	(a) Deposits on Votes.			(b) Deficiencies of Appropriations in Aid.			(c) Excesses of Appropriations in Aid.			(d) Surpluses on Votes.		
		£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*
1	General Staff and Regimental Pay	..			..			22,561	13	9	204,925 (£61 disallowed)	2	8
2	Divine Service	173	15	8									
3	Administration of Military Law..	..			..			..			1,548	18	10
4	Medical Establishment, &c.	..			..			..			24,224	12	2
5	Militia Pay and Allowances	..			24,521	1	8	..			46,192	17	3
6	Yeomanry Cavalry ..	..			..			..			7,369	14	0
7	Volunteer Corps ..	245	10	1									
8	Army Reserve Corps ..	..			..			..			12,026	6	5
9	Commissariat, &c. Establishments	1,879	18	10	12	3	6						
10	Provisions, Forage, Fuel, &c.	94,870	2	2	..			20,905	18	3			
11	Clothing Establishments, &c.	29,727	6	11	..			49,343	11	5			
12	Supply of Warlike, &c. Stores	58,000	2	9	..			44,760	15	1			
13	Works, Building, and Repairs	..			..			..			30,396	6	7
	Carried forward	184,896	16	5	24,533	5	2	137,571	18	6	326,744	17	11

SCHEDULE—*continued.*

No.	Army Services, 1880-81, Vote.	(a) Deposits on Votes.	(b) Deficiencies of Appropriations in Aid.	(c) Excesses of Appropriations in Aid.	(d) Surpluses on Votes.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
	Brought forward ..	184,896 16 5	24,533 5 2	137,571 18 6	326,744 17 11
14	Establishments for Military Education ..	..	..	..	1,776 16 10
15	Miscellaneous Effective Services	7,141 12 11			
16	War Office	4,470 13 7			
17	Rewards for Distinguished Services	..	..	..	489 5 2
18	Pay of General Officers ..	2,907 1 1			
19	Retired Full Pay, Half Pay, &c.	..	..	..	31,723 2 0
20	Widows' Pensions ..	..	..	..	1,418 0 7
21	Pensions for Wounds ..	2,782 14 7			
22	Chelsea and Kilmainham Hospitals	..	..	..	1,311 6 1
23	Out-Pensions	..	..	..	8,082 0 6
24	Superannuation Allowances	402 0 6			
25	Militia, Yeomanry, and Volunteer Forces—Non-Effective Charges ..	..	..	..	3,222 8 6
	Amounts written off as irrecoverable	5,343 15 0			
		207,944 14 1	24,533 5 2	137,571 18 6	374,767 17 7
				94,906 0 9	
		£232,477 19 3		£232,477 19 3	

Total Surpluses on Votes	374,767 17 7
Less amount applied to make good deficiencies ..	94,906 0 9
Surplus to be surrendered	£279,861 16 10

House *resumed.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

PRISON CHARITIES BILL.—[Bill 270.]

(*Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Hibbert.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Secretary Sir William Harcourt.*)

Mr. J. G. TALBOT said, he should like to ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he could give the House some information about the nature of the Bill, and the necessity for it. He (Mr. Talbot) understood that the measure had not been explained to the House; and when he looked at the back of it, he saw that it was only ordered to be printed on the 5th August — that was to say, on Saturday last—and only read a second time last night. He did not know what charities it proposed to deal with; but it seemed to him to be a Bill for transferring certain charities from the present trustees to the Secretary of State, and allowing the Charity Commissioners to make schemes for these charities on the application of the Secretary of State instead of the trustees. That might, or might not, be right; but it certainly did seem to him a matter which should be explained to the House. It seemed to be a measure of centralization, such as the House should not be called on to agree to at such a period of the Session as that, when there was not time to see whether the scope of the Bill was as large as would seem to be implied. If the Committee would look at the 2nd clause, they would find that the expression "Prison Charity" was remarkably wide. He did not, as he had said, know what the number of the charities was, nor did he know for what reason the Bill was introduced; but, in order to give the House an opportunity of expressing an opinion on it, he would move the adjournment of the debate. He did not move it in a hostile spirit, as he trusted the right hon. and learned Gentleman would be able to show him that there was nothing sinister in the Bill; but he took that course as a protest against the measure having been brought forward at that late period of the Session. They ought to be told why it had not been dealt with at an earlier period of the Session, and why it was now being carried hurriedly through another stage without description or explanation.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. J. G. Talbot.*)

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he could assure the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Talbot) that the Government had no sinister motive in bringing forward that Bill. The Bill was one which had been long desired. It had been recommended by the Public Accounts Committee for several years, and it would supply a necessity which had long been felt. The truth was, that the Prison Commissioners came in as successors to trustees of prison charities, which properly belonged to the local authorities. There had been no regular or recognized way of dealing with a number of, generally speaking, very small bequests left in connection with the prisons, and considerable difficulty in dealing with the accounts had been experienced through the charities not having been brought under a regular form of administration. This had been a real difficulty, and it had been pointed out over and over again by the Commissioners themselves. The matter was not on a satisfactory footing, and it was deemed desirable that a scheme should be prepared for dealing with these bequests. He hoped the hon. Member would consider this a satisfactory explanation of the objects with which the Bill had been prepared. No doubt, it was inconvenient for the Bill to be brought in at that period of the Session; but it must be borne in mind that the measure was not of a controversial character, nor of any great magnitude. It was only a simple piece of legislative reform.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND said, that he wished, as a Member of the Public Accounts Committee, to support what had fallen from the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department. He (Sir Henry Holland) himself must plead guilty to having urged very strongly upon the Government the desirability of bringing in the Bill this Session. The question had been for years before them, and it was really very important, although the sums dealt with were very small.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee, and *reported*, without Amendment.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he hoped that, under the circumstances, seeing that the House was satisfied, and had passed the Bill through Committee without Amendment, that hon. Members would now allow it to be read a third time.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Secretary Sir William Harcourt,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

EXPIRING LAWS CONTINUANCE BILL.

(*Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Mr. Courtney.*)

[BILL 266.] COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

MR. CALLAN said, that in the Schedule he saw the Sale of Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Bill continued. There was an Order relating to this subject on the Paper; but he (Mr. Callan) supposed that to-morrow that Order would be read and discharged, so that those interested in the subject would not be kept waiting in the House.

MR. STUART WORTLEY said, that there was a Bill in the Schedule which referred to Locomotives on Roads, and he wished to know whether it was the intention of the Government to go on with it this Session? The Bill would have the effect of removing restrictions from locomotives on roads. Locomotives had become dangerous in many parts of the country, and the public would be glad to hear that the subject was not lost sight of by the Government.

Mr. HIBBERT said, it was not intended to deal with the question during the present Session, though it was deemed desirable to do so on some future occasion. The Government would attempt to deal with it next year.

House *resumed.*

Bill *reported,* without Amendment.

Mr. HIBBERT said, that perhaps the House would be inclined to read the Bill a third time.

Mr. CALLAN said, he objected, as on the third reading many questions might arise which it would be desirable to discuss.

Bill to be read the third time *To-morrow.*

LUNACY REGULATION AMENDMENT BILL [*Lords.*]—[Bill 230.]

(*Mr. Hibbert.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

Mr. HIBBERT said, the purpose of the Bill was to provide that lunatics should be visited at least twice in every year, and that every lunatic resident in a private asylum should be visited four times each year in the next two years. The effect of that regulation would be that, for the first two years, each lunatic would be visited four times in each year, and in subsequent years twice.

Mr. WARTON said, he was not satisfied with the present position of the matter. The Bill was brought forward with the understanding that, if the number of visits was reduced from four, those lunatics who now received one visit, should receive two. He wished to make it certain that there should be two visits; and, for that purpose, he should move, at the end of Clause 4, to add—

> "And the said section shall be construed as if the word 'twice' had been inserted therein instead of the word 'once.'"

Amendment proposed,

> In page 2, line 6, to add at the end the words "and the said section shall be construed as if the word 'twice' had been inserted therein instead of the word 'once.'"—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. J. G. TALBOT hoped the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Hibbert) had no objection to this Amendment.

Mr. HIBBERT said, he thought the Amendment was unnecessary.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT said, he could not understand the hon. Gentleman's objection, if he agreed to the object being carried out; especially as every Statute must be interpreted by its words, and not by the meaning which its promoters conceived it to have.

Mr. HIBBERT said, that this was a matter entirely for the Lord Chancellor, upon whom the Statute would be binding by regulations to be signed hereafter.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT thought it would be better to put these words in the Bill, so that all the world might know what was intended.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 9; Noes 53: Majority 42.—(Div. List, No. 325.)

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

COUNTY COURTS (ADVOCATES' COSTS) BILL.—[Bill 188.]

(*Mr. Hastings, Sir Eardley Wilmot, Mr. Staveley Hill, Mr. Rowley Hill.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

Mr. WARTON said, when the Bill was before the House on a previous occasion, he objected to the title as objectionable, because it implied that the solicitors employed were advocates.

Mr. SPEAKER: If the House thinks fit to alter the title, it can do so at the last stage.

Mr. WARTON wished to move that the title be altered from County Courts Costs to Salaries Bill.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Mr. H. G. Allen,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

BILLS OF SALE ACT (1878) AMENDMENT BILL.

CONSIDERATION OF LORDS AMENDMENTS.

Mr. STUART-WORTLEY asked, whether the hon. and learned Gentlemen the Attorney General and the Solicitor General approved of the Lords first Amendment?

Mr. MONK, in reply, said, he regretted that the House of Lords had made the Amendment; but it was accepted by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Bramwell, and Lord Cairns.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Consequential Amendment, in page 2, line 16, leave out "enumerated," and insert "specifically described," *agreed to.*

Lords Amendment, in line 29, after "taxes," insert—

"(5.) If execution shall have been levied against the goods of the grantor under any judgment at law."

MR. MONK, in moving a Consequential Amendment to the foregoing Amendment of the Lords, said, its object was that, in case an execution had been put in on goods of the grantor, in consequence of non-payment of an instalment, that should not be done a few hours after the money had become due; but that the grantor should be empowered, within five days, to apply to the High Court, or to a Judge, to stop execution, on being satisfied that the debt had been paid.

Consequential Amendment proposed, to add—

"Provided that the grantor may within five days from the seizure or taking possession of any chattels on account of any of the above-mentioned causes, apply to the High Court, or to a judge thereof in chambers, and such court or judge, if satisfied that by payment of money or otherwise the said cause of seizure no longer exists, may restrain the grantee from removing or selling the said chattels, or may make such other order as may seem just."—(*Mr. Monk.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. WARTON said, that was about the coolest Consequential Amendment he had ever heard of. It appeared that they had to pass the Bill exactly as the hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk) desired it—in a most hurried way—a Bill which was most wretchedly drawn. It seemed as though the hon. Member wanted to pass something this Session; he did not care what. The measure had been absolutely emasculated—the object for which it had been introduced had been lost, and he could not look upon the Amendment as at all consequential.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, he would venture to point out to the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton), that not only was the Amendment absolutely necessary in the interests of justice, but that it had received the careful attention of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General (Sir Henry James), at whose request it had been brought forward.

MR. WARTON: Oh; that is a different matter.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment, as amended, *agreed to.*

Amendment, in page 2, line 38, leave out from "sale" to the end of the Clause, and insert—

"Made or given by way of security for the payment of money by the grantee thereof shall be void unless made in accordance with the form in the schedule to this Act annexed."

MR. WHITLEY said, that was a very serious alteration indeed, and it appeared to him to require some consideration. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General (Sir Henry James), he knew, attached great importance to the part struck out when the Bill was before the Commons, and he (Mr. Whitley) personally also attached great importance to it. They had taken great pains to guard against bills of sale being executed, except with the fullest knowledge that could be brought to bear upon the matter by the person giving the bill of sale. In order to do that, they said that the solicitor of the person borrowing should be present at the time of the transaction; but the Lords had struck out the provision, and the person who gave the bill of sale was consequently in the hands of the money-lender altogether. If the Bill passed as amended by the Lords, it would be competent for the man borrowing money to go to the money-lender's office, where the money-lender's clerk might attest the document, the man who was principally interested being possibly an illiterate person, knowing nothing at all as to the nature of that which he had signed. He (Mr. Whitley) felt so persuaded of the importance of this Amendment that he should move its rejection.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth disagree with the Lords in the said Amendment."—(*Mr. Whitley.*)

MR. WARTON said, this was a most important matter, as the effect of the Lords Amendment would be to destroy one of the most important provisions in the Act of 1878, which required that a person about to borrow money, and giving a bill of sale, should do it in the presence of a properly certificated solicitor. If the Amendment were agreed to, and Clause 9A, proposed by their Lordships, was put in, to allow a bill of sale to be given by anybody, it might be that a poor wretch, for the sake of a shilling, would be very glad to witness it—in fact, to witness anything. He (Mr. Warton) never in his life knew such a backward step as that to be taken. He was in favour of reasonable reforms, but not to such an alteration as this.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

Question put, and *negatived.*

Amendment proposed to the said Amendment, to leave out "grantee" and insert "grantor."

Amendment *agreed to.*

Amendment, as amended, *agreed to.*

Amendment, in page 3, after Clause 9, insert the following Clause:—

"(9A.) The execution of every bill of sale by the grantor shall be attested by one or more credible witness or witnesses, not being a party or parties thereto. So much of Section 10 of the principal Act as requires that the execution of every bill of sale shall be attested by a solicitor of the Supreme Court, and that the attestation shall state that before the execution of the bill of sale the effect thereof has been explained to the grantor by the attesting witness, is hereby repealed."

Mr. WARTON said, he would propose to amend the Amendment of their Lordships by leaving out, in line 2, the words "one or more credible witness or witnesses," in order to insert the words "a certificated solicitor."

Amendment proposed to the Lords said Amendment,

In line 2, after the word "by," leave out "one or more credible witness or witnesses," and insert "a certificated solicitor." — (*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the said proposed Amendment."

Mr. H. H. FOWLER said, he hoped the House would agree to the proposed Amendment of the House of Lords. The Committee who sat to consider this question found it a perfect farce to insist upon the attestation of a certificated solicitor. Money-lenders, it was found, could keep a certificated solicitor at a salary to attest bills of sale.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment *agreed to.*

Amendment, in page 4, line 19, leave out "eighth and twentieth sections," and insert "twentieth section."

Mr. WHITLEY said, he did not think the House considered the changes that had been made in the Bill. The clause, which it was proposed to strike out, was very carefully considered by the Select Committee, which sat for weeks, and ultimately it was agreed that a bill of sale made within 12 months was good. By striking out this clause all bills of sale would be absolutely void in bankruptcy. The consequences would be very serious indeed, and he had no hesitation in saying that in Lancashire, where hundreds of thousands of pounds were lent on machinery, if this Amendment—brought before them at 3 o'clock in the morning—were agreed to, the effect of it would be to ruin a great many people. Those who were the guardians of the commercial interests of the country ought to pause before they passed a thing of this nature. At present thousands of pounds were lent in this way, and no man would be safe if the Amendment were accepted. He would move that the Amendment be rejected.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth disagree with the Lords in the said Amendment."—(*Mr. Whitley.*)

Mr. H. H. FOWLER said, he wished to say a word on this matter. [*Cries of* "Agreed!"] No; the question was not one to be decided in an off-hand manner. This was said to be a matter of great importance to commercial men. Up to 1878, property in the order and disposition of a bankrupt was not affected; but in that year the Legislature thought fit to repeal the then existing law, and the evidence given before the Committee was to the effect that that repeal had given an enormous impetus to granting fraudulent bills of sale. The Order and Disposition Clause, being repealed, had increased fraudulent bills of sale. The House of Lords, it seemed, had gone back to what was the law up to 1878; and he (Mr. H. H. Fowler) thought that was a great improvement. Speaking on behalf of the Chamber of Commerce of Wolverhampton, he could say there was no change commercial men were so anxious to see carried out as this.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment *disagreed to.*

Consequential Amendments made.

Schedule amended, and *agreed to.*

Committee *appointed,* "to draw up Reasons to be assigned to The Lords for disagreeing to an Amendment made by The Lords to "The Bills of Sale Act (1878) Amendment Bill:"—Mr. Monk, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, and Mr. Barran:—Three to be the quorum:—To withdraw immediately.

Reason for disagreeing to The Lords Amendment *reported,* and *agreed to:*—To be communicated to the Lords.

House adjourned at half after Three o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 9th August, 1882.

MINUTES.]—Supply—*considered in Committee*—*Resolutions* [August 8] *reported.*

Resolutions [August 8] *reported*—Navy and Army Expenditure, 1880-81.

Public Bills—*Resolution in Committee*—Ancient Monuments [Purchase, &c.]*.

Ordered—*First Reading*—Fisheries (Ireland) (No. 2)* [271].

Considered as amended—*Third Reading*—Entail (Scotland) [248], and *passed.*

Withdrawn—Surrey (Trial of Causes)* [204]; Sale of Liquors on Sunday (Ireland)* [148].

QUESTIONS.

EGYPT (MILITARY EXPEDITION)—PROMOTION OF OFFICERS OF THE MARINES.

Sir JOHN HAY desired to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty a Question of which he had given him private Notice. The House had observed with satisfaction the list of Naval officers promoted; but no officer of Marines was mentioned in *The Gazette.* He trusted that the Marine officers who had distinguished themselves would receive some mark of Her Majesty's approbation.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Yes, Sir; the Board of Admiralty have made certain promotions in the Royal Marines, in well-deserved recognition of their gallant services in the action of the 11th of July. The right hon. and gallant Admiral is aware that such promotions are sent to *The London Gazette* by the War Office, and the necessity of thus communicating through another Department has caused a slight delay, and consequently they have not been published at the same time as the other promotions. I am obliged to my right hon. and gallant Friend for enabling me to state this circumstance, as there might otherwise have been some temporary feeling of disappointment.

EGYPT—THE SUEZ CANAL—PASSAGE OF ENGLISH SHIPS.

Colonel BARNE asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether it was true, as stated in *The Standard,* that captains of British Men of War had orders from the Admiralty not to escort ships through the Suez Canal, whereas German men of war escorted ships of their own nationality through the Canal?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I have not had time to see *The Standard* of this morning; perhaps the hon. and gallant Gentleman will give Notice of that Question.

ANCIENT MONUMENTS BILL.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether he intended to proceed with the Ancient Monuments Bill, which was the First Order of the Day? He also asked, whether the hon. Gentleman would state, on the second reading, the grounds which had induced the Government to bring in such a measure?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE, in reply, said, it was not intended to proceed with the Bill that day; but it would certainly be proceeded with on Thursday or Friday. He would then make a statement on the subject; but he believed the hon. Gentleman himself was the only Member of the House who opposed the Bill.

Mr. WARTON: No, no.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS—REPORT OF THE METROPOLITAN POLICE FOR 1881—WITHDRAWAL OF LICENCES FROM PUBLIC-HOUSES AND BEERHOUSES.

MR. **DICK-PEDDIE** (for Mr. M'LAREN) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, with reference to the Report for 1881 of the Metropolitan Police on the Contagious Diseases Acts, Whether he can inform the House how many of the 140 public houses and 260 beer houses in the districts subjected to the Acts returned as having been used as brothels between the years 1865 and 1881 have been deprived of their licences at the instance of the local or of the Metropolitan Police engaged in the administration of the Acts; and, if not, whether he has any objection to granting a Supplementary Return containing the information; and, whether the Metropolitan or the local Police intend to take steps to procure the withdrawal of the licences of the five public houses and three beer houses at Chatham, the two public houses and one beer house at Shorncliffe, and the beer house at Maidstone, which appear by Return, No. 3, to be still used for immoral purposes?

SIR **WILLIAM HARCOURT** said, that there was no reason for refusing the Supplementary Return asked for; but the question of the withdrawal of the licences of the public-houses and beerhouses mentioned by the hon. Member was one for the consideration of the local authorities.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair.

PARLIAMENT—PRIVILEGE—SUSPENSION OF IRISH MEMBERS (JULY 1).

RESOLUTION.

MR. **JOSEPH COWEN**, in rising to call the attention of the House to the suspension of four honourable Members reported on Saturday July 1st by the Chairman of Committees as being guilty of wilful obstruction of the business of the Committee, and to move—

> "That the record of the suspension of John Dillon, Member for Tipperary, Dr. Commins, Member for Roscommon, Joseph G. Biggar, Member for Cavan, and Frank H. O'Donnell, Member for Dungarvan, be erased from the Minutes of Proceedings, on the ground that the suspended Members were not in the House during the proceedings for the obstruction of which they were so reported,"

said, he had intended to call attention to the expulsion of 16 Irish Members at the first Sitting of the House after they were expelled; but the Speaker ruled that he could not do so as a matter of Privilege. He had not since had an opportunity of submitting his Motion until to-day. The subject might have lost some of its interest by delay, but it had lost none of its importance. In a sense, the postponement might have been advantageous. It had permitted the acerbity and irritation that would necessarily have attended a discussion immediately succeeding the arbitrary exercise of power to clear off. He trusted that they would now be able to debate the subject free from bitterness and personality. He recognized the ability, the patience, the courtesy, and the fairness of the Chairman of Committees. The office he held was one of great responsibility. At any time its duties were both difficult and delicate; but they had been exceptionally so this Parliament. The Sittings of the House had been so prolonged, and the discussions so exciting, that their direction would have taxed the temper of the most equitable and the strength of the strongest. Allowance should be made for these considerations. The Chairman was no more infallible than any other man. He might make mistakes of judgment, and he might fall into faults of temper. Under ordinary circumstances, no one would have referred to such errors or such lapses. Any Member or number of Members who suffered from them might have grumbled; but with a protest they would have allowed the matter to pass. But the course that the right hon. Gentleman took on the 1st of July involved other than mere personal considerations—it involved questions of Constitutional and Parliamentary principle. He had created a new offence—cumulative Obstruction. If the ruling that he had then given was allowed to stand, it would be erected into a precedent, and permanently impair the right of free speech. It would render impossible the existence of any group of independent politicians in that House, or, what was tantamount to that, it would only allow them to conduct their advocacy on sufferance. They might at any time be subjected to expulsion by an arbitrary Speaker or a partizan Chairman. For these reasons, therefore—first, because of its novelty; and, second, because of its importance—the action of the Chairman was worthy of their careful and deliberate consideration. Let them recall all the proceedings that led up to the Sitting on the 1st of last month. On Thursday, the 29th of June, the Prime Minister said—

> "Her Majesty's Government have become sensible of the great difficulties in which the House was placed in respect of its time, and the remaining time of the Session. We shall endeavour to get on as far as possible with the clauses of the Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Bill in Committee during the present week, even if it entails the necessity of asking the House to-morrow to prolong its Sitting further than usual."—[3 *Hansard*, cclxxi. 780.]

This was an intimation that the Government intended to have an all-night Sitting, and to continue it over Saturday, if necessary. With a view to that event, the Coercionists were divided into relays. One of them had to keep watch until midnight, another until morning, and another through the course of Saturday. The *mot d'ordre* was that the Ministerialists were not to speak and not to submit Amendments. The Government would do all in the talking way that was requisite in support of the Bill, and that would throw upon its opponents a greater strain in keeping the discussion going. This was not a very creditable mode of conducting the debate. It was more an appeal to brute force than to reason. Still, it was the determination of the Government. The anti-Coercionists followed the example of the Ministerialists, and divided themselves into two sections, one being charged to continue the discussion until Saturday morning, and the other to keep it going during Saturday. The four Members named in his Resolution were amongst those who were required to be present during Saturday, and they were relieved from attendance on Friday night. The hon. Member for Roscommon (Dr. Commins) took very little part in the discussion on Friday. He only spoke two or three times, and never longer than four or five minutes. The hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Dillon) was absent the greater portion of the Afternoon Sitting, and joined quite as little in the debate. The hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) was not two hours in the House after 9 o'clock. It was not easy to get an exact record of the time they spoke from the London newspapers, as the reports were so incomplete; but from the information he had been able to obtain from Irish papers, and from the hon. Members themselves, the four hon. Gentlemen did not—from 2 on Friday until half-past 9 on Saturday—occupy more than about an hour. He thought that no one would contend that for four Irish Representatives to speak collectively only one hour during such a length of time upon an Irish Bill of exceptional importance was excessive. All the Members left before midnight—some of them two or three hours earlier. Three of them returned shortly after 9 o'clock next morning, and the first thing they heard was their names being read out by the Chairman as having been guilty of wilful and persistent Obstruction during a period they had been at home and in bed. The hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Dillon) did not return until nearly an hour after that, and he was refused admission by the doorkeeper. He left the House the night before unconscious of having committed any breach of the Rules; and when he came back he found—without being heard and without having received notice—that a sentence of expulsion had been passed upon him. He challenged any supporter of the Government to cite, out of the chequered history of the British Parliament, a single case that would justify such an exercise of power. There was absolutely no precedent for it. It was not only unjust and unfair—it was indecent. To punish a man without being heard in his defence was an exercise of dictatorial authority which might be palliated, but could not be justified. The right hon. Gentleman sought to defend his procedure by saying that if the Members had not been guilty of Obstruction the night before they were expelled, they had been guilty on some other occasion. But even that argument would not hold. The House recognized the existence of the Irish Party. The authorities dealt with it as a Party. They had their Whips and their organizations like the Liberals and

Conservatives. The only thing in which they differed from them was that for the other two Parties there was a possibility of Office; but there was no possibility of Office for Irish Members. Now, the hon. and learned Member for Roscommon (Dr. Commins) was the Legal Adviser of the Irish Party. Whenever Bills of importance affecting Ireland were before the House he was consulted by his countrymen, and Amendments were either drawn by him or suggested by him. He stood in the same relation to the Irish Party as his right hon. and learned Friend the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) did to the Conservatives, or as the Irish Law Advisers did to the Government. If the Amendments proposed by the hon. and learned Member for Roscommon were to be taken into account, they should be contrasted with the proposals and speeches of the legal Members of the other two Parties, and not with those of an ordinary Representative. Judged by that standard, he contended there was not a shadow of justification for the charge of Obstruction against him. In like manner, the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Dillon) was a Leader of the Party also. He was a member of the Land League. No one had taken a more active part than he had during the recent agitation in Ireland. He had not only spoken at numerous meetings, and been privy to the working of the organization, but, along with 1,000 of his countrymen, he had been 12 months in prison without trial, and without accusation—an imprisonment that reflected disgrace upon them as a nation for permitting such an offence against liberty, and dishonour on the Government. The hon. Member, therefore, appeared in that House, not only as an advocate of his countrymen, but as a witness. No one could speak with better information as to the operation of the Act than he could. The Home Secretary, who had charge of the Bill, had never been in Ireland. All the information he had respecting it was got at second-hand or third-hand. If they were to measure the time occupied by the hon. Member for Tipperary, they should contrast it with that occupied by the Home Secretary. Such a contrast would show that the hon. Member for Tipperary had not occupied a tenth part of the time that the Home Secretary had. Neither the hon. Member for Tipperary nor the hon. Member for Roscommon took a prominent part in the general discussions in Parliament. They confined their labours mainly, though not exclusively, to Irish questions. The same could not be said for the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar), or the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell); but neither of those Gentlemen had been specially active during the discussions of the last Bill. The hon. Member for Dungarvan only proposed one Amendment, and he did not carry it to a division. The hon. Member for Cavan never proposed any Amendment at all. And it was a striking fact that there were 80 Members of that House who had spoken longer and oftener than the hon. Member for Cavan, and they had not been suspended; while there were 23 Members who had spoken oftener and longer than the hon. Member for Dungarvan, and none of them had been suspended. The broad fact was that the two Members had not been suspended because they were guilty of Obstruction, but because they were unpopular with the majority. It was possible to hit them with impunity, even with approval. There was a rough-and-ready mode of jurisprudence once known on the Border as "Jeddart justice." It consisted in punishing a man first and trying him afterwards. If he was not found guilty of the offence imputed to him, his Judges excused themselves by saying that he had no doubt committed other offences, though he had not been convicted. And this was the mode in which the two Members had been treated. But he contended that Obstruction, in the Parliamentary sense, had not been practised towards the Coercion Bill, and he would cite the Government as a witness in favour of that statement. At an early stage of the discussion repeated applications were made to Ministers to put in force the Rules of Urgency, or suspend the Irish Members. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) on two, if not three, occasions made this suggestion. It was repeated several times subsequently by the hon. Member for Colchester (Mr. Causton); still later by the hon. Member for Paisley (Mr. W. Holms); and on another occasion by the hon. Member for Aylesbury (Mr. George Russell), who described the opposition to the Coercion Bill as insolent Obstruction. Other

Members made like suggestions; but the Government—and he said this to their credit—had refused to comply with such demands. Three or four times, if not more, the Prime Minister had declared that the opposition to the measure was not only reasonable, but right. It was a restriction of liberty which the Irish people would feel, and the English people would not. While the discussions had been protracted, he was unable to say that they had been obstructive. The Home Secretary had made declarations of the same kind more than once. It might be said, in reply to this, that these statements were made at the earlier stages of the Bill, when Constitutional questions, such as the suspension of trial by jury, were being debated. But this was not the fact. They had been made at a much later period. On the 23rd of June, a week before the suspension, there was a discussion on the clause re-enacting the Alien Act. The hon. Member for Beaumaris (Mr. Morgan Lloyd) proposed an Amendment extending that Act to England. It occupied the whole of the Evening Sitting, and only a single Irish Member spoke. It would be in the recollection of the House that the Government hesitated whether they should accept the Amendment or not. They wished to delay its consideration; but ultimately they agreed that they would accept it, and shortly before 1 o'clock on Friday morning the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) moved to report Progress, on the ground that although the discussion was highly important, only one Irish Member had spoken. The Prime Minister said, in reply to that appeal—and these were his own words—that the urgency was great and the Bill had been delayed. He was aware that it had justified much discussion, and he recognized the reasonable character of that discussion. They would thus see that even as late as the 23rd of June there had been no Obstruction, and that the opposition to the Bill had only been such as was permitted in Parliament. The hon. Member for the City of Cork withdrew his Motion for Progress, and allowed a division to be taken after the speech from the Prime Minister. The next day the clause was voted; but before it was voted the late Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright) made a speech. The right hon. Gentleman had been reminded by the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Dillon) that when the Alien Act had been applied to England in 1848 he had been its strenuous opponent. He had not only spoken, but voted against it. The right hon. Gentleman admitted that to be the fact, and he went out of his way to say that he understood and respected the opposition which the Irish Members had made to the stringent provisions of the Bill. Bearing in mind what he had done himself in past years, he was not surprised at the persistency of their resistance to its passing. That was an acknowledgment from another Member of the Government at a still later day that Obstruction had not been resorted to. But, on a more recent occasion still, an intimation to the like effect had been made. When the Prime Minister announced to the House that there would be an all-night Sitting he made no complaint of Obstruction. He did not speak of applying the Rules of Urgency, nor did he even suggest the suspension of any of the Irish Members. The Chairman of Committees was equally silent on the subject. Now, one of two things had happened —either the anti-Coercionists had been guilty of Obstruction or they had not. If they had been guilty, it was the duty of the Prime Minister, as Leader of the House, and the duty of the Chairman, as President of Committees, to move that the Obstructionists be suspended. Neither of them made such a Motion, and the inference was that no Obstruction up to that time had been committed; or, if it had been committed, and they failed to take steps to prevent it or punish those responsible for it, they were neglecting their duty. The Chairman had cited the Rules against Obstruction as warranting the action he took. He (Mr. Joseph Cowen) was there to contend that the Rules did not warrant such a course of procedure. The Rule read—"That whenever any Member shall have been Named by the Speaker, &c., such Member shall be suspended;" and throughout the whole Rule it referred to a Member personally. But if there was any doubt on the point, it had been cleared up by his hon. Friend the Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold). He asked the Prime Minister, some days after the expulsion, whether the Rule against Obstruction was not passed in the singular number and the present tense, and whether it did not only operate individually. The Prime Minister, in his reply, "referred his hon. Friend—as to the framing and interpretation of the Urgency Rule—to the right hon. Gentleman opposite." "The question," he said, "did not apply to him, but to the right hon. Baronet the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote). He had no authority to construe the Rule."

Mr. GLADSTONE: When did I say that? I never said such a thing.

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN said, he was reading from a report in *The Times*. He had read exactly what the right hon. Gentleman was reported to have said, and certainly the impression left upon his mind by the answer given was that the report that he had quoted was a correct one. But, any way, he could have the report, and verify the correctness of the statement.

Mr. GLADSTONE: It cannot be possible that I made such an observation. It is rather difficult at this distance of time to speak positively; but I believe that the Question put by the hon. Member for Salford was as to a quotation from the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote), and that I asked the hon. Member to apply for the meaning of the quotation to the right hon. Baronet.

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN said, of course, if the right hon. Gentleman denied the statement, he had nothing more to say; but he could not be censured for quoting a report that had appeared in more than one paper, and which certainly was in accordance with his own recollection, as well as that of a number of other Members. Still, he would not press the point further. Without contending that the right hon. Member for North Devon was the authorized interpreter of the Rules, he would contend that, as the Rules against Obstruction owed their origin to him, his opinion of them was entitled to deference and respect. And what was his opinion? He would undertake to quote, not one sentence, but 10—not 10, indeed, but 20—throughout the right hon. Gentleman's speeches during the discussions on the Urgency Rules which would show that they were intended to be applied individually, and not collectively. This was not only the letter of the Rules, but their spirit; and it found expression in the whole discussion—even in a speech that was made by the Prime Minister himself in February, 1880. He would read two extracts from the remarks of the late Leader of the House bearing on the point. That right hon. Gentleman said—

> "In order, therefore, to avoid any difference of opinion arising on the point" (the application of the Rule), "it is important that the House should proceed to immediate judgment, as it were, on the spot, and in the presence of those who had witnessed the commission of the offence and were acquainted with the surrounding circumstances."—[3 *Hansard*, ccl. 1461-2.]

This not only bore out his contention that the Rule was personal, but that punishment should be dealt out on the spot and in the presence of the offender. On another occasion, during the discussion two years ago, the present Leader of the Opposition, in objecting to an Amendment by the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell)—proposing that a Member should have an opportunity of explanation, defence, or apology before he was suspended—said—

> "The Amendment was founded on a misapprehension. It had been supposed, for instance, that the Speaker might be mistaken in Naming a Member on his committing an offence; but the Speaker or the Chairman would, in the first instance, call a Member to Order, and probably nothing more would take place. No penalty would follow unless the offender persisted, and he would have every opportunity of making an explanation or apology."—[*Ibid.*, 1692.]

It would be impossible to cite words more completely justifying his contention that a man could only be suspended for Obstruction after notice had been given him that he was committing an offence, and when, despite the warning, he persisted in his Obstruction. But other evidence could be supplied to substantiate his argument if necessary. The Leader of the Opposition was not the real author of the Rule against Obstruction. It owed its origin to his right hon. Friend the Member for Preston (Mr. Raikes) the late Chairman of Committees, and it came about in this way. A Committee on the Business of the House sat in 1878, and the then Chairman of Committees was examined at great length. He was asked to explain the Obstruction that had taken place before him and give a suggestion as to its abatement. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Raikes) thereupon submitted a proposal which was embodied in the Report of the Committee, and subsequently became the Rule of the House. The hon. Member for the City of Cork was upon the Committee, and he cross-examined the right hon. Member for Preston as to the action of the Rule. It was seen that it might be stretched in the way that it since had been, and the right hon. Member for Preston was asked if such a straining of its powers would be warranted. Now, he (Mr. Joseph Cowen) desired the House to listen to the reply. The hon. Member for Cork City inquired if the adoption of the proposed Rule would not give power to any Member to charge a number of men with Obstruction and get them suspended. The answer of the right hon. Gentleman was—

> "That is not an accurate description of the Rule. The objection would have to be taken during the particular speech of one particular Member, and the Question submitted to the Committee would have reference to that Member only."

In answer to a further question, the right hon. Member for Preston said—

> "It would only be competent for a Member to call attention to Obstruction in the case of and at the time of a Member committing the offence."

In a further answer he said—

> "It would not be competent for any Member or the Chairman to go back to the case of another Member who had addressed the Committee, say, half an hour before."

If these answers did not justify his contention that Members could only be suspended individually; that they ought to have Notice twice before they were suspended; and that the suspensions could only take place in their presence, he did not know the meaning of the English language, and he did not know what would justify it. He called not only the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, but the late Chairman of Committees, to support him in the argument he was sustaining. There were three things in Parliament about which there ought to be no difference of opinion—and, indeed, until now he did not know that there was any—namely, questions of Order, questions of Privilege, and questions of Obstruction. The essence of all these matters was their urgency. If a Member was called to Order, he must be called when he was guilty of a breach of Order. If he wished to raise a point of Privilege, he must raise it promptly; and, in like manner, if he was guilty of Obstruction, notice of the offence must be taken at the time and on the spot. But, according to the decision of the Chairman of Committees, something very different from that could be adopted. A Member could have a running account of Obstruction accumulating against him—in fact, as he said before, the Chairman had created a new offence—cumulative and constructive Obstruction. If his decision was to stand and become the law of Parliament, it would seriously affect the liberty of discussion. If a partizan Chairman could suspend 16 Members at a Sitting, there was no reason why he could not suspend 60—why, upon a stretch, he might not suspend the whole Opposition. It would be said that it was hardly likely he would do that. Possibly not. But they should recollect that there was a great change going on in Parliament, and that all their arrangements in the House were based upon the idea that there were only the "Ins" and the "Outs." But there had been a third Party formed in recent years, and it was likely to get stronger. It was the creation of that Party which had caused the recent differences over the mode of conducting Business. And they might expect another. The present Government and their supporters were going far to call another Party into existence. They were drawing the strings so tightly that men of independence would not brook their restraints. What with their caucuses and their *clôtures*, they were stifling the expression of opinion. They would find that men would break away from that restraint. They would not submit to it. It would produce a reaction, and if not next year or next Parliament, certainly in an early Parliament, they would have a group of independent Members acting free from Ministerial restraint. And what would be easier than for a Chairman of Committees appointed by one of the orthodox Parties to suspend the whole of the Members of such a group? It was not an Irish question. It involved the privileges of Parliament and the rights of Englishmen just as much as it did those of Irishmen. He contended, in conclusion, that the Members who had been suspended were not present at the time the offence they were accused of was committed; that they had no warning given to them; that the Government admitted that the discussions, although prolonged, had not been obstructive; and that the Rule under which they had been suspended did not warrant such a suspension. He had no wish to say an unfriendly word of the Chairman of Committees. He recognized the onerous and distracting circumstances in which he had been placed. It was a great strain upon any man to sit for so many nights in such an atmosphere and amid such excitement. It was to this strain that must largely be attributed the course the right hon. Gentleman had taken. And circumstances justified him in making that remark. In the first list of expulsion the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) was not included, and in the second list he was, thus showing that there had been considerable looseness in arranging the document. The Chairman voted in a division, and forgot that he had done so. He also sent a report of what transpired to the Press, and the account he gave at one time did not harmonize with what he had given at another. He was not recalling these facts with a view of condemning the right hon. Gentleman's proceedings—[Mr. GLADSTONE: Hear, hear!] He (Mr. Joseph Cowen) heard the right hon. Gentleman's cheer, and he knew what it meant; but he begged to repeat that there was nothing he had said that was personally unfriendly to the Chairman. He had desired to speak of him most kindly, and he referred to these occurrences to warrant the statement he had made—that in the fatigue, and excitement, and confusion incidental to the prolonged discussions, he had unwittingly, or unconsciously, committed an injustice upon some hon. Members of the House, and had incorrectly interpreted the Rules. The hon. Member concluded by moving the Resolution, of which he had given Notice, which he had read to the House.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "the record of the suspension of John Dillon, Member for Tipperary, Dr. Commins, Member for Roscommon, Joseph G. Biggar, Member for Cavan, and Frank H. O'Donnell, Member for Dungarvan, be erased from the Minutes of Proceedings, on the ground that the suspended Members were not in the House during the proceedings for the obstruction of which they were so reported,"—(*Mr. Joseph Cowen,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that the hon. Member for Newcastle seemed to be apprehensive that the right of unlimited opposition which some independent Members cherished was in danger. He should have thought that no Member of the House had less reason to entertain any such fear than the hon. Member himself, because a system of independent opposition to successive Governments had been practised by the hon. Member for many years with absolute impunity; and nothing seemed to have interfered with a course of the freest, he might say the severest, criticism, and the most skilful and persistent opposition to the present Administration, which had been pursued with the greatest success and perfect impunity by the hon. Member for Newcastle. The hon. Member said that the hon. and learned Member for Roscommon (Dr. Commins) was Legal Adviser to the Party opposite. He had no doubt that the hon. and learned Member for Roscommon performed that duty very ably; but there was still a higher and more skilful adviser of hon. Members opposite in their opposition to measures of the Government, and that was the hon. Member for Newcastle. He was a living example to show that there was nothing that you could not do, and nothing that you could not say, against any Government. The hon. Member for Newcastle was not satisfied with his assault upon the Administration in that House—he had taken in his hands the Authorities of that House, and desired that it should pass a Vote of Censure upon them declaring want of confidence in them. He said he had spoken in the most kindly manner of the Chairman of Committees. Well, the hon. Member for Newcastle had his own standard of kindness, and no man had a right to quarrel with it—*De gustibus non est disputandum.* But, setting all that aside, he (Sir William Harcourt) should like to look at the Motion that the hon. Member asked the House to adopt. The Motion to which the hon. Member had called attention raised a matter which he hoped he should be able to discuss without any personal reflections which would be disagreeable to any of the individuals inculpated, because it was a pure question of Parliamentary proceeding. He ventured to submit that the hon. Member for Newcastle's interpretations of the law of Parliament in this respect were entirely unfounded; and, without discussing for one moment more than was necessary the conduct of individual Members, he thought the House would not be disposed to accept the Resolution. The hon. Member contended that the power to stop Obstruction could only be exercised upon the spot against an individual as it were *in flagrante delicto*. Well, first of all, that certainly was not the course taken upon the occasion of the suspension of these Members, because the Chairman called the attention of the Committee to the long-continued and increasing Obstruction of the Business of the Committee, which had occupied 23 days. The Chairman said the time had now arrived when he was persuaded that the Committee, having full knowledge of those proceedings—that was, not the proceedings at the instant, but the continuous course of proceeding—would support him in Naming the Members who had taken the most prominent part in persistently and wilfully obstructing the Business of the Committee. Now, of course, the first question was—Was there a distinct design to obstruct the Business of the Committee on the Prevention of Crime Bill? It seemed to him that it was a matter of common knowledge that there was such a design. Before the suspension took place he was utterly unaware that it was going to take place, and he did not hear of it till an hour after it had taken place. That was his single absence from the Committee during these proceedings. Was there a design deliberately to delay this Bill? There was one rather important witness on that subject, and that was the hon. Member for Newcastle himself. He thought it was on the third reading of the Bill when the hon. Member got up and said—"We have done our best to defeat this Bill; but as we could not defeat the Bill we have, at all events, done what we could to delay it." He was not complaining of that statement; but it was, at all events, proof that there was a design, not merely to discuss the Bill, but to delay it as an alternative to defeat. It could not be denied that it might be within the right of hon. Gentlemen to take a course of that description; but then there was a correlative right on the part of the House to defeat such opposition, because if a minority deliberately set to work to defeat, and, if it could not defeat, to delay the progress of a measure which an overwhelming majority of the House had a desire to pass, then the House would be helpless unless there resided within it some power to defeat such an attempt. Therefore, it was necessary that the House should have in itself, either by Common Law right or by some special Rules, the power to defeat a deliberate design such as that avowed by the hon. Member for Newcastle. The hon. Member for Newcastle had said that at various times appeals had been made to the Government; but he must repeat what he believed the House was perfectly well aware of, that this suspension was not the act of the Government, nor had it been carried out at the instigation of the Government. He himself had not had the remotest idea when he went away that morning that the suspensions would take place, and was not aware of the fact till several hours after the Members were suspended, he having meantime gone to bed. Without any invidious reflections upon individuals, he might say that the House had undoubtedly become impatient with the discussion on the earlier clauses of the Bill. He himself, he hoped, had not shown any undue impatience. He said more than once that he thought it was natural that the discussion of matters touching so deeply Constitutional principles should be prolonged, and he declined to consent to an all-night Sitting or any extraordinary method until all the great questions involved had been disposed of. But the clause on which the Obstruction for which the hon. Members were suspended took place was one of an insignificant character, involving no principles of that description. To spend 19 hours in discussing such a clause was a course which could not be described as fair and reasonable discussion, and which could only be adopted with such a design as that which the hon. Member for Newcastle had avowed. It was perfectly obvious that if they gave 19 hours to a single clause, the proceedings of the House of Commons became a farce, and the transaction of Business was impossible. He therefore said, looking at the whole course of those proceedings, it was quite plain that, unless the

House had within itself some power of defending itself from such proceedings, the House of Commons, as a body, was as impotent as if it were a senseless log. Well, then, was it the fact that the House was without such a power? If the hon. Member for Newcastle was right, it was quite plain that Obstruction never could be stopped. That was his proposition; because it was plain that if the thing were partitioned with the skill which the hon. Member had indicated, no particular individuals would be guilty of protracted discussion, and the people who had been most obstructive had only to absent themselves when the crisis arrived, and nothing could be done to defeat them. If the hon. Member's doctrine were true, the House was perfectly helpless in the hands of a handful of persons who desired to set it at naught, and to make it contemptible in the eyes of the world, and to defeat its power of action altogether. That was a state of things which, he would venture to say, the House of Commons would not recognize as existing. The hon. Member for Newcastle had quoted certain opinions of the late Chairman of Committees in 1879; but all these things had nothing to do with the law of the House of Commons as expounded by the House, who had the right to expound it. The hon. Member had also referred to the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition. He was sorry the right hon. Gentleman was not present, because he had always understood it was a favourite doctrine in the minds of the Opposition, on the subject of dealing with Obstruction in the House of Commons, that the action against Obstruction ought not to be any general procedure, but action against individuals. That was their favourite doctrine. He, for his part, at the time when that doctrine was originally promulgated, had ventured to express his doubts that the matter could be dealt with solely on that footing; and certainly if the doctrine of the hon. Member for Newcastle were accepted, it never could be adopted at all. But he would call attention to what was far more important than any opinion expressed by the right hon. Member for Preston in 1879, or by the Leader of the Opposition in 1880, and that was the ruling of the Speaker upon the appeal of the right hon. Gentleman his (Sir William Harcourt's) Predecessor, the late Secretary of State for the Home Department. Upon the Bill of last year a very similar state of things had arisen, and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) appealed to the Speaker for an authoritative ruling from the Chairman on one of the Standing Orders, and as to what was "wilful and persistent Obstruction." It was impossible to have the matter more distinctly put than it was on that occasion. The right hon. Gentleman, on that occasion, said—

> "It seems to me that this is a matter which cannot be decided by an actual individual speech, but by the whole course of the debate." —[3 *Hansard*, cclvii. 1942.]

Thus it was not the individual action or speech which constituted the offence. The right hon. Gentleman went on to point out that hon. Members had not been discussing the actual Question before the House, but Questions of Adjournment of no practical use whatever. Now, Obstructives were very intelligent persons, and when one hole was stopped up they speedily discovered another. It had been discovered that Motions for the adjournment of the House did not pay, and so they took to speaking during the discussion on every clause on the whole Bill, and that for an unlimited period. The Speaker was asked, with respect to that practice, whether, even if individual acts taken one by one did not constitute Obstruction, a combination to do such acts or carry out such a practice might not be Obstruction? On the occasion to which he referred the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire suggested that the Speaker had, by his inherent authority, power to put down such proceedings. He entirely agreed with the right hon. Gentleman that, independently of the particular Rule, the Speaker had a Common Law power of putting down Obstruction of that character. Such a power was absolutely necessary for the purposes of self-defence, and without it the existence of the House would be intolerable. If the proposition of the right hon. Member for South-West Lancashire was right, that of the hon. Member for Newcastle was wrong. No doubt it might be said that one opinion was as good as another. But he would refer to the decision of the Chair on the question of the Standing Order. The Speaker decided that such a combination carried out for the purpose of Obstruction came within the

Standing Orders, and, within the meaning of the Rule, was wilful and persistent Obstruction. The decision of the Speaker on that occasion was even stronger than that of the Chairman on the occasion which the House was then considering. It amounted to this—that, although a Member might be actually in Order at a particular moment, he might be suspended in consequence of his general conduct, independently of the particular proceeding. He ventured to say that the ruling of the Chair on the occasion to which he was referring established the correctness of the view of the right hon. Member for South-West Lancashire, and the inaccuracy of that of the hon. Member for Newcastle. The doctrine, therefore, that Obstruction might take place and become punishable by virtue of a combination, although the individual act would not constitute an offence, was clearly established. He thought, too, he was right in saying that, in answer to a Question on the subject, the Speaker had said that he would be prepared to act upon that view of the law if he thought, having regard to particular circumstances, that it was expedient to do so. So far, then, as the general principle was concerned, he took it that the House could not accept the Amendment of the hon. Member for Newcastle without deliberately flying in the face of the ruling of the Chair. That being the case, he thought it was unnecessary for him to enter into any personal controversy on the matter, which would be singularly disagreeable to him — [MR. CALLAN: Hear, hear!] — more so, he dared say, than to the hon. Member for Louth. However, the last thing he would think of doing would be to enter into a personal altercation with the hon. Member. He did not, on the whole, complain of the manner in which the Irish Members had been treated in the performance of a task which was necessarily extremely distasteful to them. All he had to say was that if they started with the proposition that combination for the purpose of obstructing a Bill was a thing against which the House could protect itself by a proceeding of this character, there only remained the question whether there was such a combination, and whether the individuals suspended were parties to that combination. He did not think anybody would say that there had been no such combination. Hon. Members were not ashamed of it; it was avowed. That was the method they adopted. Well, then, were the hon. Members concerned prepared to say they were not parties to that combination? The trusted Legal Adviser of the Party would hardly say so. Therefore, they had all these propositions, he thought, clearly established. There was such a combination, these Gentlemen were parties to that combination—a combination of which they were not ashamed, and which they avowed. Then they had the distinct ruling of the Speaker that such combinations were both within the Common Law right of the Authorities of this House, and that it was also within the Standing Order. That being so, he did not see upon what ground the conduct of the Chairman of Committees could be condemned; and certainly he did not see how the Resolution of the hon. Member for Newcastle could be carried, it being in flagrant opposition to the Speaker's declaration of the law of Parliament.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he was of opinion that nothing was more clear than that Her Majesty's Government were in no way involved or implicated in the matter now before the House, and he ventured to say that neither was the ruling of the Speaker in any way involved in this matter. The speech of his right hon. and learned Friend (Sir William Harcourt) was wholly beside the mark. The right hon. and learned Gentleman dealt solely and entirely with the question whether there had been obstruction of the Prevention of Crime Bill. But on that they were agreed. He (Mr. Arthur Arnold) was glad the matter came before the House in the form of the Resolution of the hon. Member for Newcastle. With all due deference to the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary, he thought that this was a subject on which the youngest Member of the House might venture to form an opinion as well as the highest authority, there being no precedent whatever for the course of proceeding that had been adopted on the occasion in question. He had himself no doubt that there had been wilful and persistent Obstruction to the Prevention of Crime Bill; but what he contended was, that there was not only no precedent for judging a Member in his absence from the House, but there was not, in the words of the Rule in question, any warrant giving permission to the Chairman to judge a Member in his absence from the House. As a humble student of Parliamentary history, he contended that there was not in the Records of this House a single instance in which a Member had not been summoned to his place to receive the judgment of the Chair. As a matter of fact, in this case the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Dillon) was in the neighbourhood of Hammersmith when this judgment was passed upon him; and the first intimation he heard of his suspension on the morning in question was from the doorkeeper. It was simply because the Chairman of Committees had suspended a Member who was not present at the time to receive the judgment of the Chair—who, in fact, had been absent many hours—that he supported the Resolution of the hon. Member for Newcastle. Neither the Speaker nor the Prime Minister had expressed any opinion on the point as to whether judgment could be passed upon a Member in his absence.

Mr. DAWSON said, the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary admitted that, although he knew the course that had been pursued by the Irish Members, he was not aware when he left the House that morning that they were about to be suspended. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had also told them that the suspension took place on account of what had been previously done. That was the strongest argument that could be adduced in condemnation of the conduct of the Chairman of Committees. It was quite clear that the whole of this matter was an afterthought, and that the necessity for the punishment did not arise at any particular moment. The fact was that when it became desirable that the Coercion Bill should be immediately passed the Government directed the Chairman of Committees to take action, and he did so. The hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. Joseph Cowen), in his speech to-day, had used the pronoun "we," boasting that he was engaged with others in delaying the Bill. Why was he not suspended? The reason was that he was an English Member. Was that an honourable or dignified course for the Government to adopt? The fact was that the Government could play, and was playing, as it liked with the Irish Members, while it dared not suspend an English Member. He should support the Resolution.

Mr. DILLWYN said, the mistake was not to have confined the suspension to those Members who were then and there guilty of Obstruction. It was a fact that the Chairman Named several Gentlemen as guilty of Obstruction who the House agreed were not guilty—as, for instance, the hon. Member for Kilkenny (Mr. Marum); and that he omitted to Name others who had been undoubtedly guilty. The hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. Joseph Cowen), the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), and the hon. Member for Durham (Mr. Thompson) were admittedly a great deal more guilty of delaying the Coercion Bill than the hon. Members mentioned in the Resolution. Why were they not suspended?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: They were much too clever.

Mr. DILLWYN said, he did not admit that. He did not think it required much acumen to have enabled the right hon. and learned Gentleman to discover that the hon. Members for Newcastle, Durham, and Northampton were the head and front of the delay to the Coercion Bill. The mistake that had been made showed the danger of Naming any number of Gentlemen as guilty of Obstruction. There was no precedent for such an exercise of arbitrary power by a Chairman of Committees, and its exercise on the occasion in question showed the danger of acting merely upon recollection of what had taken place. He could not say he regretted that this question had been raised to-day, because he thought it was in the interests of freedom of debate. He would vote for the Resolution, believing that if they sustained this principle, which was now claimed—this arbitrary exercise of the power of condemning Members in their absence and unheard—they would strike the heaviest blow he had ever seen struck at the root of freedom of debate in Parliament.

Dr. COMMINS said, that, for his part, although he was by no means indifferent to the good opinion of the House, he did not attach a feather's weight of importance to the record of his expulsion on July 1st remaining on the Journals of the House. Nay, on the contrary, both himself and his constituents looked upon it as a far greater honour than if he had received one of the Baronetcies which were lately distributed with such a lavish hand. He did not altogether blame the Chairman of the Committees, for it was his belief that there was a power behind the Chair which constrained him to act in the way he had done, and which ought to avow itself. The Home Secretary had defended the action of the Chairman on the ground of the Common Law of Parliament, and on the Rules of February, 1880. Now, Common Law was the law of precedent; but there was no precedent for the action of the Chairman of Committees. It was a revolution, a *coup d'état*, and there was nothing even analogous to justify it. If the dictum of the right hon. and learned Gentleman was accepted, there was an end to the highest privilege and the proudest boast of that House—freedom of speech, which would then become a mockery. The right hon. and learned Gentleman's defence reminded him very much of a species of justice in Scotland known as "Jeddart justice"—the hanging of a man first and trying him afterwards. Such an argument addressed to the right hon. and learned Gentleman when he had arrived at the Woolsack, and his brow was adorned with a coronet, would inspire him with very little regard for the intelligence of the man who had used it. As to the Rules of February, 1880, these clearly aimed at a Member who was found in the act of doing something amounting to Obstruction, and who persistently and wilfully did so, notwithstanding the warning of the Chair. The Rule, therefore, was inapplicable to himself, as he had just come into the House after spending the night in bed, in time to hear himself Named, or to the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Dillon), who came down to the House to find the doors of Parliament shut against him. He contended that every adjournment of the Committee during the 23 days' Sitting precluded the Chairman of Committees from going back upon anything which had happened in Committee, and that the attempt to do so was an afterthought, suggested by the discovery that absent Members had been included in the wholesale suspension. The Home Secretary had declared that there was a conspiracy to obstruct the Business of the House, and he said that no hon. Member would get up and deny it. He (Dr. Commins) denied that there was any such conspiracy, and he challenged the right hon. and learned Gentleman to prove it. There was a combination against it, no doubt, just as there was a combination on the other side to get it passed; but its opponents had not broken any of the Rules of the House. For himself, as one of the Members mentioned in the Motion, he contended that he had only done his duty to his constituents. He had spoken only once before the Bill reached the Committee stage, and then for less than 15 minutes. In Committee he had moved several Amendments; but he challenged the Government to show that any of them were obstructive or frivolous. Nor had he once spoken on the Amendments of other Members except with a *bonâ fide* object of furthering the discussion, in corroboration of which assertion he might point to the fact that he had only once been called to Order by the Chairman for irrelevancy. The House might judge, then, of his astonishment, after being absent all night, at finding himself Named as guilty of Obstruction the moment he arrived at Westminster the next morning. The truth was that the Chairman had a cut-and-dried list of Members to be suspended, and this list was drawn up some time before the right hon. Gentleman thought fit to use it. However, he would say no more on this matter. Having explained his own conduct, he was indifferent as to the Resolution, and did not feel called upon to vote for it.

MR. WARTON said, he regarded the Home Secretary, in the line he had taken, not as representing the Government *qua* Government, but as defending the rights of that House, which was entitled to have orderly discussion, and, if necessary, to put down Obstruction. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had laid down the law of the case very distinctly, and no answer had been given to him. He rejoiced that both by the Common and Statute Law of that House they had the right to put down Obstruction. Last year the Common Law of the House had been put in force by the Speaker, and this year the Statute Law of the House by the Chairman of Committees. They had been told that there was no precedent for such a course; but neither was there any precedent for the conduct which had provoked it. He would take one test. They started with something like 13 pages of Amendments; but after a fortnight they had 60 or 70 pages, and they were told that the Amendments would never grow less. On Clause 17 the same Amendments were discussed as had been disposed of on Clauses 14, 15, and 16, and then they were to have a series of Provisoes; and now they were told there was no conspiracy or Obstruction. As to the four Members, it should be remembered that the question of absence did not affect the matter. The conspiracy having gone on for several days, some must necessarily be absent. And here he must observe that the Home Secretary, during the discussions on the Bill, conducted himself in an exceedingly dignified manner. He must also say, in presence of the Premier, that the right hon. Gentleman had not treated the Home Secretary very generously, for, while leaving all the harsh proposals to his Colleague, he reserved to himself the more agreeable part of making the concession. If for more than 20 days Gentlemen had been carrying on Obstruction by dilatory speeches, Amendments, Provisoes, and every means in their power, it did not matter much whether at the time of the suspension some of them were absent or present.

Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL said, that there were two points of contention—one, whether individual Members were rightly included; the other, whether the method adopted by the Chair was allowable or not. On a general review of the case after so long a period, it seemed to him that two or three names were included in the list of suspended Members by inadvertence. One of these was the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Dillon), with whose personal opinions he disagreed, but who always comported himself with dignity and with a sense of what was due to himself and the House. There were also the hon. Member for Kilkenny (Mr. Marum), and the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Justin M'Carthy), whose speeches, though sometimes obnoxious to the charge of tediousness, were not on other grounds open to objection. At the same time, as regarded the other hon. Members, he thought the visitation which fell upon them was merited. The occasion was one for no half-hearted remedies, for no courteous language, for no elaborate attempt to justify, palliate, and excuse. It was rather for measures of justice, peremptory and effectual, which, though they might sometimes in their infliction cause inconvenience to hon. Members who had not deserved it, were yet absolutely necessary to a House which, in the absence of Rules definitely drawn up with a view to such an emergency, was bound to defend itself on the inspiration of the moment against outbreaks of disorder and lawless Obstruction that rendered the existence of a popular deliberative Assembly well-nigh impossible. On the larger question, whether collective and retrospective suspension was allowable, the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton), with his usual penetration, had pointed out that, in a case of combined Obstruction, they must be prepared to act sometimes retrospectively, because an hon. Member who had resorted to deliberate Obstruction might at a particular moment, when he saw the sword of Damocles about to descend, absent himself, and evade the penalty. He saw no reason, therefore, for recording any condemnation, either of collective or retrospective action. When they were confronted with difficulties from a certain quarter of the House, such as the oldest Members of the House had not in times gone by witnessed, it was of first and vital consequence that they should, with one heart and mind, support the Chair in its decisions. He, therefore, trusted that a large majority would support the Chairman of Committees in the retrospective view of what took place on the occasion in question.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he was astonished that the Chairman of Committees (Mr. Lyon Playfair), whose conduct was in question, did not think proper, or, to put the matter more correctly, was not permitted to come here and make his own defence. Undoubtedly an injustice had been done to hon. Members, and the course that ought to be taken by the Prime Minister should be to admit that injustice, and undo it by expunging from the Records of the House the names of the hon. Members in question. He could not congratulate the Government on the support of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton). During this Session that hon. and learned Member had made himself notorious by blocking as many Bills as possible; and if he had been a

Member of a small Party instead of belonging to one of the two great Parties in the State, an application of the doctrine of constructive Obstruction would have sent him about his business long ago. Replying to the Home Secretary, who had said that to adopt the Resolution of the hon. Member for Newcastle would be to weaken the authority of the Chair, he contended that the adoption of the Resolution would only be a repetition of what had been done in the case of the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell), who had been relieved from the suspension imposed from the Chair by a Motion for which the Prime Minister himself was responsible. There were, he argued, three conditions which ought to be fulfilled if the Rule against Obstruction was to be applied in a just manner. In the first place, it ought to be applied to the case of a single Member only; secondly, it ought only to be applied after warning; and, thirdly, it should be applied in the presence of the Member concerned. He challenged the Leader of the Opposition to deny that when the Rule was passed by the House it was intended that the three conditions which he had described should be fulfilled. He warned the House that the doctrine of Obstruction in combination might be fatal to the liberties of small parties, such as the extreme Radical Party, or a Republican Party, when such Party should exist. The Home Secretary, who at first contended that Obstruction had dogged the Prevention of Crime Bill through all its stages, had subsequently retired from that position. Why? Because the recorded opinion of the Prime Minister was against him. On June 6 the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government said—

> "Although the debates upon the Irish Crime Bill have been long . . . . yet I must say I do not think they have been of such a character as that we could justly tax them" (the Irish Members) "with the offence, if I may so call it, of Obstruction."—[3 *Hansard*, cclxx. 236.]

The Prime Minister, on being asked by the hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk) whether he was prepared to ask for a Vote of Urgency with respect to the Prevention of Crime Bill, answered in the negative, as the Bill had not, up to that date (the 12th of June), in his opinion, been dealt with obstructively. But the position of the Government was that Obstruction began on the 17th clause. Was any warning given by the Chairman of Committees, in accordance with the words and the spirit of the Rule against Obstruction, that Obstruction had begun? He defied the Government to point out a single instance of such a warning. But were Irish Members justified in opposing the Bill at the point at which they were suspended? The right hon. and learned Gentleman (Sir William Harcourt) said all the important clauses had been passed by the Committee. They were engaged in discussing one of the most important clauses of the Bill—namely, the 20th—which involved the question whether a blood tax should be levied upon a large body of people, or on one street, one house, one man, so that the penalties would amount to absolute bankruptcy. The next clause related to punishment for offences against the Bill, and involved the question whether a person should be imprisoned for six months with hard labour or not. That was the very essence of the Bill. A word with regard to the conduct of Irish and English Members. The Home Secretary had made a new Parliamentary offence. It was a Parliamentary offence now to delay a Bill. Would the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister have liked that doctrine to apply when the Divorce Bill was before the House? [Mr. GLADSTONE: I would.] He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) wondered if the right hon. Gentleman was ready to deny that he delayed the Divorce Bill. [Mr. GLADSTONE: Yes.] The right hon. Gentleman was ready to make that denial. His memory, however, was distinct that the right hon. Gentleman not merely delayed the Bill, but openly declared his intention to delay it; and, according to the new doctrine of the Home Secretary that to delay a Bill was Obstruction, the Premier clearly stood convicted of Obstruction. The hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. Joseph Cowen) said that some English Members spoke far longer and more bitterly on the Prevention of Crime Bill than Irish Members. Why were not those English Members suspended? The answer was this—that the Authorities durst not suspend English Members. In spite of the new Rule, in spite of their Caucuses, that freedom of opinion, that toleration, which had been the noblest feature of English political life, still existed in the case of English Members, and could not be nullified by a decision of the Chairman of Committees. Behind this question was a very large question—a much larger one than that referred to by the hon. Member who had just spoken, or by other hon. Members. If the Prime Minister supported the conduct of the Chairman in suspending the Irish Members, it would shake the confidence of the Irish people in Parliamentary representation. Nothing could play better into the hands of revolutionists than an interference with the confidence of the Irish people in the justice of Parliament; and if the Prime Minister joined in a conspiracy against the freedom of speech in that House, he must henceforth be proclaimed a friend of the revolutionists in Ireland.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, I really wish to call the attention of the House to the fact that the debate, which has involved, undoubtedly, many topics of very great importance, has travelled into very wide fields, in comparison with the terms of the Resolution which is now before us. I sincerely desire to bring to the mind of the House the question whether, at this period of the Session, and in this condition of Public Business, it is their intention that we should enter at large into matters which undoubtedly would justify a very great extension indeed of discussion, or whether we should confine ourselves to the Resolution before us. Because I do not hesitate to state that there is hardly one-tenth of the speech just delivered that has had any reference to the Resolution—although I am very far from saying that any considerable portion of the remaining nine-tenths was either frivolous or trivial. On the contrary, it was very important matter; but it was matter not belonging to the Resolution before the House. I do not think this is a convenient opportunity for a general discussion of the question of Obstruction, and of dealing with the rights of the House in endeavouring to check certain practices, for the very plain reason that we are not debating a Resolution fairly raising the merits of the question. We are debating a Motion of Censure on one of the Authorities of the House for a specific and well-defined offence—well-defined, I mean, by the terms of the Resolution — and I put it strongly to the Members of this House, that when it has been found necessary by a portion of those who sit here to call into question an alleged offence committed by the Chairman of Ways and Means in the Chair of the House, justice and propriety and policy alike combine to require of us that we should deal judicially with that question, offering proofs of the offence, and confining ourselves strictly to the offence thus alleged. Now, I cannot help thinking that hon. Gentlemen will feel that there is great force in the appeal, and that, however right it may be to discuss at the proper time and manner all the topics raised, this is not the time for entering upon such a discussion. I think it is our absolute duty to the House itself, to the laws of the House, and to the Authorities without whose aid we could not conduct our discussions for a day, to keep ourselves distinctly to the matter at issue. Notice has been taken of the absence of the Chairman of Committees. Well, the Chairman of Committees did not happen to consult me upon the subject, but I should think he took good and sufficient advice; and I am bound to say, if the right hon. Gentleman had happened to consult me, I should strongly have urged his not taking any part whatever in this debate. It is not the right hon. Gentleman's business, as an Authority of the House, to come here and plead his cause as a party and a private individual. It is his business to trust, I will not say to the generosity, but to the justice and consideration of the House, and to entertain a full belief that what is due to himself and to his Office will be sufficiently remembered without his presence; while the dignity of that Office, as well as his own personal consideration, would somewhat suffer were he to assume the position of any party in the cause. Some reference has been made with regard to admissions I am supposed to have made in connection with some of the proceedings on the Prevention of Crime Bill. I admit the accuracy of the passages quoted; but the hon. Gentleman goes a little too far when he says that those were absolute acquittals—if I may use such a phrase—as absolute assertions of the innocence of the hon. Member and his Friends, down to certain dates. Now, I am not prepared to make that admission without some qualification. The allegation the hon. Member had to meet was cumulative—that there grew up the evidence of an intention for Obstruction.

MR. PARNELL: To obstruct Public Business.

MR. GLADSTONE: Quite so: If there was a cumulative proof, it follows, from the very nature of the charge, that the elements of that proof began to gather before they had reached the ripeness and fulness on which alone they could be said to have reached the position of Obstruction. That appears to me to be a fair argument; but this one admission I felt it my duty to these Gentlemen to make. They certainly did not resort to methods of Obstruction which I have seen really used from more than one quarter of the House on a variety of Bills. They gave us every evening a full measure of the time of the House; but they made no attempt to employ that which is by far the most effective method of Obstruction in Committee on a Bill—moving that the Chairman do report Progress. I also freely admit that it is very true that the matters involved in many cases were of the utmost importance and delicacy, and the question of extending the Alien Act to England fully justified the evening spent on its debate. I think there is something in what was said by the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton), although he himself is considered to be open to criticism in certain respects when he refers to the 17th clause of the Prevention of Crime Bill, and to the hours passed upon it as constituting a case which is rather difficult to meet. However, I do not believe it is possible, by any debate in this House, to bring to a judicial issue the question whether there was or was not Obstruction from the method of arguing. The hon. and learned Member for Roscommon (Dr. Commins) has adopted the method of going over the entire series of his speeches on this Bill, arguing from them that he was not guilty of Obstruction. If other Gentlemen were to adopt the same method, I can only say that the end of that must be to land us in more hopeless impotency and incapacity for the discharge of our duty than any degree of that disagreeable predicament at which we have yet arrived. The hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. Joseph Cowen) is, I must say, too ready not only to impute error which belongs to us all, but also positive absurdity to those with whom he differs. He had no hesitation in imputing to me that I laid down the doctrine, which will not bear examination, that the right hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote), because he was the author of this Resolution, was its authorized Parliamentary interpreter. The hon. Gentleman will do well not to be so hasty in making these imputations.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN: It was reported in the newspapers.

MR. GLADSTONE: What does that signify? I affirm that the report of a newspaper is not sufficient evidence on such a subject. This is a palpable absurdity, evidently arising on the report of a newspaper; and hon. Gentlemen should think twice before adopting that report for the purpose of making me the father of anything so preposterous. It is not worth arguing. I know that if the reporter could have reported certain inverted commas which were not reported, the hon. Gentleman would have seen that I referred to the right hon. Baronet opposite, not as the interpreter of the Resolution of the House, but as the interpreter of the speech which he himself had made, which is a very different matter. I wish to observe that this debate has been treated all through as a judgment on the conduct of the Chairman of Committees, and far be it from me to deny that his conduct is involved in the Resolution. But no one has thought fit to notice that the House itself is also in question. There are three steps in these proceedings. There is the Chairman of Committees, to whom the initiative is given, and who is responsible solely for the exercise of that initiative. Then there is the conduct of the Representative of the Government—the Secretary of State for War—who was responsible for inviting the House to act on the initiative of the Chairman of Committees; and then the House thought fit to vote upon that recommendation, and to vote in support of the Chairman of Committees; and I say it is not fair or just to give to this debate the character simply of a discussion on the conduct of the Chairman of Committees. But that the House must take to itself the responsibility of the vote which it thought proper to give—[MR. O'DONNELL: The English Government.] The hon. Member says the English Government. That reminds me that the hon. and learned Member for Roscommon (Dr. Commins) invented a way of shielding the Chairman of Committees. The hon. and learned Member for Roscommon said there was a power somewhere behind the Chairman of Committees, and he wanted that power to show itself. [Mr. CALLAN: Hear, hear!] As the hon. and learned Gentleman said there is such a power, I suppose he and his hon. Friends know it; and, if they know it, I wish they would give us some clue to it. My right hon. and learned Friend the Home Secretary says he had gone to bed an hour before, and was slumbering through the proceedings; therefore he was not the power behind. I was in bed at the time of the occurrence, and was awakened by the disagreeable and troublesome words—"Sir, they are expelling the Irish Members." That spoiled any chance I had of further repose; and therefore I was not the power behind the Chairman of Committees. If hon. Gentlemen who appear to be aware of such a fact will give us the slightest assistance in detecting this criminal, whoever he is, and bringing him to justice, we will, with the utmost zeal, lend ourselves to forward their endeavours to promote the ends of public justice. The hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. Joseph Cowen) thought he was doing a great kindness to the Chairman of Committees when he said the poor man had been sitting there a long time, his patience was exhausted, his faculties, whatever nature has given him—[Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: The hon. Member did not say so.] I am not quoting his words; but the hon. Member for Newcastle has taken credit to himself in that he had spoken very kindly of the Chairman of Committees. That may be so, as far as the intention of the hon. Member is concerned; but there is another view of the matter. I will apply it to himself. I am making a speech against his Resolution and against his sentiments, which it is sometimes my fortune to do; and the hon. Gentleman might very well give an account of my speech, and might refer to the time of life to which I had arrived, the natural effect of age in weakening the human faculties, the dimmed condition of the brain when a certain term has been passed; and he might then say he had spoken of me with very great kindness, and endeavoured to cast a veil over my shortcomings and delinquencies. But I might not like that mode of excusing me, and might not feel all the gush of gratitude which the hon. Gentleman seems to expect from the Chairman of Committees. I do not deny that the question before us, as it appears to me, concerns the Chairman of Committees; but, unquestionably, not him alone. The party mainly concerned is the House. But far be it from me to deny that the House is bound to undo its own act if there has been injustice. I must also observe that a particular ruling of the Chair has been mainly in question during this debate; and with respect to that ruling I am bound to say that if it was to be questioned it should have been questioned long ago. The declaration of the Chair with regard to the principle of constructive and combined Obstruction is a declaration that has been in the knowledge of us all for a considerable time; and I am bound to say that it was a declaration which it was the duty of the Chairman of Committees to take notice of and to consider as in a very great degree a guide for his conduct; and the question is whether we are prepared to call in question the decision of the Chairman, and attempt to reverse it by the Vote of the House. Not that this Vote leads us so far; but that the doctrine which has been made to do service in this debate undoubtedly goes to the entire reversal of the proposition laid down from the Chairman. We are called upon to vote that the Record of certain suspensions of four Members be erased from the Minutes, on the ground that the suspended Members were not in the House during the proceedings, for the Obstruction of which they were so reported. It appears to me that that Motion bristles with objectionable points. In the first place, how is it possible to consider and construe what are the proceedings for the Obstruction of which they were so reported? You have no definition of the time over which those proceedings extend. You do not mean the formal proceedings of the Chairman at the Table. Manifestly, those Gentlemen had been in the House during the greater part of the proceedings; and, therefore, you are calling upon us to assert by this Resolution a proposition which I will not say is palpably false, but the truth of which no man can confidently assert or can clearly know. But, looking at the matter more generally, two pleas may be considered to have been raised—one a narrow plea and the other a broad plea. The narrow plea is one immediately presented by the Motion, and that is the absence from the House at the time the Chairman rises to Name certain Members, and for a certain limited period before that time, the extent of which we do not know, is to exempt Members from the exercise of his jurisdiction. Will the House commit itself to that principle? It is quite plain that if you do it involves consequences that go far to emasculate the whole Rule, because the most operative part of obstructive measures may take place some time before the time that cumulative Obstruction is declared to have arrived; and you cannot place it in the power of Members to shield themselves by the simple act of a temporary departure from the consequences which, in the judgment of the Chairman and of the House, they may be considered to have invited. As to the broader issue, I was very much struck by the method of the hon. and learned Member for Roscommon (Dr. Commins), who said that the Home Secretary did not demonstrate the offence of Obstruction. He had no occasion to demonstrate it; he had it before him on the very best evidence—that of the speech of the hon. Member for Newcastle.

MR. CALLAN: Why was not the hon. Member for Newcastle suspended?

MR. GLADSTONE: That is quite a different matter.

MR. CALLAN: He was not suspended because he is an English Member.

MR. GLADSTONE: I imagine that the hon. Member for Newcastle was not suspended because it was not established that he had been guilty of an act of Obstruction. I would remind the hon. Member for Louth that the speech of the hon. Member for Newcastle was delivered on the third reading, and that the suspension took place in Committee. The hon. Member for Newcastle said—"We endeavoured to defeat the Bill and we failed; and we endeavoured to delay the Bill and we succeeded." It was a delay not addressed to the business of persuasion. If it had been so addressed, and *boná fide* addressed, to the minds of the House, it would not have been delaying the Bill. But the hon. Member conveyed to us a totally different idea—that he thought it an object of policy to delay the Bill, and that it was a subject for congratulation that the Irish Members, along with himself, had succeeded in delaying the Bill. The hon. and learned Member for Roscommon says that in the case of any other measure of the kind, we are prepared to prevent, by all means consistent with the Privileges of the House, the passing of the measure. What is consistent with the Privileges of the House? Is it consistent with the Privileges of the House that every Gentleman in that quarter of the House should on each stage rise at the beginning of the evening, if he could catch the Speaker's eye, and speak until the hour for adjournment? But what is the condition of the House of Parliament in that case? It is that the House is reduced to total incapacity for the performance of its duty; and the House is entitled, by that natural right of self-defence with which every Assembly is invested, to interfere for a limitation of that misuse of Privilege, and to call the excessive use of that Privilege by the name of Obstruction or otherwise. Neither the narrow issue that absence is an efficient contention, nor the broad issue that no attempt was made to do more than discuss that with the view of convincing and persuading the House, can for a moment be maintained; and I would ask the House finally to consider this—that the selection of these four Gentlemen is a very nice matter indeed; and were we to vote upon them man by man, great varieties of opinion would arise. My hon. Friend the Member for Aylesbury (Mr. George Russell) said there were some Gentlemen who were less open to the charge than others; but he did not think they were exactly all these four Gentlemen; and you must bear in mind, if the House passes a Resolution of self-condemnation and remorse to efface the record of the proceedings in regard to these four Gentlemen, what would be the effect of that action in regard to the other 12—it certainly would be a most emphatic branding of the other 12. For myself, I must confess that, if I had had to pick out four Gentlemen as the least chargeable with Parliamentary delinquency, I should not have chosen those mentioned in the Resolution. Under these circumstances, I need not say that I shall resist this Resolution; and I venture again to express the hope that we may not have a general and vague discussion upon the position of the Irish Parliamentary Party, or the prejudices to which it is subject, or the lawfulness of delaying measures; but that we should keep strictly to the issue which is before us, and endeavour to give to the discussion of the question as judicial a tone as we possibly can.

Mr. SEXTON said, that, as one of the 12 Members suspended, he desired to address the House. The Prime Minister had made a speech which he could not but characterize as exceedingly playful, and he should not attempt to detract from the amusement which might be derived from such a sudden and unexpected display of humour. He imagined that the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. Joseph Cowen) had two motives—first, to call in question the conduct of the Chairman of Committees, and to procure a condemnation of an unwise, improper use of extraordinary powers, thereby protecting the liberties of the House; and, secondly, to secure in that House just and impartial treatment of Irish as well as English Members. For this the hon. Member was entitled to the thanks of every hon. Member who sat with him. He was one of the 12 Members who sat in that House throughout the night of the 30th of June. The Government having challenged them to a struggle of physical endurance, they accepted it, and the Government was defeated, and it was for defeating the Government that they were sentenced, and it appeared very much that in consequence of that defeat they were not to be forgiven either in this world or the next. In his opinion, the Standing Order referred to was plain, and was intended to be applied after warning to an individual Member of the House and in his presence. The Motion consequent was that such a Member be suspended from the service of the House during the remainder of that day's Sitting. There they had emphasized the fact that the presence of the Member at the time was an absolute necessity. But the question was asked—Suppose the Member incriminated left the House before action was taken on his conduct? Well, the way to deal with such a case was not by stretching a Rule never meant to apply, but by making a new Rule. The right hon. Gentleman founded himself on the argument that a number of Members had banded themselves together to delay the Bill. "Delay" was an elastic term. If it was meant that they occupied time for the purpose of occupying time, there was no foundation for the assertion. It was a notorious fact that the majority of the Irish Party abstained from taking part in the debates upon the Bill, because, while their wish was that the arguments against the measure should be fully and fairly placed before the Government, they were unwilling that unnecessary time should be taken up, and many of them who had influence among their Party brought that influence to bear upon their Colleagues to induce them not to speak at undue length. There never was a more wanton accusation than that made by the Home Secretary—who, for the sake of an epigram, was apt to forget the actual facts of the case—when he said that the method of the Irish Party was upon every clause of the Bill to debate the whole measure. A very cursory examination of *Hansard* would show that the speeches had this one merit—they were confined strictly within the scope of the particular clause or Amendment under discussion. But if what was meant by delay was that the Irish Members endeavoured by occupying time in discussing the Bill to induce the Government to consider the propriety of mitigating the severity of its provisions, in that sense only was there delay. In a body of Members forming a minority, whether large or small, nothing was more legitimate than to insist and persist in the expression of their views, so that the Government of the day might modify their intentions. Considering the nature of the Bill, and that under it the people of Ireland were for three years to live in a position from which every vestige of liberty was banished, Irish Members would have betrayed their duty if they did not take care that the measure was sufficiently debated. The Home Secretary spoke of the Common Law. They all knew that when the Attorney General for Ireland could not find a Statute he fell back upon the Common Law; but he never did so when he could find a Statute. But the Home Secretary, though there was a Rule at his hand, fell back upon the Common Law. If stateliness of deportment and elegance of gesture could constitute an argumentative speech, the speech of the Home Secretary was unanswerable. But the whole question was whether the Rule was properly applied, and the Home Secretary shelved that question. For his own part, he took no interest in the present Resolution. He did not want to blot out the record; he was content that it should remain until the day of doom. He did not believe that it was by erasions from the Records that the rights of Irish Members or the rights of the Irish people would be established; it would be by a more drastic process. The censures passed upon Irish Members did not injure them in the light of Irish public opinion. A time would come when the Irish Members would return to that House, doubled in strength and reinforced in resolution. A time would come when they would wield a power in that House which would compel both Parties to have regard to them; and if Party Government was to be maintained, and English freedom to have the safeguard of Parliamentary Rule, the only way to maintain that Party Government, and to preserve that Parliamentary Rule, would be by effacing from the Records, not that contemptible Vote of Censure, but the Rules upon which the censure was founded.

Mr. RAIKES said, that, as direct reference had been made to him by more than one speaker, it would be almost disrespectful to the House if he did not reply to the questions addressed to him. He quite agreed, as every reasonable man must do, with what had fallen from the Prime Minister with regard to any particular Rule. The construction put upon any Rule of that House, as upon the provisions of an Act of Parliament, must rest with those upon whom the authority to interpret it was put by law, rather than upon those who were at first responsible for framing it. The hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had asked him whether he adhered to his opinion on three points—first, whether it was intended that the Rule should be brought to bear on individuals alone; secondly, whether it was meant to be applied without warning; and, thirdly, whether it was to be applied in the absence of the parties on whom it was brought to bear. It had been said, with some slight inaccuracy, that on all these points his opinions were more or less in accord with what fell from the hon. Member for Galway. With regard to the first point, the evidence he gave before the Committee on Public Business had reference to a Rule shaped in rather a different form from that which had become a Standing Order, inasmuch as it allowed, not only the Chair, but any Member, to call attention to an abuse of the Forms of the House. He expressed his opinion that attention ought not to be called to an infraction of the Rule half an hour after the offence had been committed. To the opinions he then held he was bound to say he still adhered. The hon. Member for Galway had attributed to him an opinion that the Rule should in no case be applied without warning. In his evidence he said he would rather not fetter the action of the Committee or of the Chair by requiring that warning should be given; but he added that, as a matter of practice, he had no doubt that a Member would be sufficiently warned. He desired to lay stress upon that, because he should be sorry if he were supposed to think that, in every case, a warning ought to precede the application of the Rule, because there were many cases which required to be dealt with on the spur of the moment. With regard to Members being dealt with in their absence, he did not find any definite answer of his own; but it would be sufficiently clear to anyone who read the evidence given before the Select Committee that it had not crossed his mind that it was likely or even possible that this Rule would be brought to bear on Members in their absence. It was with regret that he referred to those matters; but he should be open to a charge of weakness if he concealed his opinions. The Motion now under consideration had been brought forward in a very unfortunate form, as no Amendment could be moved to it; but, apart from the question of form, there were two grave considerations which would largely influence the House in the course they adopted. They were asked not only to condemn the action of an official of the House, but to repudiate the action taken by the House itself. He presumed that the House was always slow to repudiate in the same Session a solemn proceeding of its own. However imperfect might have been the appreciation of the matter by some of the Members who voted, the House generally would feel itself bound by its own decision, and would be unwilling to re-open a question which had been decided, at the time at all events, upon such materials as it then had for forming a judgment. Moreover, there was a question arising out of the phraseology of the Rule itself, which contained the following words:—

> "Provided always that nothing in this Resolution shall be taken to deprive the House of the power of proceeding against any Member according to ancient usages."

It might well have happened that the House thought, and that the Chairman was also of opinion, that, whatever construction might be put on the precise words of the Standing Order, it was still open to the House to exercise its ancient jurisdiction in order to protect itself against flagrant or repeated disregard of the spirit which should govern its deliberations. Although he should be sorry to lend himself to any expression of adhesion to the view which on this particular occasion was taken by the Chair, if that view were to be limited by the words of the Standing Order, yet, having regard to the width of the powers given to the Chairman of Committees and to the Proviso at the end of the Standing Order, he should regret to see the House take any step which might seem to throw any shadow of a doubt upon its ancient and undoubted jurisdiction in dealing with offences against its proceedings. He could not vote for the Resolution, and he hoped the hon. Member would withdraw it. If they were to improve their procedure, it should be by giving an interpretation to the Rule itself, and not by passing a Resolution which would shake to its foundation that respect for the Chair which was essential to the dignity of their deliberations.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY said, that after the last speech there could be no doubt that an application had been made of the Rule in question, which was very different from what was in the minds of those who framed it. In response to the Prime Minister's suggestion that some evidence should be adduced of the existence of a power behind the Chair he would instance his own case, without any desire to separate himself from the other Members who were suspended. But twice did the Chairman of Committees omit his name when reading the list of Members to be Named, although his name was included in the Motion of the Secretary of State for War; and afterwards in the Question put by the Speaker; and so struck was he by the Chairman omitting his name, that he went to the Table and asked whether it was included, and the Chairman replied that he did not believe it was; but the Clerk added that it was in some list or other. The fact remained that he was actually included in the Motion and was suspended without ever having been Named by the Chairman in the manner required by the Rule. If the Chairman was acting solely of his own motion and had consulted no one, he must have gradually formed an opinion from his own observation as to the conduct of the particular Members which made them guilty of Obstruction; and, therefore, he must have been so impressed with the conduct of each that he could have no doubt as to whether one was in the list or not; and the very fact that he had such a doubt, and that he twice omitted the name in what was supposed to be the formal Naming and in putting the Motion, and yet allowed it to be read by the Mover and by the Speaker, was a pretty clear indication that the list or lists were framed or suggested by others, and not by the Chairman as the result of his own observation. These facts illustrated the difficulties and the dangers of this new-fangled method of Procedure, and proved, by example, that a Member might be included in a Motion without having been Named by the Chair.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, he had heard with surprise from the Prime Minister that delay must necessarily be a Parliamentary offence, seeing that the right hon. Gentleman had just delayed the consideration of the Lords Amendments to the Arrears Bill, because such important issues were involved that a little extra time for deliberation was desirable. The Irish Members who debated the Coercion Bill all night, did so by the same right as Members who debated it during the day; and he had himself once taken part in a 26 hours' Sitting in which he defended the true policy of the Empire against a mistaken Government and a mistaken House of Commons. On the Prevention of Crime Bill the Irish Members simply did what they believed to be their duty, and they spoke to the point as much as was possible; but it seemed to be forgotten that the measure was in reality a Code—a consolidation of all Coercion Acts. The time Irish Members devoted to some of the clauses was very short, and such a Code could not have been passed for England in the same time. He made no complaint against the Chairman of Committees; but he did complain, and that strongly, against the action of the House of Commons—he would not quarrel with the trigger, but he found fault with the power behind it; and he thought there ought to be a special inquiry by a Select Committee into the suspensions, and all Ministers, Members, and Officials concerned ought to be examined. A searching investigation would elicit facts that would be well worthy of consideration. He rarely spoke on the Coercion Bill, and mainly in reply to provocations from the Government, and particularly the Home Secretary; and he was not aware of any intention to obstruct the Bill. The act of the Chairman of Committees, unjust as it was, would not brand the Irish Members with disgrace, but would serve to recommend them to the Irish people. The right hon. Gentleman the late Chairman of Committees, though his speech was a strong condemnation of the conduct of which they complained, was too good an Englishman to do justice to the Irish Members; but history would be on their side, and would record the brutality and treachery with which they had been treated.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, I would not like the debate to close without saying a few words, especially as I have been several times appealed to by hon. Members who have spoken. At the same time, I think the matter is one which has been sufficiently disposed of by the speech, on the one hand, of the Prime Minister, and, on the other, of my right hon. Friend the late Chairman of Committees. It seems to me that we have before us a proposition which it would be extremely difficult for the House to accept. We are not only asked to vote that the record of the suspension of the Gentlemen named be erased from the Minutes of our proceedings, but that it should be done on the ground that those Gentlemen were not in the House during the proceedings of Obstruction for which they were so reported. The Prime Minister has very pertinently asked whether the absence of a Member during any portion of the proceedings in which he may have taken part is to be regarded as a reason for exempting him from the operation of the Rule. I cannot help feeling that the circumstances under which the action of the House was taken were of a character different in some respects from those which were contemplated at the time when the Rule was originally proposed. My right hon. Friend the Member for Preston has stated very clearly what were the considerations in his mind when he recommended, not exactly this Rule, but the Rule upon which this was founded; and he has stated very accurately that we did not at the time contemplate the kind of Obstruction which arose upon the occasion when this course was taken. But the view, not only of the Chairman of Committees, but of the Speaker, who had also to put the Resolution from the Chair, seemed to put another construction upon the words of the Rule, which, after all, were all that the House had to go upon. It was not so much the intention of those who proposed the Rule as the effect of the Rule when it was in existence, and was accepted by the House, that we have to deal with it; and, as has been truly pointed out by the Prime Minister, not only did the Authorities put the construction upon the Rule, but the House accepted the construction, and those who were present voted in accordance with it. If we go from the actual question of the strict letter and construction of the Rule to the intent and meaning of the Rule, then I think the House ought to bear in mind that cases may arise—and I believe they did arise upon that occasion—in which that Rule ought to be applied, and the meaning and spirit of it is, that it should be applied even to Members who may not be in the House at the particular moment when the action of the House is called for. Take an instance. Suppose that a large number of Gentlemen desire to delay the proceedings of the House, and upon some question which is raised one of these Gentlemen gets up and makes a speech of half an hour in length, there can be no objection to that. But supposing he is followed by another, who makes the same speech for another half-hour, and that 20 or 30 Members take that step and then leave the House for a time, it is obvious that there is something there which needs interposition. Such a proceeding would unquestionably be in the nature of Obstruction, and others would be guilty besides the last of the series of offending Members who may chance to be present at the moment when the action of the House is called for. The House cannot possibly be precluded from taking action on the ground that some of the Members so continuing have made their speeches and have gone away. If they can be shown to be parties to the same transaction, it seems to me that it may fairly be held to come within the meaning and spirit of the Rule. There is, I admit, a question which the House would do very well to consider, and which more than once presented itself to my mind, as to the mode in which the Rule should be applied. I own I am not quite satisfied with what was actually done. I do not lay the blame on the Chairman of Committees. He observed, or considered that he had observed, some concerted action which, taken as a whole, implicated a number of Gentlemen; and he thought it his duty to bring their names before the House in a body, because it was in their corporate capacity, if I may use the expression, that they were guilty of Obstruction. And what was the next step? It was the Motion which was founded on that, that these Gentlemen should be taken in a lump and not taken singly, and should be suspended. That Motion was made by the Secretary of State for War. The House was prevented by the form of the Resolution from distinguishing between the case of one man and another. I think that was unfortunate, and I thought so at the time. The fault, if there was fault, was not in the Chairman of Committees calling attention to these Members; the fault was rather in the way in which the Minister brought the matter under the notice of the House. I am not prepared to pass any censure in the case. It was a question of very considerable difficulty, and in these matters, if we are to be closely inquiring into every step that is taken, we may sometimes run into unnecessary refinements. If this Rule is to work it ought to be considered with reference to the difficulty created by obstructive Members, and it may very possibly be the case that when several Members are Named together the House would desire to make some alteration or omission with regard to one of them; but the Rule is so wide that it precludes anything of the kind. It precludes any Amendment, any debate, or any explanation, and was put in that form on the theory that it would be applied to a Member actually present in the House, and in the presence of those who were able to speak of their own knowledge to exactly the circumstances which did occur. Undoubtedly, if you apply it to such circumstances as those which occurred a few months ago, the difficulty arises which does not arise against a single Member, and which we did not expect would arise when we originally proposed the Rule. I have no doubt that I used the language quoted by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), and spoke of it as a Rule which would be applied in the presence of the Member to whom it was made applicable. Undoubtedly, if it is carried beyond that, it is a matter for consideration whether the Rule does not require some amendment. But I think that the Resolution proposed by the hon. Member for Newcastle is one which renders it impossible that we could adopt it without appearing to throw a censure upon the Chairman of Committees, and on the Speaker who put the Question subsequently, and on the Members who voted for it. I do not think there is anything which calls for censure of that kind. I feel satisfied that there was no intention of doing any injustice; and I do not know that it would have been possible, under the circumstances, that any different vote could have been arrived at when the Question was put in the form in which it was put. I regret that it was so, but feel that we must be prepared to encounter some difficulties and inconvenience if we are to protect ourselves against extravagant use of the powers of delay and Obstruction which do exist, and are sometimes had recourse to in a manner quite inconsistent with the conduct of Business in the House. With regard to the particular occasion, I had not been in the House for some hours before the Resolution was passed; but it did appear to me when I came into the House that what was going on was a specimen of the case in which there was something like concerted action—a concerted attempt to delay the progress of the Bill; and I, for one, and I believe a very large number of Members, accepted the authority which told us that that Obstruction had been carried on by the Gentlemen whose names were brought before us. I think that in this discussion we have had a question which, undoubtedly, does require some reconsideration; but I do not think that we ought to pass anything which would be in the nature of a Vote of Censure, because we ought to feel that in these matters we ought to strengthen the hands and support the authority of the Chairman, who had a difficult and invidious task imposed upon him, and I am certain that in all he did on the occasion he acted thoroughly *bonâ fide*, and with a simple and earnest desire to preserve the dignity and honour of the House.

MR. THOMAS COLLINS said, he thought that the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. Joseph Cowen) had done good service by bringing the question forward, and was fortunate in the form in which he had done so, because, if the Resolution was not agreed to, the House would simply pass to the Order of the Day, and the Resolution itself would not be directly negatived. He had been present in the House till 4 o'clock in the morning. He could not agree with the Prime Minister that any debate for the mere purpose of delay was necessarily Obstruction. He knew something of the difference between judicious criticism and wilful waste of time. He had never been guilty of wasting the time of the House. Members might speak, or combine to speak, and protract the debate to great length, for the purpose not of influencing opinion in the House, but of bringing their views before the country. That might be a most desirable course in some cases, and was not Obstruction. But on the night in question there certainly was Obstruction. But was it dealt with in the proper way? He objected to the suspension of Members *en bloc*, and he thought the House ought to have the opportunity of dealing with and voting upon each case. The time might come when 200 Members would be suspended in this manner *en bloc*. The words of the Rule, too, were in the singular number, and the Chairman had strained them in order to suspend Members in a batch. But he could not support the Resolution, because he did not think that mere absence from the House was any reason against the suspension of a Member, who might, by accumulative acts, have deserved the punishment; and he could not, six or seven weeks after the suspension, pass a Vote of Censure on the Chairman, whose authority ought to be supported and strengthened by every Member of the House. But he hoped that was the last occasion on which Members would be suspended *en bloc*.

MR. DALY said, he held that there was evidently a concurrence of opinion that the Chairman of Committees had exceeded his powers on the occasion which was the subject of debate. He contended that at the time when his Colleagues were suspended it was more than usually important that the Irish Representatives should be treated with impartiality, and held that by his action the Chairman committed gross injustice as well as a grave error. He was very glad that the subject had been brought before the House, because the effect of the debate which had taken place would probably be that the mistake of the Chairman of Committees would never again be repeated. The Government did not punish obstructive English Members by suspension, because they dared not disfranchise English constituencies, even for a limited time.

MR. CALLAN said, he rose to express his regret that the Resolution was not so framed as to convey a censure upon the whole action of the Chairman on that Saturday morning.

And it being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow*.

ENTAIL (SCOTLAND) BILL [*Lords.*]

(*The Lord Advocate.*)

[BILL 248.] CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered*.

New Clause (Charge upon a disentailed estate may be transferred to another estate entailed on same series of heirs)—(*The Lord Advocate,*)—*brought up*, and read the first and second time, and *added:*

Amendments made.

Bill read the third time, and *passed*.

ANCIENT MONUMENTS [PURCHASE, &C.].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That it is expedient to authorise the purchase and maintenance, by the Commissioners of Works, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of Ancient Monuments, and the remuneration of any person appointed to inspect of the alterations made by the Commons in the first Amendment of your Lordships' House as if they were matters of some importance. I cannot follow him into that discussion; but it appears to me that all the Commons have done is simply to disagree with the Amendment on the subject of option that we sent down. My views on this subject are unaltered; and in re-stating my opinion upon it, I wish to say, in the first place, that the grievance which I deprecate is the injury to the landlord who has got good arrears—that is to say, arrears which, if the tenant paid all he possessed, would be discharged. When I used that argument before, I was met by a noble and learned Lord opposite with a reference to the advantages that would result to the landlords who had bad arrears; but with them I have nothing to do. They make no difference as to the treatment of the landlord who has good arrears, and are no sort of consolation to him. I heard one statement of the noble Lord with very great surprise. He said that the principle of the Bill was the tenant's inability to pay.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL): One of the principles.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: It is upon the very surface of the Bill that you exempt from payment the whole of the visible property of the tenant. Following up Amendments moved in this House, the value of the holding has been, under very narrow restrictions, excepted from that exemption; but, as the Bill originally stood, the whole of the visible property of the tenant—that is, the value of the holding, and all that was necessary for the cultivation of his land—was exempted from the necessity of paying his debt to his landlord. It is impossible, therefore, to pretend that the inability of the tenant is the principle of the Bill. The noble Lord sets aside that which is the principal possession of the tenant. He says that the creditor may have lent on the faith of this; but the creditor shall not have this from the tenant. The fact remains that you take from the creditor resources on which he is entitled to count—the resources on the faith of which he lent his money. You have, by a mere act of power, taken from the creditor resources on which he was entitled to count, and on which he lent his money. You have taken from the creditor and given to the debtor—not to debtors throughout the country, but to a particular class only—property which, owing to their turbulence and violence, you were unable to refuse to them, owing, as you say, to such refusal being inconsistent with the maintenance of the public peace. However much you may blink the matter, that is the reality; and these facts, though you may turn your face away from them, will not be forgotten in the future. Tenants and other debtors in the future will remember them; and if the time should ever arrive when any other body of debtors shall be sufficiently powerful to make the Government of this country feel that to require them honestly to pay their debts is inconsistent with the maintenance of the public peace, you may depend upon it that this precedent will be brought up against you, and that you will be compelled again to incorporate in the Statute Book the same pernicious, the same immoral exemption as that which you are about to add to the Statute Book now. My Lords, it is my opinion, and the opinion of noble Lords on this side of the House, that the substantial objects of the Bill could be gained, and these dangers, fruitful in the future, be avoided, if it were required that the landlord should be allowed to dissent from the operation of the Bill if he thought fit. I believe that these terms offered to the landlord would, in the vast majority of cases, reinforced, as they would be, with considerations arising out of the state of things in Ireland, and the pressure of public opinion in that country, practically secure that the large majority of the landlords would have come in and accepted them. If you had accepted the Bill in that form you would have carried out the reform you desire without laying down this dangerous precedent of public plunder to mislead future generations. But it may be said that this is an exceptional measure, that it is a final measure, and that if we pass it we shall hear no more of the subject. We heard that argument, however, last year, and we know how marvellously the germ theory has infected politics of recent years. We know how the measures which are pressed upon us in one year as final are, in succeeding years, pointed to as containing the germs of a principle which necessitates some further step in the same direction. What has been in the past will probably recur in the future. I hold it as most probable that this Bill will fail in accomplishing the object which you have in view. I do not believe that it will enable any considerable number of tenants to go into the Land Court. In the first place, the operation of the measure is limited to those tenants whose holdings are below £30 per annum; and, in the next place, it is limited to those who are able to pay a year's rent which is now in arrear. So that the tenant who is to be enabled to take advantage of this Bill must be one who occupies precisely the middle point —that he is not rich enough to occupy a holding of a value of more than £30 per annum, and that he must be rich enough to be able to produce a year's rent at a moment's notice, which he has not previously been able to obtain. In these circumstances, I do not think that any large number of Irish tenants will come under the operation of this Bill, or I think that, at all events, there will be a very considerable and influential number of such tenants who will be left outside of it. The "broken men," of whom the noble Marquess behind me spoke the other night, and the richer men, whom you ostentatiously exclude, will remain excluded from the operation of the Land Act. And what does the Prime Minister tell you will happen if this measure fails, as I think it will? The right hon. Gentleman says—

> "When Parliament has interfered in the face of the very grave objections that are to be justly urged against all legislation of the sort, in providing means of this kind for the discharge or settlement of private engagements—when Parliament has once done this, it appears to me that the argument becomes very strong and very difficult to answer; that it ought to interfere effectually; and that it ought not to be baffled in that purpose."—[3 *Hansard*, cclxix. 1270.]

That language is intended to recommend merely the Bill of the present year; but does it not contain a principle which will recommend the Bill of next year? You have interfered once between the landlord and the tenant, you have set a principle aside, and now that you have overcome your first modesty, what should hinder you from going further—it is only the first step that costs—why should you not go on and take more and more effectual measures, and still even more at the expense of the unfortunate landlord? My Lords, I have pointed out to your Lordships over and over again the dangers of this Bill, which I had hoped that we might have escaped from by the adoption of the Amendments I had the honour to propose for your Lordships' consideration. I do not wish my own personal feeling to be misunderstood in this matter. We have often been told — and the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Lansdowne) is very fond of using the argument—that we should cast the responsibility of all this exceptional legislation upon the Government, and that we should take care to do no act that might attach any portion of the censure due to its failure to the House of Lords. But have your Lordships escaped that danger by yielding in the past? Last year we passed a Bill which seemed to many of us to be detestable; but have we been allowed to throw the responsibility for that Bill upon Her Majesty's Government, or are we not continually reminded that we share in that responsibility? The noble Earl the late Viceroy of Ireland (Earl Cowper) used that argument the other night. He told us that, as we had passed the Land Act, and had allowed our Amendments upon it to some extent to be negatived, therefore we were responsible for the principle which was embodied in that Bill. Such an argument, if good as applied to that Bill, must be equally as good as applied to the present measure. What does Mr. Bright say on this point? He says—

> "The right hon. Gentleman (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) has given us another edition of that general condemnation of the Land Act of last Session, of which we heard so much in that Session from hon. Gentlemen opposite. If that Act was so unjust . . . . , how was it that in the other House of Parliament it was allowed to become law, as it could do only by the consent of that august and ancient Assembly? If I sat on that (the Opposition) side of the House, and were in sympathy with the other House of Parliament, as hon. Gentlemen opposite are supposed to be, I think I should let alone the question whether the Land Act, in all its parts, was wise or just."—[*Ibid.*, cclxxi. 1636.]

That is the way in which you are now told that you cannot throw the responsibility for passing this measure upon the Government. I ventured to censure the Land Act during the Recess, and this is what the Prime Minister said in reference to my observations—

> "My doctrines, Sir, were the doctrines of an Act of Parliament, and no man has ever shown that I have preached any doctrine in advance of the provisions of that Act. They were the

doctrines of an Act of Parliament passed by this House, passed by the other House, passed by the vast majority in the other House."—[3 *Hansard*, cclxvi. 178.]

And here the Prime Minister fell into a slight inaccuracy, because he went on to say, "which Lord Salisbury has at his command." The Attorney General, speaking on Colston's Day at Bristol, on the 12th of November, 1881, said—

> "I say that Lord Salisbury is morally answerable for the passing of every line, every word, every letter of that Bill. He could have destroyed it on its second reading; but he bid his forces disperse and declined the contest. He could have struck out every clause; but he contented himself with alterations. The third reading went with his permission, and I say now that he and those who act with him, and even those who acknowledge allegiance to his leadership, are, as lawyers say, estopped from denouncing an Act which they could have stayed in its course, but did not."

I have quoted these observations because I now mean to say that I intend to incur no responsibility in respect of one jot or tittle of this Bill. I believe that the Bill would be only permissible with the alteration in it which makes the consent of the landlord necessary before the measure can be put into operation, and that without that alteration I believe it to be a most pernicious Bill; that it is an Act of simple robbery; and that it will bear the gravest fruits as a legislative precedent in the future. Those are my opinions. I have had the opportunity this morning of conferring with the noble Lords who formed the majority of your Lordships' House, by whom the Amendment was carried, which was sent down to the other House, and I found that the overwhelming majority of their Lordships were of opinion that in the present state of affairs, especially those which have recently arisen in Ireland and in Egypt, it is not expedient that the Arrears Bill should be thrown out. I do not share in that opinion. If I had had the power I would have thrown out the Bill. I find myself, however, in a small minority, and, therefore, I shall not divide the House.

Lords Amendment, in page 1, line 11, after ("holding") insert—

> ("Or of the tenant with the assent of the landlord (such assent to be presumed on the expiration of ten days from the service upon the landlord in the prescribed manner of notice of such application, in the absence of any notice of dissent from such landlord or his agent)").

In the words inserted by the Lords, the Commons propose to leave out from the first ("of") to the end of the insertion, and to insert—

> ("Either of them after ten days notice in the prescribed manner by the landlord or his agent to the tenant, or by the tenant to the landlord or his agent: Provided that for the purpose of application under the provisions of sections two, ten, and thirteen respectively of this Act, the Land Commission may in respect of such notice extend the periods in the said sections respectively mentioned for any time not exceeding ten days.")

Moved, "That this House doth agree with the Commons in the said Amendment."—(*The Lord Privy Seal.*)

On question? *resolved* in the *affirmative.*

Lords' Amendment, in page 2, line 14, after ("security") insert—

> ("Provided that in the event of the next subsequent sale of the tenancy, the arrears of rent not satisfied by payment or remission shall be a sum payable to the landlord out of the proceeds of the sale within the meaning of the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881.")

The Commons propose to leave out ("the next subsequent") and insert ("a"), and after ("tenancy") to insert ("within seven years from the making of such order"), and after ("shall") to insert ("to an amount not exceeding one year of such arrears nor one half of the proceeds of such sale"), and to leave out ("the proceeds of the sale") and insert ("such proceeds").

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL), in moving that their Lordships agree with the Commons in the said Amendment, said, this was a well-understood practice in Ulster, where the sale of tenant right had been in regular operation. When an Ulster tenant came to sell his tenant right the landlord did not expect that the whole of the proceeds should be swallowed up in payment of arrears; and it was that practice the Government wished to follow in this matter. He thought the Amendment of the Commons was reasonable, and hoped it would be adopted.

Moved, "That this House doth agree with the Commons in the said Amendment."—(*The Lord Privy Seal.*)

On question? *resolved* in the *affirmative.*

THE DUKE OF ABERCORN said, he rose to move an Amendment to the said Amendment, in order to render the wording of the clause more definite. It would appear from the Amendment as it stood that the landlord would have no claim upon the tenant right for arrears which might arise hereafter. He, therefore, proposed to limit this provision, giving the landlord a lien to the extent of only half the arrears dealt with by the order of the Court; and with that object he moved to insert, after the words "arrears of rent," the words "dealt with by such order, and."

Moved, To insert in the said Amendment' after the words ("arrears of rent"), the words ("dealt with by such order, and.")—(*The Duke of Abercorn.*)

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) said, the noble Duke was evidently right in his intention, and there was no objection to the insertion of the words by which he proposed to give effect to it. It did not seem right that the Land Commissioners should not take into consideration the sale of the land as well as the tenant right security, because it might be that the tenant would have no means of raising the money. It was far more prudent that the Commissioners should take the whole matter into their consideration and deal with it as they thought reasonable.

On question? *resolved* in the *affirmative.*

Lords Amendment in page 2, lines 15 and 16, leave out ("may, if the commissioners think it reasonable"), and insert ("shall").

The Commons propose after ("shall") to insert ("so far as the commissioners think it reasonable").

On the Motion of The LORD PRIVY SEAL, the said Amendment *agreed to.*

Lords Amendment in page 2, line 24, leave out from ("where") to end of the sub-section and insert—

("According to the ordinary course of dealing between the landlord and tenant of a holding, the rent of such holding has actually been paid at some time after the day on which it became legally due, the rent which according to such usual course of dealing ought to be paid in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one, shall, for the purposes of this section, be deemed the rent payable in respect of the year expiring as aforesaid.")

The Commons disagree to the Amendment in page 2, line 24, for the following reasons:—

"(1.) Because the amendment is doubtful and uncertain in its meaning.

"(2.) Because if under the amendment the rent, which according to the usual course of dealing ought to be paid in the year 1881, does not for all purposes satisfy the rent of that year the amendment is inconsistent with the principle of the Bill, while if it satisfies the rent of that year for all purposes the amendment is unnecessary."

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) said, the next Amendment dealt with the phantom which had haunted that House under the name of the "hanging gale," as to which the Commons had inserted in the Bill a Proviso to the effect that where it appeared that according to the ordinary course of dealing between the landlord and tenant of a holding, the rent of such holding had usually been paid on some day after the day on which it became legally due, the usual day of the payment should be deemed for the purposes of the sub-section to be the day at which the rent accrued due. Their Lordships had omitted that Proviso, and inserted the following words:—

"Where according to the ordinary course of dealing between the landlord and tenant of a holding the rent of such holding has actually been paid at some time after the day on which it became legally due, the rent which according to such usual course of dealing ought to be paid in the year 1881, shall, for the purposes of this section, be deemed the rent payable in respect of the year expiring as aforesaid."

The Commons had disagreed with their Lordships' Amendment on the ground that it was inconsistent with the principle of the Bill. When the Bill first came before their Lordships, he was under the belief that it was not intended to touch the hanging gale; but he now frankly confessed that he was mistaken. He had since found that the intention of the Bill, as it left the House of Commons, and as it now returned to their Lordships, was that the tenants who were to come under its operation should, at the end of the year 1881, be absolutely clear from all arrears, whether under the name of ordinary arrears or of hanging gale. It was believed that the operation of the Bill would be imperfect unless it were so provided, it being felt that it would be quite possible for an unscrupulous landlord, after he had obtained all the advantages of the Bill, to evict a tenant from his holding by exacting a half-year's or a year's rent postponed under the custom of the hanging gale. He would move that their Lordships do not insist on their Amendment.

Moved, "That this House doth not insist on the Amendment to which the Commons have disagreed."—(*The Lord Privy Seal.*)

THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD said, he was very glad his noble Friend the Lord Privy Seal had admitted that the clause was intended to sweep away the hanging gale. During the passage of the Bill through the House they had heard many conflicting statements as to how the Commissioners would deal with the hanging gale; but he (the Marquess of Waterford) had held from the beginning that this clause would have the effect of doing away with it. Therefore, he was all the more pleased to have a definite statement on the part of the Government that it was to be taken away, because they now knew the worst that could happen.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL): That it was to be treated as an arrear.

THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD said, that the Law Officers of the Crown had put into the Bill provisions which covered each other; and when the question came before the High Court of Appeal in Ireland the words in this clause would be found to mean nothing as regarded the hanging gale, because they did not refer to it in any way whatsoever. As Her Majesty's Government had now declared their intention of sweeping away the hanging gale, the position of the landlords would be that they would be unable to collect their rents due in May, as they would have to wait until the end of the year before they could serve ejectments. He thought that was a course extremely unfair to the Irish landlords. The Prime Minister had given three different meanings of his (the Marquess of Waterford's) words in the Amendment. With two of these meanings he entirely disagreed. He meant to save the hanging gale in the only way it could be saved—by clearing the tenant up to May, 1881, instead of up to December, 1881, as was the case in the clause as it stood. He was very sorry for the sake of landlords in Ireland that the hanging gale would be taken away, and he thought it another injustice of a most unjust Bill.

THE EARL OF LIMERICK said, he was sorry that the Government had determined to pass the Amendment, as he thought its effect would be to cause the landlords to press for their rent when it was due without leaving a hanging gale. The tenants, having been used to a hanging gale, would resist the attempt to do away with it. On the other hand, when it had been swept away, the landlords would object to its revival; and the result would be to create an endless amount of litigation and bad feeling between landlords and tenants, and a constant friction wherever the hanging gale had been the custom.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN (who was indistinctly heard) said, he had been under the impression that by the Bill, as proposed by the Government, the hanging gale was to have been retained; and, had he thought that it would not be retained, he should have felt himself obliged to modify his general opinion as to the Bill. To do away with the hanging gale would be so unjust and so injurious, without doing the smallest possible good, that if he had known that it was to be taken away he should have felt himself unable to support the Bill, as he had done on the second reading. He thought it would be seen that, with such a provision in the measure, those tenants who had paid their rents would be in a much worse position than those who had refused to pay their rent, and waited to take advantage of this measure. There was no doubt that a great many of the Irish tenants had fallen into arrears through bad harvests; but it was equally true that many were in arrears with their rent through disinclination to pay. The tenants who had paid their rents would now be in a worse position than those who had not paid, as they would have this hanging gale still over their heads, while other tenants who had withheld their rents, taking advantage of the Bill, would, by the sweeping away of the hanging gale, have half-a-year's rent, and in some cases a whole year's rent, deliberately given them, while landlords whose estates were now subject to the hanging gale would, from no fault of their own, have either six months' or a year's income taken from them. He thought that most unjust to the honest tenants of Ireland, and also most unjust to the landlords. It was well known that in many cases money was raised upon the hanging gale, and in such cases the landlords would find what they regarded as an asset taken away from them. He was under the impression that when the measure was before their Lordships on a previous occasion, the Lord Privy Seal had given an assurance that the hanging gale would be retained; and he, therefore, could not support the Amendment.

Question put.

A division being challenged,

EARL GRANVILLE said, he wished to point out that if a division were pressed for, and it resulted in their Lordships insisting on their Amendment, it might be fatal to the Bill.

THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD said, he had no wish to divide, and was content with having made his protest.

Resolved in the *affirmative.*

Lords Amendment, in page 3, line 7, after ("money") insert—

("Provided always, that where two or more parties are entitled to the arrears, the Land Commission shall have power to decide the rights of the parties, and the proportion in which the said arrears shall be divided amongst them.")

The Commons propose to leave out ("said arrears") and insert ("sums so ordered to be paid to or for the benefit of the landlord.")

Amendment *agreed to.*

Page 4, the Commons propose as a consequential Amendment in page 4, line 30, after ("or") to insert ("any member.")

Amendment *agreed to.*

Lords Amendment in page 4, line 30, after ("Sub-commission") insert ("being a barrister-at-law.")

The Commons propose to add ("or solicitor.")

Amendment *agreed to.*

Lords Amendment in line 33, after ("shall") insert—

("Subject to an appeal to the Land Commission, on and in such conditions and circumstances as may be prescribed.")

The Commons propose before ("subject") to insert ("in reference thereto and"), and after (appeal") to insert ("on matter of law.")

The Commons propose as a consequential Amendment to the Bill in line 33, to leave out ("in reference thereto.")

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) said, that the next Amendment of the Commons related to the matter of appeal. The Commons concurred with their Lordships as to the right of appeal on matters of law, but not as to the right of appeal on matters of fact; and he submitted that there were very strong reasons indeed against giving an appeal from the original inquiry before the County Court Judge or the legal Assistant Commissioner to the Land Commission in Dublin. Those matters of fact might be safely intrusted to that inquiry; and it was evident that in the case of very small questions, involving only a few pounds, if they were carried before the Court of Appeal on a matter of fact—for example, as to whether the tenant had or had not the means of paying his arrears in full—the effect in point of expense and delay on the small cottier tenant might be ruinous. Such a power of appeal in the hands of an unscrupulous man might be used totally to defeat the object of the Bill. He believed the advantage to the landlord would be very slight indeed, but that the Amendment would place in the hands of unscrupulous men a power that would be a very dangerous weapon. On these grounds he asked their Lordships to agree to the Amendment of the House of Commons.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Lords Amendment, in page 10, leave out Clause 17.

The Commons propose to insert an amended clause in lieu of the one struck out.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) said, the next and last Amendment related to the clause to be substituted for Clause 17. In that clause the power to the landlords of deducting local rates had been omitted. The clause, as it stood at first, was not in the original Bill, but was introduced by an eminent legal Member of the other House, and in its first form it included both local rates and public taxes; but it had appeared on further examination that there would be the greatest difficulty and embarrassment in applying the clause to local rates; and the author of the clause himself had since become a party to the Amendment as it now stood. The clause, as now proposed, was a very important one, but it was confined entirely to public taxes; and he hoped their Lordships would pass it in that form.

Amended clause *agreed to.*

Bill returned to the Commons.

LABOURERS' COTTAGES AND ALLOTMENTS (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 210.)

(*The Lord O'Hagan.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD O'HAGAN, in rising to move that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that it had passed the House of Commons without opposition, and he hoped their Lordships would not refuse to give it a second reading. It was a measure of a limited character, but of great importance to a large class of industrious men in Ireland. By the 9th section of the Land Act of 1881, the Commissioners were empowered to provide cottages for labourers, and to allocate for their use small portions of ground on such terms and under such limits as might seem just and reasonable. It was a wise and salutary provision, necessary in the circumstances of the country, dictated by humanity, and calculated to promote order and civilization. Unfortunately, amidst the multitudinous provisions of the Act, there were two very material omissions in connection with this matter. The jurisdiction of the Commissioners arose only in contentious cases, when landlord and tenant came adversely into Court, and could not be applied when they reached an amicable agreement and filed a consent to be ratified by the Commissioners. This was the first omission, but the second was more important. The power to protect the labourer was vested in the Court, which had proved its willingness to give him the full benefit of the Statute, in many cases. But there was no penalty provided for the enforcement of their order. No doubt, as a Court of Record, they could commit for contempt and issue attachments; but it was a cumbrous remedy for disobedience, and was often inapplicable and inefficient. Plainly, there was no reason why their useful jurisdiction should not be extended to consensual as well as to contentious cases, and equally little for the non-existence of a statutable penalty adequate to the compulsion of obstinate persons, who, themselves deriving great benefits under the Land Act, strive to deny to others the advantages which they were designed to be recipients of, though in a humble way. The result had been practically that the benevolent purpose of Parliament was largely defeated, and the labourers were left too generally to repine at the want of comfort and decency in their miserable hovels. The Land Commissioners had formally complained of this in a Minute which was on their Lordships' Table. They declared that the Land Act in this essential particular could not be rightly worked without some such legislative provisions as he (Lord O'Hagan) now submitted to the House. They pressed for effective penalties, to be easily enforced in the local Courts, and for such a system of inspection as might insure the execution of the will of the Legislature. He (Lord O'Hagan) need not argue as to the propriety of complying with these authoritative demands. It was demonstrated by the action of both Houses of Parliament, in providing for the labourers' wants, and by the necessity of dealing tenderly and kindly with them, which was recognized by all who felt for a struggling class and took an enlightened interest in the peace and prosperity of Ireland. The relations between the tenant farmers and their dependents were not always so cordial as might be desired, and the weaker parties should have the full protection which the law intended to afford. This Bill endeavoured to secure it by giving the Land Court full powers, equally in all cases of the settling of fair rents, to direct the bestowal of such cottages and allotments to labourers as might be deemed suitable, provided with due regard to the capacities and interests of all concerned, and by imposing a moderate but sufficient fine for persistent defiance of its wholesome jurisdiction. It was a necessary measure, proved to be so by the experience of a considerable period, and by the testimony of the Commissioners themselves. It had been introduced into the House of Commons by men of various Parties, and commanded the unanimous approval of that House; and he confidently hoped that it would be received with equal acceptance and approval by their Lordships. The Bill of the Commons was, in his opinion, imperfect, and might require, for its effectual working, a fuller enforcement of the suggestions of the Commissioners on the part of the Government; but, so far as it went, it should be utilized, as, at this period of the Session, a completer measure could not be successfully introduced. He moved that the Bill be read a second time.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord O'Hagan.*)

The Earl of LIMERICK said, he did not rise to oppose the second reading; but to express the hope that the Bill would contain or preserve the limitations and restrictions imposed by the Land Act, such as the right of the landlord to indicate the site on which cottages should be erected.

The Earl of LONGFORD said, the clause in the Act of last year had been found a perfect failure, like Sanitary, Artizans' Dwellings, and similar Acts, passed with the best intention, without full examination of complicated details. Many points of difficulty would arise in the working of this Bill as it stood. What was to become of the labourer under this Bill when the house was built? Must the tenant employ the labourer? At what wages? Must the labourer work for the tenant? And if he became a pauper, to whom was he chargeable; the farmer to whom he was engaged, or the landlord, or the Union? There was a very curious addition made to last year's Bill—namely, that the house might be built on the demand of any labourer usually employed upon the farm, who might be a very good labourer, but an undesirable tenant. Penalties for non-compliance with the Court's order were to be summarily recovered at Petty Sessions. Now, knowing something of the difficulties of cottage-building, obtaining sites, &c., he, as a magistrate, would find great difficulty in enforcing such penalties against farmers. He did not object to the second reading, for he hoped that some means might be found for improving the labourers' dwellings in Ireland; but he trusted the Bill would receive further consideration from the promoters.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House *To-morrow;* and Standing Order No. XXXV. to be considered in order to its being dispensed with.

PARCEL POST BILL.—(No. 223.)

(*The Lord Thurlow.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Lord THURLOW, in rising to move that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that it was one of great importance and utility. It was the full realization of a hope long deferred, and supplied a general want. It was the result of the negotiations of many years between the Post Office and Railway Companies, the satisfactory conclusion of which was entirely due to the energy and powers of persuasion of Mr. Fawcett, who had succeeded in convincing them that the new Service would entail no losses on their shareholders, but quite the contrary. Railways would be paid for conveyance of parcels eleven-twentieths of the gross receipts of Post Office parcels so conveyed, and would be at liberty to carry on independent parcel traffic as at present. A Parcel Post had long existed on the Continent, and worked well, parcels being sent from France to Turkey, or from Sweden to Spain for about 2*s*. On the Continent it was easy of introduction, the railways being so largely owned by, or under the control of, the State. In this country it was necessary to reason with each Company, and convince it that it was ultimately for its advantage to adopt the new scheme. The details of the measure were not so simple as might be imagined, and required the creation of a good deal of machinery, which would probably delay the operation of the Bill till the beginning of next year. The weights and rates fixed in the Bill were subject to revision by the Post Office, as experience or public convenience might dictate; but in the event of any such revision the remuneration to Railway Companies would also be revised. Where agreements could not be arrived at, resort would be had to arbitration as provided in the Bill. These provisions would remain in force for 21 years after coming into operation, and would be renewed from time to time like other postal contracts. The Bill would enable this country at last to participate in all the benefits of the Universal Postal Union, and to join the Parcel Post Convention of Paris, of

November, 1880. It would, no doubt, shortly become international, and we should be able to send parcels of 6 lb. to Paris for 2*s*. In this view the Bill empowered the Treasury to frame special Customs' enactments from time to time for such foreign parcels, and even to exempt them from duties, or to empower Post Office agents to act as Customs' officers in respect of such parcels. These three Schedules attached to the Bill showed its scope at a glance. The first was a list of Railway Companies, which had become parties to the arrangement. The second gave the weights and rates as fixed in the Bill for inland or home parcels—namely, under 1 lb. 3*d*., under 3 lb. 6*d*., under 5 lb. 9*d*., and under 7 lb. 1*s*. The 3rd Schedule provided for the apportioning of remuneration among the various railways to be fixed by the Railway Clearing House Committee. Sundry other details remained for consideration, such as the bulk of the parcels of each weight, but were left for subsequent decision. The noble Lord concluded by moving the second reading of the Bill.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."—(*The Lord Thurlow.*)

Lord BALFOUR wished to know what effect the Bill would have upon the large Parcels Delivery Companies which were doing so useful a work at present. These Companies had expended large sums of money, and if they were to be subjected to the competition of a gigantic Public Department, with public funds at their back, and with special facilities granted by Act of Parliament to Railway Companies, it would be a very serious thing for them. The question he would like to ask was, whether Her Majesty's Government had considered the advisability of making any compensation to the managers or proprietors of these enterprizes; and, if not, whether they would object to the insertion of a clause which would give to these Companies the same facilities in regard to Railway Companies as the Government had taken to themselves? It seemed to him that in common fairness one or the other of these courses ought to be adopted. No doubt, the establishment of a Parcel Post would be a very great advantage to the community, even if some people might suffer in consequence; but it did seem to him that as the public were to get a very great convenience, that convenience should be obtained with as little hardship as possible to the Parcel Companies affected by the competition.

Lord THURLOW said, he was not authorized to make any statement in reply to the noble Lord's questions; but he would inform himself on the subject before Committee stage, in order that the points raised might then be dealt with. He believed, however, that the Postmaster General had taken the matter into consideration, and was of opinion that no real interests would be affected by the Bill, and that the great development of traffic which would take place would be for the benefit of all concerned.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2^a accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House *To-morrow.*

EDUCATIONAL ENDOWMENTS (SCOTLAND) BILL.—(No. 220.)

(*The Lord Privy Seal.*)

COMMITTEE.

House in Committee (according to order).

Clauses 1 to 4, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Powers of Commissioners).

On the Motion of Lord Carlingford, Amendment made, in page 3, line 7, after ("thereof"), by leaving out ("and"), and inserting ("or").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (Provisions when governing body wholly or partly consists of members of town council, &c.).

The Duke of RICHMOND and GORDON said, he proposed to omit the words "being not less than one-half," which would have the effect of leaving to the discretion of Commissioners the proportion of elected members who should sit in the Governing Bodies, instead of specifying that the Governing Bodies should consist to such extent, being not less than one-half, as the Commissioners should determine, of elected representatives. In supporting the Amendment, he might refer to Hutcheson's Hospital, Glasgow, on the Governing Body of which the municipal element was represented by the Lord Provost, The municipal element there was, therefore, 1 in 22; but under the Bill as it stood the proportion of the increase would be from 1 to 11. He suggested words which had not yet been printed, but which would make the provision run as follows:—

> "Provision shall be made in any scheme under this Act relating to such endowments that the governing body thereof, as altered by such scheme, shall consist to such extent, as the Commissioners shall determine, being not less than the existing proportion of the governing body of persons deriving their qualification as aforesaid."

Amendment *moved*, in page 3, line 33, leave out ("being not less than one-half").—(*The Duke of Richmond and Gordon.*)

On Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause?"

Lord CARLINGFORD (Lord Privy Seal) said, he was the more inclined to agree to the noble Duke's Amendment for this reason—which was a reason that applied not only to this particular Amendment, but to the whole Bill—namely, that he thought the House ought to be inclined to place great confidence in the Commission which was to be appointed for the purpose of carrying this Act into effect. That appeared to him to be at the root of all this kind of legislation. If they had not a reasonable confidence in the Commission that was to be appointed, there was no use in attempting legislation of this sort, and the effect of the noble Duke's Amendment would be to give a greater discretion to the Commission; whereas, as the Bill stood, they would be absolutely compelled, without any exercise of their own reason, to include in the Governing Bodies a fixed number of members of a certain sort, which it might not be necessary or advisable to do. The Amendment would not debar them from increasing the number, and, in his opinion, it was one that might be accepted.

The Earl of CAMPERDOWN said, he quite concurred in the Amendment of the noble Duke, but thought the noble Duke's whole case might be met by simply leaving out the words "being not less than one-half," and providing merely that the Governing Body should consist of the municipal element to such extent as the Commissioners should determine. That would express the noble Duke's meaning very clearly, and the other words would be unnecessary.

Lord WATSON was understood to say that he could not assent to the clause as it stood.

Resolved in the *negative.*

On the Motion of the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, Amendments made, in page 4, lines 3 and 4, by leaving out after ("extent") the words ("being not less than one-third"); and in page 4, line 9, by leaving out ("frustrate") and inserting ("be inconsistent with"); and at end of clause by inserting ("or with the purposes of the endowment").

The Earl of CAMPERDOWN said, that, before they left this sub-section, he should like to ask whether there was any object in retaining the sub-section at all? As it stood, it left the proportion of the representative element entirely to the discretion of the Commissioners, and, of course, they would have the power in any case, so long as the sub-section compelled the Commissioners to make one-third of the Governing Body persons who were chosen for their representative character. Then he could see the object of the sub-section, but now he could not see its object.

Lord WATSON said, he thought the clause laid upon the Commissioners a very grave duty, to introduce into trusts a certain number of elected persons, and that they should do so in all cases, except in those where the introduction of such persons would be inconsistent with the terms of the endowments.

Lord CARLINGFORD (Lord Privy Seal) said, the clause was still applicable. All the change that had been made was to give the Commissioners greater discretion than they originally had.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 7 (Scope of Commission).

The Duke of BUCCLEUCH moved, in page 4, line 18, after ("libraries"), the omission of the following words:—

> "Provided that nothing in this Act contained shall be taken to compel the Commissioners to restrict any bursary, exhibition, scholarship, or other educational benefit, if attached to or tenable at any educational institution, to the children of persons resident in the locality where that institution exists."

He was afraid that these words might

induce the Commissioners to interfere in a contrary way to the letter and spirit of the endowments.

Amendment *moved,* in page 4, line 18, after ("libraries"), leave out to end of Clause.—(*The Duke of Buccleuch.*)

On Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause?"

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, that, with regard to this Amendment, he thought there was at present quite a sufficient distinction between the two classes of educational benefits which it was proposed to give by this clause. According to one part of the clause, it would be the duty of the Commissioners, in re-organizing endowments, to have special regard, in making provision for secondary or technical education, to the benefit of the children of the locality to which the endowment belonged; while by the other part of the clause, as he understood it, the benefits of the trusts would be open to persons coming from a distance if it should be thought advisable.

THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN said, the clause appeared to him to take away with one hand what it gave with the other. He hoped it would be possible to make some alteration in the wording of the clause which would make its meaning clear, in the sense just explained by the noble Earl.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, he thought the clause was perfectly clear.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) said, he could not accept the Amendment.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 8 to 11, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 12 (Endowments for apprenticeship fees, maintenance, and clothing to be deemed educational).

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON asked that some explanation should be given with regard to the reasons for inserting the name of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. He did not wish to repeat what he had said the other evening; but it did seem rather hard to particularize this Society. He did not know any reason for bringing it prominently into this clause. Possibly there might be some reason for it; but till he heard what that reason was he moved that the name of that Society be struck out of the Bill.

Amendment *moved,* in page 6, line 36, leave out from ("children") to ("shall") in line 38.—(*The Duke of Richmond and Gordon.*)

On Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause?"

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) said, he assured the noble Duke that the authors of the Bill had no wish whatever to insert the name of that particular Society; but they were instructed by the Lord Advocate that there might be some doubt about the matter which might possibly lead to litigation with very inconvenient results. It appeared that there was a peculiar wording of the deed constituting that Society which might possibly not bring it within the definition of the 1st clause of the Bill. It was simply for that reason, and for the sake of avoiding any inconvenient consequences, that the name of this Society had been mentioned in this clause; and that name had been introduced, he might add, with the assent of the Society itself. He could assure the noble Duke that that was the sole reason for the mention of the Society in this clause.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON: It is not contrary to the wishes of the Society?

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL): No.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, he was satisfied with the explanation.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH moved the addition of the following Proviso:—

> "Provided that nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to prevent a scheme relating to any such endowment from providing, if the governing body so desire, for the continued application of such endowments to the same purposes."

The noble Duke said this provision was similar to that inserted in the corresponding clause of the English Act.

Amendment *moved,*

In page 6, line 39, after ("endowments"), add ("Provided that nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to prevent a scheme relating to any such endowment from providing, if the governing body so desire, for the continued application of such endowments to the same purposes.")—(*The Duke of Buccleuch.*)

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, the objection he saw to the proposal of his noble Friend was that, as he read the Bill, its object was to bring these Institutions within the power and purview of the Commissioners, while, by the words now proposed to be added, they gave the Governing Body power to say—" We will not be under it." This Proviso, indeed, would nullify the powers of the Commissioners.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) said, he concurred in the view of the noble Duke (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon). The words proposed to be added would give the Governing Bodies the power of veto upon the action of the Commissioners. That appeared to him to be entirely inconsistent with the principle of the proposed legislation.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 13 (Vested interests).

THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH said, he proposed to insert in page 7, line 5, the words, "or by any Act of Parliament already passed as in interpretation or in pursuance thereof," so that the latter part of the clause would read thus—

> "And shall provide that no funds now applied in terms of the founders' directions or by any Act of Parliament already passed as in interpretation or in pursuance thereof, to free elementary education shall be diverted to any other purpose except to the extent to which such funds are manifestly in excess of the requirements for the purpose of free elementary education of the localities to which they belong."

The Act passed in 1836 with regard to the formation of schools under the Heriot Trust in Edinburgh brought within the benefits of the Trust the children of burgesses of that city, and by a subsequent Act burgesses were defined as persons who had been two years resident within the boundary of the city, and by that interpretation a large number of children had received free education, to the benefit of themselves and of the town; while, if it had not been for these schools, the parents of those children, who were respectable people, would have had to undergo the humiliation of pauperizing themselves by applying for relief from the Parochial Board.

Amendment *moved,*

> In page 7, line 5, after ("directions") insert ("or by any Act of Parliament already passed as in interpretation or in pursuance thereof."—(*The Duke of Buccleuch.*)

LORD WATSON said, the Amendment proposed by the noble Duke was a very serious one; and if effect were given to it, it would very largely interfere with the object of the promoters of the Bill. He had very great respect for the opinions of the noble Duke upon all subjects connected with Scotland; but having given considerable attention to the matters dealt with in this Bill, he had come to the conclusion that the Amendment was one which ought not to be accepted by the House. The proposal in the clause was that, so far as any founder of any endowment for an educational purpose in Scotland had laid it down as his will and desire that it should be applied for the purpose of free primary education, that wish should be respected and carried out with this proviso—that funds which were manifestly in excess of what was necessary for the wants of the locality benefited by the endowment were to be dealt with as free funds, and applied to the purpose of secondary education. The proposal of the noble Duke was not merely to respect the will of the founder, but to take into account, in dealing with those endowments, every particular Act of Parliament which had been obtained on the basis of what was supposed to be the founders' wishes. It might be that those statutory powers were in entire accordance with the will of the testator; and if that were so, there were provisions within the four corners of the Bill for giving effect to them. On the other hand, if those statutory powers which had been obtained were not strictly consistent with the will of the founder, or were inconsistent with the intentions of the founder, it was intended that the Commissioners under this Bill should have control, and that they should restore them to the proper course of administration, and apply them according to the founder's intentions. He ventured to say that, as the Bill now stood, no institution need fear a diversion of funds from any purpose fairly contemplated by the founder; but if the funds had been applied in a manner otherwise than to the purposes contemplated by the founder, in such a case it would be for the Commissioners to revise past legislation, and prepare a scheme consistent with what they conceived to be the will of the founder. Ample provision was made for bringing the matter before either House of Parliament by means of a Motion, and it was impossible to say they could be taken by surprise, or complain that they were unfairly or unreasonably dealt with. If the Amendment were accepted, its effect would simply be to strike out of the Bill two of the largest and richest foundations in Scotland—Hutcheson's Hospital in Glasgow, and Heriot's Hospital in Edinburgh — and affirm really what there was no evidence of, that those Acts of Parliament which had been obtained in recent years did represent the entire will of the founder. Everyone conversant with educational matters in Scotland, and who had read the Reports of the Commissions of 1869 and 1879 as to the constitution of these Trusts, and the application of their funds, must come to the conclusion that there was ample matter for inquiry and investigation by a Body of Commissioners, and that was all that was now proposed to take place. The result of the Commissioners' labours would be either to condemn or support the present application of the funds. After that the Trustees had still an appeal to their Lordships' House, or the other House of Parliament; and he thought it was impossible to say that the interests of those parties were in any way tampered with or disregarded.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) said, that the noble and learned Lord had really left him nothing to say. The noble and learned Lord had spoken upon the subject with much more authority than he could; and after his observations he could hardly think that their Lordships would agree to an Amendment which would give to an Act of Parliament the character of the laws of the Medes and Persians, and that not merely to any Public Act of Parliament, but any Private Act which might have been obtained by any institution in Scotland. The noble and learned Lord referred to Hutcheson's Hospital, another educational institution in Scotland, almost as great and wealthy as Heriot's Hospital in Edinburgh. The extraordinary result of the Amendment of the noble Duke upon the former institution would be that, in spite of its own Act, it would be brought within the Amendment. There was a provision in Hutcheson's Hospital Act of 1872, to the effect that nothing therein contained should be deemed to exempt the mortification from the provisions of any general Act relating to charitable and educational institutions in Scotland which might hereafter be passed by Parliament. Therefore, the effect of the Amendment, if it were carried, would be to entirely upset the arrangements and objects of Hutcheson's Hospital, and, against the will of the Trustees, to subject them to the provisions of the Amendment. He could not think their Lordships would treat an Act of Parliament, which was passed within the last few years, with so slight an amount of consideration; and he was sure they would have confidence in the Commission which was to be appointed in dealing with questions of this character.

THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH said, that after what had been said he would not press the Amendment. He did not see, however, that there was any more sanctity in an Act passed in 1872 than in one passed in 1836.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 14 *agreed to.*

Clause 15 (Interests of particular classes to be kept in view).

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, he rose to move a Proviso to follow this clause, the object of which was to deal with the cases in which the applicants for the benefit of educational endowments might exceed in number the vacant places to be given away. His new clause would require that, in framing schemes, the Commissioners should provide that in making selections from among those who were eligible to receive the advantages of educational endowments, due regard should be had to merit, and it indicated that the means of ascertaining merit should be by examination. He did not, however, propose absolutely to tie the hands of the

Commissioners; and, therefore, he added after the word "examination" the words "or in such other manner as they shall determine."

Amendment *moved,*

At the end of Clause 15 add the following Proviso:—("Provided also, that in selecting children from amongst those eligible for the benefits of such endowment, due regard shall be paid to merit as ascertained by examination or otherwise as may seem to the Commissioners desirable.")—(*The Earl of Camperdown.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clauses 16 to 18, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 19 (Provision for future alteration of schemes).

On the Motion of Lord Carlingford, Amendment made, in page 8, line 28, after ("any"), by leaving out ("orders") and inserting ("provisional order").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clauses 20 to 28, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 29 (Special case to court of session on questions of law).

On the Motion of Lord Carlingford, Amendment made, in page 11, line 11, after ("scheme"), by leaving out ("feels") and inserting ("feel").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Remaining clauses *agreed to.*

The Report of the Amendments to be received *To-morrow;* and Bill to be *printed* as amended. (No. 239.)

House adjourned at Seven o'clock,
till To-morrow, a quarter
past Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 10th August, 1882.

MINUTES.]—Supply—*considered in Committee*—Civil Service Estimates, Class III.—Law and Justice, Votes 31 to 34; Class IV.—Education, Science, and Art, Votes 2 to 8a, 10 to 17; Class V.—Foreign and Colonial Services, Votes 1 to 8; Class VI.—Non-Effective and Charitable Services, Votes 1 to 10.

Private Bills (*by Order*)—*Considered as amended—Third Reading*—Essex County Loans [New Title] *; Halifax Corporation *; Huddersfield Corporation *; Newcastle-upon-Tyne Corporation (Loans, &c.) *; Rotherham Corporation *; Swansea Corporation Loans *; Tynemouth Corporation *; Wolverhampton Corporation Loans *, and *passed.*

Public Bills—*Resolution in Committee*—East India (Home Effective Charges of Troops) [Settlement of Arrears] *.

Resolution [August 9] *reported*—Ancient Monuments [Purchase, &c.] *.

Committee — Citation Amendment (Scotland) [267]—r.p.

Committee — *Report* — Public Works Loans * [269].

Considered as amended—Royal Irish Constabulary [264].

Considered as amended—Third Reading—Allotments [227], and *passed.*

Withdrawn—Corrupt Practices (Disfranchisement) * [118].

QUESTIONS.

EGYPT (POLITICAL AFFAIRS)—INTERVENTION OF TURKEY.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Arabi Pasha was to be declared a rebel; and, whether a Military Convention with Turkey had been concluded?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: I have already stated, in reply to my hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen), that all the Powers concurred in advising the Porte to issue a Proclamation declaring Arabi a rebel. The draft Proclamation has been submitted by the Porte to Her Majesty's Government. It supports His Highness the Khedive, and declares Arabi by name to be a rebel. The answer to the second Question, as to the Military Convention, is that the Porte has expressed its readiness to conclude one.

METROPOLIS—WATER SUPPLY.

Mr. RITCHIE asked the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works, Whether it is a fact that the Metropolitan Board have required the fixing of only 22 hydrants in a district in the East End of London, receiving a constant supply of water, and comprising an area of 2,090 acres, 8¾ miles of streets, 49,000 houses, and a population of 400,000 people; and, if so, whether, having regard to the recommendation of the Select Committee on the Metropolitan

Fire Brigade 1877, that hydrants should be substituted for the obsolete wooden plugs, and to the powers given the Metropolitan Board by Statute, he has considered whether the requirements of the district in the case of fire are sufficiently met by the erection of 22 hydrants?

Sir JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG: I have no doubt my hon. Friend's figures with regard to the area, houses, and population of the district he refers to are correct; and assuming that to be the case, and that the district is part of that supplied by the East London Company, I beg to inform him that it is true that only 22 hydrants have been required there, for the reason that the pressure of water afforded by that Company is too low for the purpose of extinguishing fire without the aid of a fire-engine. I may add that the number of hydrants to be required in any district is decided upon by the Board after careful consideration of Reports made by their engineer and the chief officer of the Fire Brigade; and where, as in the Kent Company's district, the pressure is good, far larger numbers of hydrants have been ordered, and the Board do not necessarily await formal notice of a constant supply.

LAW AND JUSTICE (SCOTLAND)—CESSIO FEES IN HAMILTON SHERIFF COURT.

Dr. CAMERON asked the Lord Advocate, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that fees still continue to be paid to officials of Sheriffs' Courts in connection with cessio proceedings; whether it is not the case that section eleven of the Debtor's (Scotland) Act provides that no fee fund, or other dues of court, shall be exigible in respect of any proceedings under Cessio Acts; and, whether he will take steps to put an end to the illegal exaction of fees in cessio cases?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): On inquiry I find that in one Sheriff Court—that of Hamilton—fees to the bar officer have been charged for cessio cases. So far as I know, this is exceptional. The hon. Gentleman has correctly stated the provisions of the Debtor's (Scotland) Act. I consider these fees to be illegal, and I shall cause this opinion to be intimated to the officer of the Court.

TRADE AND COMMERCE—TREATY WITH COREA.

Mr. HINDE PALMER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether a Treaty has been concluded between this Country and Corea; and, whether he will lay a Copy thereof upon the Table of this House?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: A Treaty between this country and Corea was signed on the 6th of June last, the text of which only reached the Foreign Office last night. The Treaty, if ratified, will be published in due course. The substance of it was given in my reply to a Question in the House on the 13th ultimo by the hon. Member for South Durham (Sir Joseph Pease).

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS—THE SPANISH CONSUL AT SINGAPORE.

Dr. CAMERON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is true, as stated in the "London and China Telegraph" of July 24th, that the Spanish Government has bestowed the Grand Cross of Naval Merit upon the Spanish Consul at Singapore, who recently, in the case of the "Leon XIII." encouraged his countrymen in that port to resist and outrage British Law; whether it is true that a similar decoration was simultaneously bestowed upon the captain of the "Leon XIII.;" and, whether he can now lay upon the Table the Correspondence relating to the affair of the "Leon XIII." and especially to the conduct of the Spanish Consul at Singapore in connection with it?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Her Majesty's Government have received no information of the Grand Cross of Naval Merit having been bestowed by the Spanish Government on the Spanish Consul at Singapore, or on the captain of the *Leon XIII.* The Correspondence between the two Governments on the subject of the case referred to is not concluded, and, therefore, cannot conveniently be laid before Parliament.

IRISH LIGHTS—STRANGFORD LOUGH.

Mr. HEALY asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that, although for thirty years a fine lighthouse has been built at Rock

Angus, at the entrance to Strangford Lough, it has never been lighted, so that on stormy nights fishing boats have had to remain at sea for hours in imminent danger; and, whether he is aware that, as there are upwards of two hundred boats belonging to the Lough, the fishermen complain bitterly of the want of a light; and, if he will state why one is not provided?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: The lighthouse on Rock Angus was erected before the passing of the Merchant Shipping Acts, and before the present mode of managing lighthouses was in existence. At that time the Irish Light Board were in the habit of paying for Irish local lights out of the dues on the passing trade, a practice much complained of, which was put an end to by Mr. Cardwell's arrangements and the Merchant Shipping Acts of 1853 and 1854. A light at the entrance of Lough Strangford would be almost, if not quite, entirely for the benefit of the local trade, and ought not to be provided without a large and substantial contribution from local funds. In the absence of sufficient funds from the locality, the Board of Trade have not felt themselves justified in sanctioning the appropriation for this purpose of the Mercantile Marine Fund, to which fishing boats do not contribute, and which is composed of light dues paid by the passing trade.

ARMY—CAPTAINS OF THE ROYAL ARTILLERY—THE ROYAL WARRANT.

MR. WARTON asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he will take into consideration the position of those Captains of the Royal Artillery who will be unable, under the provisions of the Royal Warrant of this year (Section 1, Division 1, paragraph 10), to obtain Brevet majorities after twenty years' service, owing to the fact that in and about the year 1864 they were, by reason of the exceptional fulness of the regiment, kept waiting for several months, after passing out of the Royal Military Academy, before being gazetted; and, whether he will allow their first Commissions to be antedated (without back pay) to the date of their passing out of the Royal Military Academy?

MR. CHILDERS: In reply to the hon. and learned Member, I have to state that I have taken into consideration the cases of the captains of Artillery to whom he refers, but that I do not think that I should be justified in adopting his proposal. The benefit to the officers would be slight, while it would be dearly purchased by the adoption, on a considerable scale, of an antedate going back 17 or 20 years, a proceeding quiet without precedent, and which might lead to very inconvenient consequences.

RELIEF OF DISTRESS (IRELAND) ACT, 1880—LOANS AND GRANTS.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the whole amount of the loans sanctioned under the provisions of "The Relief of Distress (Ireland) Act, 1880," has been advanced; and, if not, what is the total of the balances?

MR. COURTNEY: The total of loans and grants sanctioned out of the £1,500,000 authorized by Parliament is £1,423,000; up to Saturday last £1,235,000 had been actually advanced.

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—SUB-CONSTABLE TESKEY.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that, on the 4th July, a charge of larceny was preferred at the Thomastown (Kilkenny) Petty Sessions by Sub-Constable Golden against Sub-Constable Teskey; whether the latter was charged with breaking into the box of the prosecutor on several occasions, and extracting various sums of money therefrom; whether this charge was substantiated in the strongest manner by certain marked coins, which were found in possession of the defendant by the head-constable in charge of the station; whether, notwithstanding this, the Bench of Magistrates dismissed the case, and refused to return Sub-Constable Teskey for trial; and, whether he approves of the action of the magistrates?

MR. TREVELYAN: The facts of the case appear to be stated with accuracy in the Question. The case was investigated by three magistrates, who acquitted Sub-Constable Teskey, and stated that he left the Court without a stain on his character. The Inspector General informs me that he is a man of good character, with nearly 22 years' service. I see no reason for reviewing the action of the magistrates.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—ALLOWANCES TO RESIDENT MAGISTRATES.

Mr. LEWIS asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the intention of the Government to make any additional allowances to resident magistrates in Ireland (other than special resident magistrates), for the largely increased duties thrown upon them during the past two years, and for the further additional duties now being imposed on them in carrying out the provisions of the Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act?

Mr. TREVELYAN: It is not the intention of the Government to make any special grant to the Resident Magistrates in Ireland, such as that suggested in the Question of the hon. Member. Their allowances have just been rearranged and put on a footing which, it is believed, is satisfactory to them. The operation of the Prevention of Crime Act will be carefully watched, with a view of preventing its pressing unduly upon any magistrate; and if it is found to be necessary the scale of allowances and emoluments will be revised.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—BELFAST BOARD OF GUARDIANS.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been directed to the action of the Local Government Board in the matter of an account, furnished to the Belfast Board of Guardians for a supply of books for the inmates, amounting to the sum of £64 9*s.* 1*d.*; if it be correct that the Board of Guardians acted in express violation of a Resolution passed by them some time ago, and subsequently approved of by the Local Government Board, by which they were bound to advertise for tenders for supplies of any kind when the amount exceeded £20; if it be true that in the matter of the books no advertisements for tenders appeared in any of the local papers; why did the Local Government Board fail to insist on the Guardians observing this Resolution before sanctioning payment of the account for £64 9*s.* 1*d.* by their letter to the Guardians, as read on the 1st August instant; is it true the workhouse master never received the books into his stores, although they were delivered at the workhouse so far back as the 21st June last; is it true that, up to the 25th July ultimo, the master never thought fit to check the account nor count the books, and that he, on that date, obtained a week's leave to have them counted, but on the expiry of which time he still had omitted to check the account or certify it for payment; is it true that the books were produced on the Board room table by order of the Guardians on the 1st August, with the view to having them counted in their presence, when it was found that there were 149 volumes unaccounted for; is it true that no satisfactory evidence is forthcoming of the missing volumes; is it true that the Chairman of the Guardians read a letter from the Local Government Board (two hours before the books were counted for the first time after delivery) actually sanctioning payment of the account for £64 9*s.* 1*d.*; and, in the circumstances, is he prepared to offer any explanation for the gross neglect of the workhouse master and the serious misconduct of the Local Government Board; and, if not, what steps does the Irish Executive intend to take in the matter?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I have received a Report from the Local Government Board in reference to the accounts referred to in the hon. Member's Question, from which I find that the books were ordered on the requisition of the Roman Catholic chaplain, and were not advertised for as they ought to have been. The Guardians state that they were not aware that the books would cost more than £20, and, consequently, did not invite tenders for them. Under these circumstances, the Local Government Board did not object to the payment of the bill. The attention of the Local Government Board had not previously been called the other irregularities alluded to in the Question; but I have now given directions for having them inquired into.

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—POLICE BARRACKS IN ARMAGH.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is true that a police barrack is about to be erected in the best and quietest street in the city of Armagh, to the injury of the vested interests of the occupiers and owners of dwellings therein; if it is true that the erection of the proposed barrack was arranged and agreed on without consulting any of the public bodies acting for the citizens; whether any notice was given asking for tenders for a new barrack, and if he will say what rent is to be paid, and the terms of years for which the barrack is to be taken; and, whether the Government will direct an inquiry to be made by some disinterested person or persons into this controverted matter, before any further steps are taken in it?

MR. TREVELYAN: The hon. Member for Armagh (Mr. Beresford) also put a Question to me to-day on this subject, and I perceive that the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) has a Question in reference to it down for to-morrow. The Inspector General of Constabulary informs me that the Town Commissioners were consulted by the architect relative to the proposed site, and consented to the building thereon; the site was selected by the County and Sub-Inspectors, who naturally may be expected to be the best judges upon such a question. Their experience is that the street is not so orderly as the hon. Member seems to imagine; and they state that the occupiers of the houses are, for the most part, not the owners, and that the real occupiers have no objection to the erection of the barrack therein. The architect did invite contracts for the building by printed notice, and the matter was ventilated in the local papers. I do not see any reason for interfering with the discretion of the Constabulary authorities, who, I have no reason to doubt, were anxious to select the most convenient site available.

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—THE POLICE IN BELFAST.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it be correct that two sub-inspectors of police have been doing the entire duty of four sub-inspectors, in Belfast, for the last two months; and if, having regard to the present very peaceable state of the town, the services of the other two, who have been so long absent on duty in the south and west of Ireland, can be permanently discontinued, and thus assist in relieving the heavy police rate with which Belfast is burdened?

MR. TREVELYAN: There is, at present, only one Sub-Inspector absent from Belfast. Another Sub-Inspector, who had been absent on special duty in the County Cork, has since returned to his station. The absence of these officers has been very much felt in Belfast, and their services cannot be permanently discontinued. The police rate in Belfast would not be affected by a reduction in the number of Sub-Inspectors, as the Town Council pays no part of their cost.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—JUDGE O'HAGAN'S MEMORANDUM.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he could explain why it is that Judge O'Hagan's recommendation, recently presented to Parliament, recommending an amendment of the Land Act is (unlike Mr. Litton's) undated; if he would state what the date is; whether Judge O'Hagan made any other communication on the subject of leases other than that now presented; and, whether any communications passed between Judge O'Hagan and the Government regarding his recommendation; if so, whether they can be laid upon the Table, and what the cause of the delay has been in presenting the recommendation to the House?

MR. TREVELYAN: Mr. Justice O'Hagan informs me that he does not know how it was that he omitted to date his Memorandum referred to. It was written at the request of the Lord Chancellor on the 4th of June last. He wrote two other Memorandums on the subject of leases. They were merely to enable the Prime Minister to answer Questions, and were to the same effect as the document now printed. The Memorandum which has been presented was prepared for the private information of the Government, and not for presentation to Parliament. After the hon. Member obtained the order, it became a question whether the public interest would not suffer by complying with it, and some delay consequently arose.

MR. HEALY: Has the right hon. Gentleman any objection to put the documents in order of date? He has mentioned other Memorandums; but I do not gather that he has given the date of this one.

MR. TREVELYAN: I have given the date on which this Memorandum was written. It was written in compliance with the request of the Lord Chancellor; and I think I may fairly say that the Memorandum contains all the advice which the Land Commission has given to the Government on the subject in question.

Mr. HEALY: Is there any objection to give the date?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I have already given the date. It was written at the request of the Lord Chancellor on the 4th of June last. Justice O'Hagan does not know how it occurred that the date was not given.

Mr. GIBSON asked what was the request the Lord Chancellor made to Mr. Justice O'Hagan—was he asked to recommend the proposals of the Government, or simply to point out the machinery for working the existing Act?

[No reply was given to the Question.]

Mr. TREVELYAN subsequently stated he had made a mistake. The letter of Mr. Justice O'Hagan was written in reply to a letter of the Lord Chancellor on the 4th of June.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSIONERS—THE HON. ROBERT WHITE, J.P.

Mr. HEALY asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether it is correct, as stated in the Cork papers of the 31st ultimo, that one of Her Majesty's gun-boats has had to be placed at the disposal of the Sub-Commissioners who are trying land cases at Castletown, Berehaven, in order to take them every day to and from their hotel at Glengariff, a distance of 20 miles; whether this has been owing to the refusal of accommodation by the hotel keeper at Castletown; whether this gentleman is the Honourable Robert White, J.P.; whether a prosecution for Boycotting has been instituted against Mr. White; whether the police will be instructed to object to Mr. White's licence at the next licensing sessions; whether, in a similar case of refusal of hotel accommodation at Charleville, the proprietor, Mr. O'Gorman, after being subjected to a civil action, was prosecuted criminally by the Crown; whether his licence was subsequently objected to by the police; whether there is any difference between Mr. White's case and Mr. O'Gorman's; if not, whether he can explain why the authorities took action in one case and not in the other; whether it is the fact that, under the Crimes Act, persons of the humbler classes have been sent to gaol in Cork county for refusing to work for persons whom they disliked; what the reason is for the neglect of the police in not taking similar action against the Honourable Robert White; and, whether, as Mr. White holds the Commission of the Peace, the Lord Chancellor will take similar notice of his conduct, as was done some years ago in the case of Lord Leitrim when he refused the use of his hotel to the Lord Lieutenant?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter) said, he had to apologize for the absence of his right hon. and learned Friend. It was correct, as stated in the Cork papers, that one of Her Majesty's gun-boats had been placed at the disposal of the Sub-Commissioners trying cases at Castletown for the purposes mentioned, owing to the want of hotel accommodation there. The fact was the hotel keeper, having had some difference with his servants, was obliged to close his hotel, and that without any reference to the Sub-Commissioners. The keeper of the hotel was not the Hon. Robert White, who had nothing whatever to do with it, except that he was the landlord of the place, and he had not even heard of the alleged refusal to accommodate the Sub-Commissioners until he saw this Notice of Question. No prosecution had been instituted against him, nor was there likely to be one. The police would not be instructed to object to the licence of the Hon. Robert White, because he had no licence, and had nothing whatever to do with the hotel, excepting that he was the landlord; and even if he had, nothing had been done to necessitate interference. It was a fact that against a hotel keeper named O'Gorman a prosecution was directed some time ago by the Attorney General for Ireland; but this was withdrawn when it was discovered that two civil actions had also been instituted, and that he had likewise been imprisoned as a "suspect." The police, he believed, did object to a renewal of his licence, and it was refused; but there was a very great difference between this case and that of the Hon. Robert White's. It was not a fact that persons of the humbler class had been sent to gaol under the Prevention of Crime Act for refusing to work for persons whom they disliked. He felt certain that the Lord Chancellor would not interfere in the matter by instituting an inquiry, as he had nothing whatever to do with it.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: Is it a fact that the Attorney General for Ireland did prosecute Mr. O'Gorman?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter): I have already stated that a prosecution was commenced; but that it was dropped when it was discovered that two civil actions were commenced.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: Does the hon. and learned Gentleman—["Order, order!"] This is a question arising out of the answer. Does the hon. and learned Gentleman mean to say that Mr. O'Gorman was never put upon his trial by the instructions of the Attorney General for Ireland? Is he ignorant of the fact that Mr. O'Gorman was actually put on his trial, and that it was only upon the disagreement of the jury that the case was stopped?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter): I dare say that what the hon. Gentleman states is a fact; but it is not inconsistent with the answer I have given.

Mr. HEALY: After the distinct denial of the hon. and learned Gentleman, I may state that I know of my own knowledge that the full and entire facts of the matter have been set out in the public Press.

MINES REGULATION ACT, SEC. 26—IFTON COLLIERY.

Mr. BURT asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been called to the inquiry into the death of Joseph Kynaston, a boy who was killed at Ifton Colliery on the 30th of June; whether it was brought to his notice that Mr. G. Hill Trevor and Mr. Williams were prosecuted for manslaughter, and, though acquitted, there was strong evidence of the bad management of the colliery, and that it appeared from the evidence that there was no certificated manager in the colliery, Mr. Williams, the so-called manager, being an ordinary workman receiving 23*s.* per week; and, whether, seeing that both the mines inspector and the judge who tried the case condemned the management of the colliery, he will instruct the inspector, as provided by section twenty-six of the Mines Regulation Act, to call upon the owner to place the colliery under the control of a properly qualified manager?

Mr. HIBBERT (for Sir William Harcourt): This Question, as soon as it appeared on the Paper, was referred to the Inspector for his remarks; but his reply has not yet been received. On receipt of his Report the suggestion of the hon. Member will be carefully considered.

INDIA (MADRAS)—THE RANEES OF BARODA.

Mr. M'LAREN asked the Secretary of State for India, Whether there is now any objection, since the death of the Ex-Gaekwar of Baroda, to the widowed Ranees having confidential communications with Mr. Kavanagh in his capacity as Counsel of the deceased Ex-Gaekwar and of themselves; whether the Government of India will give facilities for handing over to the Ranees, as the legal personal representatives of the deceased Ex-Gaekwar, the moneys saved out of the stipend lately allowed to him, the other personal property at Doveton House, Madras, and the crore and a half of rupees or thereabouts which form the dowry given to them on their marriage, and which the Government of India is holding on their behalf; and, whether the Government of India will allow the younger Ranee to receive the property formerly belonging to her deceased son?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: In reply to the first Question of the hon. Member, I have to say that the matter of confidential communications between Mr. Kavanagh and the widows of the Ex-Gaekwar of Baroda is one which lies entirely within the discretion of the Indian authorities. Mr. Kavanagh has been accordingly informed, in answer to a letter on the subject sent to the India Office, that any application he may have to make in regard to it should be addressed to the Government of India. With reference to the remaining Questions of the hon. Member, I have only to say that the Government of India will, no doubt, give immediate attention to all matters which may require their intervention or decision consequent on the death of Mulhar Rao. Certain claims, however, made on behalf of the

Ex-Gaekwar to balance of stipend and private property alleged to belong to himself and his Ranees have been declared by the Government of India, after careful investigation, to be inadmissible, and this decision has been approved by the Home Government. As to the property said to belong to the deceased son of the younger Ranee, the Government of India are making inquiries into the matter, the result of which inquiries is not yet known at the India Office.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—DROMOD AND DRUMSNA PETTY SESSIONS—MR. RUTHVEN, J.P.

Colonel O'BEIRNE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether an independent inquiry is about to be instituted at once into the circumstances attending the election of clerk of petty sessions for the districts of Dromod and Drumsna, county Leitrim, held on the 24th July last; whether it is a fact that Mr. Ruthven, J.P. for the counties of Galway, Tipperary, and Leitrim, and who was one of the magistrates that voted on that occasion, after the election was concluded, peremptorily ordered the acting clerk at Dromod, Constable Walker, R.I.C. to insert his (Mr. Ruthven's) name in the order book, as having attended at Dromod in his magisterial capacity once in January 1882 and once in March 1882, in order to be qualified to vote for a clerk of petty sessions in the Dromod district, although it can be proved, on sworn evidence, that Mr. Ruthven did not act in his magisterial capacity on either occasion; and, whether it is a fact that Constable Walker strongly remonstrated when ordered to make the above-mentioned entries; and what action do the Government propose taking with reference to Mr. Ruthven's conduct?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The attention of the Lord Lieutenant had already been called to the circumstances attending the election of a clerk of petty sessions for the districts of Dromod and Drumsna; but no decision on the subject has yet been arrived at. I can, however, promise the hon. and gallant Member that the matter will be fully investigated before His Excellency's decision is pronounced.

EGYPT (MILITARY EXPEDITION)—EXPENSES OF INDIAN CONTINGENT.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Secretary of State for India, If he has still reason to believe that the total cost of the expedition from India to Egypt will not exceed one-fourth part of the sum voted for the expedition from this Country?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I do not think that I myself have ventured to make any calculation as to the relative cost of the Expedition from India to Egypt. I think it was the Secretary of State for War who said that the cost to India might be about one-fourth or one-fifth of that incurred by this country; but I do not think he said that it would not exceed one-fourth of the sum voted for the Expedition. What he did was to compare the relative strength of the two Forces, and to express the opinion that the amount to be charged upon India would be about that stated. I hope shortly to be able to make the Financial Statement with regard to India, and I will then be happy to give any information I may have as to the Indian Expedition. But it is not desirable that I should anticipate that information now.

THE PARKS (METROPOLIS)—THE TREES IN KENSINGTON GARDENS.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the First Commissioner of Works, If he has yet obtained any reliable opinion of the cause of the frightful mortality among the trees in Kensington Gardens this season, which seems to threaten their early extinction, and any suggestion of any means by which their places may be supplied by trees which will not succumb to the urban climate?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: The mortality of the trees in Kensington Gardens is not, I am sorry to say, of recent date. It has been progressing at a rapid rate for four or five years past, and it has not the least reference to the application of clay. Two years ago a Committee, consisting of my Predecessor (Mr. Adam), Mr. Mitford, Sir Joseph Hooker, and Mr. Clutton, investigated the cause of this mortality; and they came to the conclusion that it was due—first, to the fact that the trees had originally been planted too closely, and had not been properly thinned some 40 or

50 years ago; and, secondly, to the ground not being properly drained. They considered that it would be useless to plant trees in place of the dead ones unless the land could be properly drained, and that the proper course would be to wait till a clearance of a part could be effected, and then to drain and replant the part thus cleared.

AFRICA (SOUTH)—CETEWAYO, EX-KING OF ZULULAND—CONTEMPLATED RESTORATION.

Sir JOHN HAY asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, If he will inform the House before it rises whether Her Majesty's Government has come to any decision as to the restoration of the ex-King Cetewayo to Zululand; and, if so, what means it is proposed to adopt to prevent civil war, and to protect the interests of the Chiefs in the rights established for them by Sir Garnet Wolseley's settlement?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: I am not in a position to give a positive pledge that before the House rises the Government will be able to announce the decision as to the future of the ex-King Cetewayo; but I am hopeful that if the inquiry were repeated in the course of next week, just before the rising of the House, I might give a definite answer.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—RATHDRUM UNION—ELECTION OF A GUARDIAN.

Mr. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with reference to the election of a guardian for Killeskey Electoral Division of the Rathdrum Union, Whether his attention has been called to the following paragraph in the report of the official inquiry, as printed in the local Conservative paper of the 5th instant:—

> "The election came off in March last, Mr. Croften being declared returned by a majority of 40. There were 32 rated occupiers' votes for Mr. Croften (the landlord candidate), whereas Mr. Gaskin (the tenants' candidate) had 75; but the number of proxies for Mr. Croften amounted to 83. It had struck Mr. Gaskin as somewhat singular that these 83 proxy votes were given by only twelve persons, and he accordingly placed the matter in his solicitor's hands;"

whether it is a fact that, after repeated applications and refusals, an inquiry was at length granted to Mr. Gaskin; and, whether it is true that the result of the inquiry has been to reduce Mr. Croften's majority to nil; and, if so, what steps he intends to take with reference to the conduct of the returning officer whose action on the occasion was impugned from the beginning?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I have not seen the paragraph in the local paper referred to by the hon. Member; but the Local Government Board has received the special Report of their Inspector on the matter, together with the Minutes of Evidence taken by him at the inquiry. The Board has not yet arrived at any decision on the subject, but hopes to do so in a few days.

CONVICT LABOUR—REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Committee on Convict Labour have made their Report; and, if so, whether he will lay it upon the Table of the House?

Mr. COURTNEY: The Report was only received yesterday, and there has, therefore, not been an opportunity of considering it. I cannot at present say whether it will be possible or advisable to present to Parliament the whole or any part of it.

POST OFFICE—FEMALE CLERKS.

Mr. W. S. ALLEN (for Sir Thomas Chambers) asked the Postmaster General, What number of female clerks are employed in the Post Office under the recent arrangement, including those just appointed; and, whether it is intended to make any considerable addition to the present staff within the next six months?

Mr. FAWCETT: In reply to my hon. Friend, I may state that the number of female clerks now employed at the Central Office in London is about 350. A considerable addition will be made to the staff in the next six months; but the increase will probably not exceed the number of the fresh appointments made during the last six months.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—THE SUB-COMMISSIONERS—MR. MEEK.

Mr. BRODRICK asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Government are aware that reductions to the extent of 39 per cent. have been made by the Sub-Commission, of which Mr. Meek is a member, on estates in the district with which he was connected previous to his appointment, and that the great majority of these decisions have been appealed against; and, whether they will undertake to remove Mr. Meek to some other district, or to cancel his appointment?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The reductions of rents by the Armagh Sub-Commission average about 26 per cent, and a large number of appeals have been lodged. It is the intention of the Land Commissioners to transfer Mr. Meek to another district after the Vacation.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (IRELAND) —IMPROVEMENT OF TRAINING OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY (for Mr. Errington) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether any steps have been taken for carrying into effect the recommendations of the Commission of 1870, and the proposals of the Board of National Education, for improving the training of elementary school teachers in Ireland; and, if not, whether he will during the Recess consider how the deficiencies in the training system can best be met?

Mr. TREVELYAN: This matter had received the serious attention of my Predecessor, and I fully intend to enter into it myself during the Recess.

THE SASINE OFFICE (EDINBURGH)—RESULTS OF THE LORD CLERK REGISTER ACT, 1879.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, If he will lay upon the Table of the House that portion of Messrs. Gurdon and Morton's Report to the Treasury (of date 3rd February, 1881) on the position, duties, and requirements of the several departments affected by "The Lord Clerk Register Act, 1879," which describes in detail—

> "The system of the Registration of Land Rights, the indexing of Registers, and the method of searching for incumbrances affecting land, as it formerly existed, and as it is now carried on;"

and, if he will also lay upon the Table

any recommendations made by Messrs. Gurdon and Morton as to the classification of the clerks in the Sasine Office, and the salaries to be paid to the several classes?

Mr. COURTNEY: I will present to the House that portion of Messrs. Gurdon and Morton's Report which describes the system of registration and searching as it formerly existed, and as it now exists, and is carried on, as it may be of general interest. It would be contrary to practice to publish that portion which relates to administrative details, and it would be misleading to publish the recommendations as to salaries, because they formed only a part of the information on which the Treasury acted in fixing the salaries; but I may mention that the amount which they proposed to insert in the Estimate for the Sasine Office was less than that actually voted for the current year.

CYPRUS (FINANCE, &c.)

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the Report of Mr. Fairfield, of the Colonial Office, who visited Cyprus last autumn, or the Report of the High Commissioner for 1881, will be in the hands of the Members of this House before the Vote of £90,000 in aid of the Revenues of Cyprus is taken?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: Mr. Fairfield's Report has not been laid on the Table of the House because we are awaiting Sir Richard Biddulph's observations upon it, and the High Commissioner's Report for 1881 has only recently been received. I would point out, however, that Mr. Fairfield's Report only refers to financial changes and reforms in the future, and cannot, therefore, affect the proposed Vote of £90,000, which is to meet a past deficit.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—THE GALWAY RACES.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, By whose authority and on whose representation were a large number of soldiers present at the Galway Racecourse during the races recently held near the town?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The High Sheriff of Galway Town and another magistrate requisitioned the Sub-Inspector of Constabulary to have a force of 150 men, inclusive of the town force, in attendance at the races. There were, however, no Constabulary available for this duty; and consequently Mr. Gardner, Resident Magistrate at Galway, sent in a requisition for 175 Infantry, there being but 20 policemen of the town force available. In former years 150 police were usually employed on this duty.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR asked if the right hon. Gentleman would give the grounds of the requisition of the magistrates?

Mr. TREVELYAN said, it was believed that there was reason to expect that the races would not end without a disturbance, and he was bound to say that a disturbance did occur. A riot broke out with little or no cause, except that a well-deserved arrest had been made, and the police and troops were attacked, and the Riot Act was read twice.

Mr. O'DONNELL: I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he is aware that the so-called riot arose out of the arrest of a poor deaf and dumb man by the police; and whether the reading of the Riot Act and the intervention of the troops and police only resulted in the arrest of a number of young lads; and whether he considered that that was a riot of the character which was reported to him by the local authorities?

[No reply was given.]

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—THE MARINES.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, By whose authority and at whose request has a party of Marines been stationed along with the Police in each of the police stations of Aughrim and Kilconnell, and are the extra pay and expenses of the Marines to be made payable by the district; and, whether the Police in charge of those districts have reported a single case of outrage?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) put a similar Question to me on the 3rd instant, and my answer is correctly reported in *The Times* of the following day. The point of the Question appears to be whether the expense of these Marines is to be levied off the district. The hon. Member will see that I explained that the cost of Marines or soldiers employed on such duty is borne by the Army Votes.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—INSTRUCTIONS TO H.M. INSPECTORS OF SCHOOLS.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether he is now able to lay upon the Table the Instructions to Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, as promised in an early part of the Session?

Mr. MUNDELLA, in reply, said, from inquiries he had made, he believed the whole of the Instructions of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools would be presented to the House next week.

POST OFFICE—PROVINCIAL LETTER CARRIERS.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Postmaster General, Whether he has yet made known the details of his new scheme as applied to the provincial letter-carriers; and, if not, when they will be issued?

Mr. FAWCETT: In reply to the hon. Member, I have to state that the details of the new scheme as applied to the Provincial letter carriers are not yet quite complete; but I hope to be able to make them known in the course of a few weeks.

ARMY—ARMY PAY DEPARTMENT—VALUE OF OFFICERS' FORMER COMMISSIONS AND RETIREMENT.

Mr. WARTON (for Colonel Barne) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether there are some Officers serving in the Army Pay Department who have never been permitted to realise the value of their former combatant Commissions, and have thus been deprived of the use and interest of their money, whereas the large majority of other Paymasters have received either the regulation, or over regulation, value of the Commissions they previously held, or, having entered as civilians, have no such capital invested; whether some of the most deserving of these old Officers will, by reason of age, be compulsorily retired, and thus be debarred from all the benefits of retired increased rank and pay granted by Royal Warrant of 25th December 1880, and will be army retired on lower rank and pay than any other Paymasters their juniors; and, whether he will grant to these old Officers the value of their former Commissions, or some reasonable equivalent, for the loss of use and interest of their money?

Mr. CHILDERS: May I suggest to the hon. and gallant Gentleman that, before putting these Questions on the Paper, he might have spoken to me? Had he done so, I should have saved him some trouble, as I answered precisely the same Questions on the 3rd of August, when they were put to me by the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar).

ARMY—THE EXPEDITIONARY FORCE—PROMOTION FROM THE RANKS.

Colonel NOLAN asked the Secretary of State for War, If he would direct that all vacancies arising in the rank of sub-lieutenant from the deaths of officers with the Egyptian Expeditionary Force should be filled mainly from non-commissioned officers employed with that Army?

Mr. CHILDERS: My hon. and gallant Friend appears not to have noticed that there is now no such rank as sub-lieutenant. But, as to the object of his Question, I may say that I have already since I took Office authorized the number of promotions from the ranks to a lieutenant's commission to be doubled; but I could not adopt any rule under which all or most of the vacancies arising from deaths of officers in the Egyptian Expedition would have to be filled by non-commissioned officers. The Commander-in-Chief will, of course, pay due attention to every recommendation to this effect which he may receive from the General Officer commanding.

AGRICULTURAL COMMISSION — CORK BUTTER MARKET.

Mr. MOORE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the attention of the Irish Government has been called to the severe strictures passed by the Duke of Richmond's Commission on the present constitution and working of the Cork Butter Market; whether he is aware that this is a subject in which great interest is taken in Ireland; and, whether the Irish Government will consider this Report, and the evidence given during the recess?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I believe that the attention of the Government has been given to the matter; but I will inquire into it when in Dublin.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—CARRICK-ON-SUIR UNION.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been drawn to a statement forwarded on the 7th instant by the Committee of elected guardians of the dissolved Board of the Union of Carrick on Suir, to the Irish Local Government Board, submitting the following facts for consideration; that, at the meeting of the Carrick Board, on the 1st of July, a motion was made and seconded, by elected guardians, to postpone contentious matter, but such motion was refused by the chairman; that, at the meeting of the 8th July, the elected guardians and the clerk endeavoured ineffectually to induce the chairman to first proceed with the ordinary business of the day, and that it was the refusal of the chairman to proceed with the ordinary business, or to put a motion to that effect from the chair, which led to the adjournment of the meeting; that, at the meeting of the 15th of July, the elected guardians present explained to the Hamilton Local Government Board Inspector that, on the previous occasions in question, they had been willing to transact the ordinary business, had offered and attempted to do so, and had been prevented by the chairman; and, whether, in view of these and other facts set forth in the statement of the guardians, the Local Government Board will now revoke the sealed order which had been issued upon the ground that the guardians had repeatedly adjourned the meetings of the Board, "with the view of interfering with the transaction of the ordinary business of the Union!"

Mr. TREVELYAN: I have received the statement referred to, and the matter will receive my immediate attention. It will, however, be necessary to make some further inquiries on the subject.

REPRODUCTIVE LOAN FUND ACT—IRISH SEA FISHERIES.

Mr. BLAKE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, as the Sea Fisheries (Ireland) Bill, which stood for Second Reading on August second, had to be withdrawn in consequence of the appropriation of the days of private Members by Government, he will be kind enough to undertake, during the Recess, to make inquiries with a view of ascertaining the desirability of extending the loan system to the eight maritime counties of Ireland not having the benefit of the Reproductive Loan Fund Act, and devising means for the purpose?

Mr. TREVELYAN: This seems to be a matter for the Treasury and Board of Works to consider, and I will communicate with them on the subject.

AFRICA (SOUTH)—THE TRANSVAAL—THE BOERS AND THE NATIVE TRIBES.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he can give the House any information about the contest between the Boers and Montsioa; and, whether it is true that the Boers are organising forces for a fresh attack?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: The only information the Colonial Office has received is contained in a telegram received four days ago, which stated that 100 freebooters having disposed of Mankoroane, were then about to proceed to assist Moshette against Montsioa. We have no official news of their defeat, as reported in the newspapers. I may take this occasion to state that the proposed mounted police force to which I referred the other day as having been agreed to by Her Majesty's Government has for the moment been suspended, owing to the Orange Free State having declined to join and the Transvaal having not yet given a definite answer.

Mr. GORST asked whether the Government had protested against the action of the Boers?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: Yes, Sir; we are continually protesting.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—THE GUARDIANS OF TUBBERCURRY UNION, CO. SLIGO—REPAYMENT OF INSTALMENTS OF THE SEED RATE.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been drawn to a Resolution passed by the Tubbercurry (county Sligo) Board of Guardians on the 27th ultimo, declaring that the Board had no funds to meet the instalment of the Seed Rate falling due on the 1st instant; that the collectors, owing to the circumstances of the country, had been unable to collect the Seed Rates; and that the Union Treasurer had refused to allow an overdraft; whether, in view of this state of facts in Tubbercurry and other Poor Unions in the West of Ireland, the Government will, as in the case of the Swinford Union, extend the time for payment of the instalment of the Seed Rate till the end of the present year, so as to give time to the ratepayers to realise the value of the harvest, and to the collectors to obtain payment of the Rate; and, whether the Government will consider the suggestion of the Tubbercurry and other Boards of Guardians that the collectors be authorised to collect the current Poor Rates without at the same time collecting the instalment of the Seed Rate?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The Local Government Board had not received a communication from the Tubbercurry Board of Guardians. The best answer I can make is that each case will be considered on its merits.

THE "PRINCESS ALICE" CALAMITY—THE INQUEST—REPORT.

Mr. MONTAGU SCOTT asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether there is a M.S. Report of the proceedings taken at the inquest, arising out of the loss of the "Princess Alice" steamer near Crossness in the Thames, during the month of September 1878; and, if so, whether he has any objection to the publication of such Report?

Mr. HIBBERT (for Sir William Harcourt): A Return of the proceedings at the Coroner's inquest, with other Papers, was ordered to be laid before the House of Commons in December, 1878, and the documents were duly deposited with the Librarian; but on account of their excessive length, 5,000 pages, the order for printing was discharged. Under these circumstances, I cannot promise that the documents in question will be published at the expense of the State.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—MR. PATRICK J. DUFFY.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the case of Mr. Patrick J. Duffy, now imprisoned in Kilmainham, has recently been reconsidered, as promised; and, whether the Government now intend to release him? The hon. Member reminded the Chief Secretary of the recent pledge which he had given, that in the course of the next fortnight he would release a large number of suspects; and asked whether it was his intention, on his arrival in Ireland, to apply himself to that question?

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN: Before the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary answers that Question, perhaps he will allow me to ask him another—namely, whether it is a fact that Mr. Henry George, the distinguished American writer, has been arrested under the recent Coercion Act?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I cannot account for not having received an answer to a telegram despatched early to-day with regard to the case of Mr. Henry George and that of an Eton Master. At present I know no more about the case than other Gentlemen who have seen the newspapers. Mr. Patrick J. Duffy was released by order of the Lord Lieutenant on the 6th instant. The policy indicated in the hon. Member's Question is certainly correct.

Mr. O'DONNELL: In view of this danger to tourists in Ireland, would the right hon. Gentleman consider the propriety of the Irish Government issuing passports for the use of inoffensive foreigners in that country?

Mr. HEALY: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he is aware that this Mr. Henry George is the same Mr. Henry George, the correspondent of *The Irish World*, who was considered by two Cabinet Ministers to be a person of so much importance that they invited him to dine with them at the Reform Club, and that he accepted their invitation?

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY asked, whether the report was true that Mr. Henry George was a correspondent of the American *Irish World?*

Mr. TREVELYAN: I do not know.

DOMINION OF CANADA—EMIGRATION FROM IRELAND.

Mr. BLAKE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in the event of the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill becoming Law this Session, he will be kind enough to undertake to bring under the notice of the Irish Government the generous proposal of the Government of Canada to co-operate with the Imperial Government in settling Irish immigrants fitted for farming pursuits in Manitoba and the North West Territory, as detailed in the Despatch of the Governor General to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated Ottowa, November 9th, 1880?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Certainly, Sir; should the Bill become law, the proposals, which have already deeply interested the Irish Government, shall receive our full consideration.

EGYPT (POLITICAL AFFAIRS).

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

Lord ELCHO rose to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, before engaging in military operations, other than such as may be necessary for the defence of Alexandria, the protection of the Khedive, and the security of the Suez Canal, they will endeavour to ascertain the true state of feeling of the Egyptian Nation? The noble Lord said, he proposed slightly to amplify his Question, and with that view he should conclude with a Motion. He felt constrained to apologize for the course which he was about to take; but he was so deeply impressed with the gravity of the situation in Egypt that he could not forego making a few observations on the subject. Look where they would, the situation was grave—there was darkness all around. He had no wish to open up the question of the general policy of Her Majesty's Government, or to enter into the general Egyptian Question. All he wished to do was to get a distinct and clear expression from the Government as to whom they were at war with. The first part of the present military operations consisted of the bombardment of Alexandria. Two reasons were given for that bombardment—namely, the protection of the Fleet, and the necessity of asserting their prestige after the murders that had taken place. The bombardment was followed by the despatch of troops to Egypt—not by any declaration of war, because there was no Power against whom they could declare war; but the reasons given for the despatch of troops were, as he understood, the necessity of putting a stop to, or crushing, military lawlessness, of restoring order where anarchy prevailed, and of restoring the authority of the Khedive. The Prime Minister had said at the Mansion House on Wednesday evening—

> "It is true that we have gone to Egypt with the Forces of this country in the prosecution of the great interests of the Empire which it is our duty to cherish and defend."

Nothing could give him greater pleasure than to see his right hon. Friend coming forward as the defender of their Imperial interests. He admitted that, in the absence of the action of the Sovereign of that country, the Sultan, whose proper duty it was to maintain order, it might be right and just, considering the interests which England had in Egypt, and considering the necessity of making the Suez Canal secure, that they should endeavour to put a stop to military lawlessness, and restore order in that country. But what he wanted to know was this—was this question in Egypt simply one of military lawlessness and anarchy, or had they to deal, as was much more likely, with the Egyptian people? Now, how was the evidence? Was there any evidence one way or the other? He asked his hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs the other day whether he could contradict or confirm the statement that a public meeting had taken place in Egypt to demand administrative reforms. His answer was that they had no information. On the 29th of last month another great meeting was held. Those present determined to support Arabi Pasha. Were they men of straw? A list containing the signatures of those who approved of the meeting included the names of the Minister of the Interior, 10 Princes, many Pashas, the Armenian Vicar, the Vicar of the Maronites, the Vicar of the Orthodox Greeks, the Grand Rabbi of Cairo, and Notables of all parts of Egypt. It might be said that in giving their signatures they acted under the duress of bayonets. There was no proof of that. As far as they knew, there was no evidence that it was not an absolutely free assembly of Egyptians. He was not aware that they had made any "Rules of Procedure" in Egypt, and he had not yet heard that in Egypt they had established the Caucus; and, therefore, everything tended rather to show that it was an absolutely free expression of free men managing their own affairs in that country. They had the testimony of an English gentleman who had arrived at Alexandria from Cairo that the meeting was held with open doors; and, in the absence of anything more distinct and definite, he thought they were justified in assuming that they were dealing with the Egyptian people as a whole. But there was one other authority he knew of to support the opinion that they were dealing with more than a mere army of rebels, and that was the authority of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister himself, who, in his speech at the Mansion House, said—

> "I do not deny that there is in Egypt something besides a military tyranny;"

and—

> "There are a section or class of men in Egypt who now wish to help the military tyranny which prevails."

Who was this section? Unless it could be shown that all the important personages who signed the determination to which he referred—all the local magnates, all the Ministers at Cairo, and all the heads of the Native religion—were not acting freely, he was justified in saying that the section and class to which the right hon. Gentleman referred was practically the whole of the Egyptian people. His right hon. Friend would doubtless ask him—"What do you wish us to do? Do you wish us to stop in our military action altogether? Do you wish 30,000 men to be kept idle in Egypt, and that no further step should be taken?" That was not what he wished at all. What he wished was this—that the Government should proceed with their despatch of troops and the Military Convention with the Sultan, occupy all the strategic points on the map at once, and, having done that, they would be in such a strong position that they would be able to find out what was the true state of affairs, and what course it was necessary to take in regard to them. If, after having done that, they found that it was simply a matter with regard to a rebel colonel and a mutinous Army, they would find that the affair would suddenly come to naught; but if, on the other hand, they discovered it to be the national will of the people, then they had no right to interfere in order to prevent that national will being carried out. If the people of Egypt had good ground for their objection to the Khedive—and it was plainly shown that they had—then Her Majesty's Government had no right to support the Khedive, and should allow the people of Egypt to manage their own affairs. For his part, he should be glad if it could be shown that Her Majesty's Government were justified in taking action for the restoration of order in Egypt; but he hoped they would not act unadvisedly or hastily. In taking the course he had he was aware that he was likely to render himself unpopular, because, at the present moment, the nation was bent more or less on war; but he hoped the Government would not listen to the irresponsible advice that they obtained by the yard through the columns of the British Press, because, if they did, they would be prepared to put all Europe up in arms against them, to risk bringing the whole Mussulman population of the world against them, and to treat the Turkish Government of Egypt as if it had no existence. The simple object he had in putting his Question was to give them an opportunity of stating with whom they were at war; whether it was a rebel colonel and a mutinous soldiery or the Egyptian people? The noble Lord concluded by moving the adjournment of the House.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF, in seconding the Motion, disclaimed any intention to embarrass the Government in the military operations which they had undertaken. But, while desirous of assisting the Government to carry the war to a successful issue, he would like to hear a statement from them as to its exact objects. They were at that moment employed, he supposed, in conjunction with Turkey, in suppressing an insurrection on the part of Arabi, who thought to depose the Khedive. He could conceive that they might be very much bound to support the Khedive, because he undertook the government of Egypt at their request, and had shown himself all along to be a loyal ally. At the same time, he could not conceive, if the people of Egypt really objected to him as their Sovereign, that they had any right to retain him there against the consent of the Egyptian people. When they recommended the King of Greece in 1864 they did not undertake to maintain him in Greece, but made stipulations by which, in case Greece wished at any time to get rid of him, he should have ample provision for a living. If, in the same way, it were found that the present Khedive was repugnant to the Egyptian people, this country was bound to secure, not merely the safety of his life, but an ample provision befitting his dignity. What he wanted to know was, what the Government intended to do in Egypt? They would probably not find it difficult to suppress Arabi; but, after that, were they going to maintain the occupation of Egypt indefinitely, or to establish some form of popular government which would enable it to remain independent of foreign occupation? He could conceive nothing more dangerous than a British occupation of Egypt for the purpose of establishing Prince Tewfik, unless, at the same time, Europe was given to understand that the occupation would last no longer than was necessary to establish such a form of government as would be acceptable to the people of Egypt, and enable them to maintain order without any foreign intervention whatever. A great part of the recent complications had arisen from the action of the Government on every occasion being influenced by France. It was the object of France to suppress the popular movement in Egypt. The Chamber of Notables professed no desire to interfere with the international obligations of the country, and asked no more than was the right of every Representative Body; yet, when Cherif Pasha asked the Government of this country to suggest some compromise, no notice was taken of the request. He would not go into the question of the Debts, because that had been settled by the Control; but he could not help expressing his anxious wish that the Control would not be established in the form in which it had hitherto been conducted. These were matters on which everyone must feel anxious. They were anxious to know what was the policy of the Government in this intervention—whether they had any policy as to the future? They were anxious to know whether they were going to attempt to do what was impossible—namely, to re-establish the *status quo ante;* or whether they really and truly intended to establish such a state of things in Egypt as would, while maintaining the internal obligations Egypt had entered into, establish the liberties of the Egyptian people on a firm basis?

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Lord Elcho.*)

Mr. GLADSTONE: There is some difficulty on raising a great question of this kind in narrowing the issue, and the tendency is that the discussion, when once opened, should extend itself to a much wider field; and my noble Friend the Mover of this Motion will be able to see how this proposition is illustrated by the far greater scope of the speech of his Seconder, who entirely, in seconding the Motion, passed away from everything that was contained in the Question that gave rise to it, and really supplied a text upon which, if the House were so inclined, we might renew the debate of four nights which we had, I think, during the week before last. Well, now, Sir, I sincerely hope that the House will not accept the invitation which has thus been given; and I say that, not because I object to the spirit of most of the remarks of the hon. Gentleman who seconded the Motion. On the contrary, I commend his sympathies with the Egyptian people. It is a fair and proper question, indeed, to raise, whether, in conjunction with any Proclamation from the Sultan, or in connection with the commencement of the full operations contemplated, it may be right for Her Majesty's Government to convey a distinct and formal assurance in a shape likely to become known to the Egyptian people as to the nature and extent of the objects which we contemplate. I may, perhaps, draw the attention of the hon. Gentleman and of the House to a circumstance which is worth remembering. The subject has not escaped our attention, and, under the instructions of Her Majesty's Government, the Commander of the Fleet has already conveyed to the Khedive of Egypt distinct assurances upon those questions. Undoubtedly, at a later stage those assurances might be repeated and enlarged by someone with larger authority than that of the Admiral of the Squadron; but an assurance from him seemed the best adapted to the earlier stages of the proceedings. Sir, I must decline to enter at the present moment upon a definition of the objects of the military operations now proceeding; but I can go so far as to answer the hon. Gentleman when he asks me whether we contemplate an indefinite occupation of Egypt. Undoubtedly, of all things in the world, that is a thing which we are not going to do. It would be absolutely at variance with all the principles and views of Her Majesty's Government, and the pledges they have given to Europe, and with the views, I may say, of Europe itself. With respect to the Chamber of Notables, I must, in passing, say one word. That question is a question in respect to which our conduct and our exact proceedings have never been laid before the House. It may be necessary to lay them before the House; but as the proceedings were in some respects joint proceedings, I cannot at present give a definitive answer as to producing the Papers. I only wish to point out that the House is not at the present time in possession of the evidence that would be necessary in order to enable it to form a conclusion upon the conduct of Her Majesty's Government with respect to the Chamber of Notables. There is one part of the remarks of the hon. Gentleman which I heard with unfeigned regret, and which I cannot help thinking, on reflection, will inspire him with some misgiving. He stated, and stated very fairly, that we were under very great and strong obligations to maintain in Egypt the position and authority of the Khedive, who has been placed in his present position with the very highest sanction and authority, and who has been completely faithful, under very difficult circumstances, to the obligations under which he came when he assumed them. Therefore, the hon. Gentleman most fairly and justly says that we are greatly bound to maintain the authority and position of the Khedive; but he goes on to say that if we should find that the Egyptian people were not in favour of his remaining in his present position, then it is a matter with which we have to do to see that a respectable and ample provision is made for him during his life. Now, Sir, why raise that question? If we wish to maintain the authority of a Ruler, one of the most unfortunate and left-handed methods of setting about it is to refer to contingencies before us not founded on the reasons of the case. Undoubtedly, if such language were adopted by the Government, instead of being, as I must say it is, repudiated by the Government, if the tendency was to give the impression that we were not, after all, more than half in earnest, if we were to give the impression that we had some secondary purpose—some latent idea—on which we intended to fall back, in case of need, with the view of bringing about a totally different state of things——

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: What I meant to say was that we were certainly not bound to maintain the Khedive by an indefinite occupation.

MR. GLADSTONE: I am very glad to accept any explanation which the hon. Gentleman makes for the purpose of obviating the inferences which may be too hastily drawn from his speech with regard to the position of the Khedive. The reason I do not speak fully on the question of the final arrangements with regard to Egypt is not because I differ from the hon. Gentleman, when he says that he thinks, after all that has now taken place, the re-establishment of the *status quo ante* can no longer be regarded as the definite and adequate purpose with which we are to move and to conduct our military operations—in that I agree with him, and I admit that the larger field of consideration is of necessity open to us—but it is because it would not be expedient at this stage of affairs that we should attempt to anticipate by declarations—necessarily delivered in a crude and in an immature condition of the evidence—that we should endeavour to anticipate by such declarations the results, which, according to our own positive engagements, must be arrived at with the intervention and under the authority of Europe, and which never could be adequately founded on the simple conclusions of any single Power in Europe. I pass now to the Question put by my noble Friend, and to the argument by which he supported it. It would, perhaps, be wrong in me to complain of my noble Friend giving the sanction of an old Member to this practice of moving the adjournment after he has so frankly admitted that it is a course requiring apology. I am thankful to believe that the time is near at hand when apology will no longer be necessary, and when the House, by positive and resolute methods, may take security against its occurrence. I fully admit to my noble Friend that he is justified in demanding from me an explanation of any words used by me at the Mansion House, and I will give him that explanation. He says I admitted that in Egypt we have something to deal with besides the Military Party. I am willing to give him that admission, and it is an admission which I think will be readily perceived to be really inherent in any attempt to describe thoroughly the facts as they are in Egypt with reference to its recent history and its present condition. There is no doubt that if we go back to the period antecedent to the establishment of the Foreign Control, we come upon a state of things when the cultivators of the soil in Egypt, who, like the cultivators of the soil in Ireland, may be said almost to form the bulk of the nation, were subject to a system of abominable oppression. But wherever there is oppression there are oppressors; there are instruments of that oppression; there are people who profit by it, people who live by it; and it is the oppressors of the people who most resent interference, and who most readily avail themselves of any opportunity that may offer for complaining of the means by which the interference is effected, and who are most ready to enter into any measures, whatever they may be, for the purpose of bringing back a state of things which was to them a paradise, but which to their fellow-countrymen was more like a hell. Those are the gentlemen whom I fully admit to be the allies of Arabi Pasha and of the Military Party. I need not go back upon the discussion of the question of the Foreign Control, which I have endeavoured myself to treat in what I may call an historical sense—that is to say, to recognize its advantages and its disadvantages. Its disadvantages have been that it might be represented, and not only so, but it might in some respects be said to be an interference with the fair rights of the Egyptian people, and a limitation of the development of their future institutions;

but we must not forget the fact that it had considerable apology and justification from the state of things to which it applied, and that it is beyond all question that great practical benefits resulted from it, and from the substitution of European for Oriental methods in the administration of finances and the levying of taxes in Egypt. That is one thing which accounts for the nature of the very limited scope of the admission which I made when I said that something besides the Military Party might be found in support of Arabi Pasha. Then I come to the evidence which my noble Friend has given and to the question of the evidence which he has demanded of me. He desires that we should endeavour to ascertain the true state of feeling of the Egyptian people, but he does not desire that without limitation; because he says that he considers it right that we should take all the measures necessary for the defence of Alexandria, for the protection of the Khedive, and for the security of the Suez Canal, and I think he explained that to mean that we might take into our own possession the principal strategical points of the country. Well, I think if we take into our own possession the principal strategical points of the country we shall have very little occasion to quarrel with my noble Friend as to the limitation which he imposes upon us in respect to ascertaining the feeling of the people of Egypt; for after we have obtained the principal strategical points of the country we shall be in a condition, without prejudice to any of the objects that were in view, to make any inquiry we please into either the feeling of the Egyptian people or any other subject. But the matter is a serious one; and I wish to challenge the mode which my noble Friend takes of presenting what he appears to think is adequate evidence of a feeling of the people of Egypt favourable to Arabi Pasha and his confederates, for he is not the only one, after all, with whom we have to deal. He has a knot of other persons around him who find a considerable portion of the brains that are engaged in these mutinous and mischievous operations. I am very sorry that my noble Friend has found it his duty to raise a discussion at the present time; because, undoubtedly, although I do not anticipate very serious public mischief from it, I think the mind of this country is pretty well made up on the subject of the rights or wrongs of the quarrel in which we are engaged. [Mr. O'DONNELL: No, no! *and cries of* "Hear, hear!"] I am very glad, therefore, to think that my noble Friend does stand, to a great degree, in that respect in an isolated position. I do not mean to say that there are no differences of opinion with regard to the question of intervention in the affairs of Egypt—that is quite a different matter—but I mean I believe the mind of the country is well made up in general as to the necessity, and as to the justice, of the cause which we have in hand, and is yet more clearly made up on the question whether it is or is not with the concurrence of the Egyptian people that we are now going in conflict. My noble Friend thinks he has evidence to produce, and he produces the evidence, and quoted from journals published under the permission of what I may call the rebellious and military Government in Cairo, which gives accounts of certain meetings and treats them as representing the sense of the people. I believe my noble Friend would find that these very same journals are the journals which have seriously reported for the information of the Egyptian people the sinking of the British iron-clads before Alexandria; and which, when Moubarek Pasha came down to Alexandria and saw for himself the British iron-clads afloat, propagated the story likewise for the information of the Egyptian people that the original iron-clads had been sunk, and that they were a new set which had come to take their places! That is the evidence drawn from such a source. The fact is that a system of falsification is employed wholesale in Egypt with reference to the Khedive, with reference, of course, to the English, and with reference to whatever obstructs or impedes the plans of military violence. I think it is not difficult to understand that such a system of falsification may prevail, when it is borne in mind that falsification has been carried, avowedly and unquestionably carried in the case of this Military Party in Egypt, beyond, I believe, any point it has ever been known to reach in the history of the world. For that Party did not scruple to falsify the most sacred of all obligations in war—namely, those attaching to the use of a flag of truce, and while pretending to have pacification in view, not only had no such purpose, but used the hours gained by the employment of that flag of truce for the base and abominable purpose of conflagration and looting. [Mr. O'DONNELL: No, no!] I believe I am speaking of a matter subject to no dispute, but which is absolutely as certain as is the bombardment of Alexandria. My noble Friend asks what evidence we have that we are not at variance with the sentiments of the people of Egypt. Well, Sir, those who know that those who decline the authority of Arabi Pasha are dismissed from their offices and imprisoned; those who know that Arabi Pasha has set aside the authority of the Notables; those who know that we have a large body of European and British residents in Egypt—and if I except the unfortunate case of Mr. Blunt, which it is not for me to explain, who, I believe, still remains under the delusions which have been formed—I believe there is not one among these, even including gentlemen who were formerly inclined to take a more favourable view, who has the smallest idea, or who does not emphatically repudiate the idea, that Arabi Pasha and his confederates are the representatives of the National movement. I think I am bound to say that, besides those residents, we have the testimony of official men—those connected with the Consulate and those connected with the Control, gentlemen of high position, of high character. [Mr. O'DONNELL: No! *and cries of* "Order!"] I affirm that Sir Auckland Colvin, Sir Edward Malet, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Cookson, and the various other gentlemen who have been connected with the official representation of this country in Egypt, are gentlemen of high character. The gentlemen I have named are all competent and fair witnesses, and we may fall back with confidence upon their testimony were it necessary. But the matter does not rest with them; there are public men of high character in Egypt—Egyptians, Mahomedans, men known to the world—who have borne high office in Egypt. Is there one of these men who has given the smallest countenance, direct or indirect, to the cause of Arabi Pasha? Some of them are men of well known character and reputation. There are Riaz Pasha, who was at the head of the Egyptian Government; Cherif Pasha, who was at the head of the Government only dismissed a few months ago; Sultan Pasha, the head of the Chamber of Notables, and a Mahomedan of the highest influence and best character. There is not one of these men who has not been found on the side of the Khedive in support of his lawful authority. It is really too late to raise a question of this kind, because the conclusion we have arrived at, and on which we are acting, is not a British conclusion alone; it is the conclusion of all Europe. Europe has met together at Constantinople, and Europe has by its united voice and by its united appeal to the Sultan declared that the Power which has paralyzed the authority of the Khedive is an unlawful, a rebellious, and a mischievous Power, and has appealed to the Sultan to put it down by force of arms. Surely, under these circumstances, it is late for any Member of the British Parliament, not only when his country has definitely acted, but when Europe has acted and has delivered its own deliberate conclusion, it is too late to ask the question whether Arabi Pasha is or is not the representative of the Egyptian nation. I hold that the authority of the united Powers of Europe and the evidence afforded by their conclusion are the highest and the most conclusive of which the case admits, and it absolves us from the necessity of a minute discussion of this or that—evidence I need hardly call it—gossip or tittle-tattle, and those figments which newspapers, under the domain of military violence, would seek to palm off upon the world, representations which were thoroughly and entirely false. That is my answer to my noble Friend. We have not the results of formal inquiry, of which the case does not admit; but we have a mass of moral evidence, supported by intelligent testimony of every character and from every quarter unvaried and unbroken, and supported by the responsibility of every Government; it is a known, patent, and notorious fact that we have the judgment of the whole civilized world. That is my answer with regard to the Egyptian people. I trust the ulterior development of this question and the conduct and policy of this country will be such as to verify the assurance with which we have entered into the struggle we are about to commence—namely, that we are not making war against the

Egyptian people; but that we are determined to put down those who are oppressing the people of Egypt, those who are, in our opinion, not only contemning the lawful authority of the country, but are likewise engaged in machinations contrary to liberty, having for their certain result, were they to succeed, the revival of all the abominable abuses and oppressions which formerly debased the condition of that country.

SIR GEORGE ELLIOT said, he had listened with interest to the statement of the Prime Minister, and he was able from personal knowledge to endorse it. He knew the eminent Egyptians who had been named, and knew that they joined in the strongest condemnation of Arabi Pasha. On the other hand, as to those whose names had been mentioned by the noble Lord as having assembled at Cairo, many of them were Turks, many had shared largely in the distribution of what the late Khedive had at his disposal, and he did not wonder that it was their desire to restore a former condition of things. With regard to the people of Egypt—to those who cultivated the soil, and on whom the wealth of Egypt mainly depended—it was out of the question to talk about the representation of these people. They were not prepared for it, still less were they ready to fight for it. He felt sure that they would rather be under the protection of this country than that any other kind of Government should be imposed upon them. He did not, however, say that Egypt ought to be put under the Government of this country; but during the last few years there had been a great improvement in the condition of the country. Messrs. Baring took off no less than 34 taxes that were oppressive to the people. He hoped they would be of one mind in the House, and that they would strengthen the hands of the Government, for on our success depended the security, peace, and well-being of the Egyptian people, as well as the security of our own communications with the East.

MR. O'DONNELL said, he rose to challenge almost every statement that the Prime Minister had made. He admitted that there never was a question which was subject to such gigantic falsification, and he was sorry that the Prime Minister was the most eminent victim of it. No doubt it was asserted that the Government were acting for the benefit of the Egyptian people, but Lord Granville did not assign that as the reason for objecting to the Notables voting the Budget; he said that it was not compatible with the pecuniary interests on behalf of which Her Majesty's Government had been acting. What were those interests? Who were the gombeen men for whom the Government had been acting? On their behalf the Control had imposed forced labour on classes formerly exempt from it. In 1879 our Consul General reported that three months after the reinstatement of the Control it was found necessary to exercise pressure to get in the taxes which were pledged to the Commission. All the facts were set forth on the authority of Blue Books in the admirable exposure of the horrible policy of England in Egypt made in the pamphlet, *Spoiling the Egyptians; a Tale of Shame,* by J. Seymour Keay, and if the facts were appreciated by the people of this country the policy of the Government could not stand for a day. Three months after the establishment of the Control, the state of Egypt, or of the poor in that country, was exceedingly wretched. The fellaheen were oppressed and severely treated; large numbers of Europeans had become possessed of their property, and the whip and bastinado formed part of the necessary equipment of every tax-gatherer. And those exactions were enforced in the interest of those who had lent the Egyptians large nominal sums, of which but a small part found its way into the Egyptian Treasury. The Joubert-Goschen mission was a triumph of usury not excelled in the most horrible imaginings of usurious excess. The Prime Minister had quoted Cherif Pasha on his side of the argument; but he challenged the right hon. Gentleman to prove that a single eminent Egyptian had been in favour of the bombardment. The real *casus belli* was the rejection by the Control of the claim of the Chamber of Notables to vote the Budget. Our Consul General told the President of the Chamber (Sultan Pasha) that the claim was an infringement of international engagements, and refused to enter into any compromise, though that solution of the difficulty was earnestly desired by the Chamber. Sultan Pasha, by the way, in appealing to the Consul General for a compromise, took occasion to observe that the policy of the

Chamber was moderate and friendly, and was not dominated by the Military Party, and on this point completely contradicted the statement of the British Government. Now, he would not defend the Military Party, though they had their grievances as against the Control; but everyone who knew anything of soldiers would sympathize with the 2,500 Egyptian officers who were placed on half-pay while their pay was in arrear, and while the demands of the Europeans were being satisfied to the last penny. As the Prime Minister said —and the admission was most remarkable—the policy of the Government in regard to the Chamber of Notables had never been laid before the House. He thought it most discreditable that this crucial question, which was at the root of all the difficulty, should not have been discussed. It was mere nonsense to say that the difficulty originated in the relations between the Government and the Egyptian Army, and to suppose that the presence of our Fleet in a fortified harbour justified the bombardment. He should like to know whether a peremptory note would be sent ashore if the guns of such a place as Cronstadt threatened the anchorage of a British Squadron? [" Question!"] That was the precise question. He had a right to show the logical futility of the plea that the Government acted in self-defence, as alleged by the right hon. Gentleman. Again, he disputed the assertion of the Prime Minister that England had the moral assent of Europe. Neither the moral nor the immoral assent had been given. A diplomatic game was in progress at Constantinople; but the Press of Europe, except the organs of M. Gambetta, who had such close relations with certain Members of the Government, was practically unanimous in condemning our action. Then the right hon. Gentleman told the House that he could distinguish between the case of Arabi and that of the Mussulmans throughout the world. But the excitement of the Mussulman world increased every day, and the latest news was that the policy of the Government had borne fruit in Syria in a riot between Mussulmans and Christians at Beyrout. He found in the Beyrout correspondence of *The Allgemeine Zeitung* of Augsburg a statement that throughout Syria the Mussulman feeling was unanimously and excitedly in favour of Arabi. Thus the Government had sown the seeds of conflict between Mussulmans and Christians in Syria, as well as in Egypt, and an outbreak might be expected at any moment. This Egyptian Question was the subject of much mystification. The Prime Minister was as confident to-day that Arabi did not represent the Egyptian people as he was 12 months ago that the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) did not represent the Irish people. In no long time the right hon. Gentleman would see his mistake. Whatever became of Arabi Pasha, whether he was killed in the field or hanged by Her Majesty's Government, the champion of nationalities, it would never again be possible for the European Control to extort £10,000,000 of taxation from a wretched population of 5,000,000. Whatever the result, the English and French Control would never be re-established. Whoever gained, the pirates who had bombarded Alexandria would never gain. In *The Standard* of the previous day there was a record of an amusing incident. According to that account, a gentleman sent to Sir Beauchamp Seymour informing him that an unexploded shell was in his drawing-room, and a party was sent from the *Inflexible*, who carefully took it out of the house. He did not think, after that, it could be said that all the shells fell into the fortifications—indeed, it showed the truth of what he had urged as a notorious fact, that a large part of the conflagration of Alexandria was caused by shells which fell in the town.

Question put, and *negatived*.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

PARLIAMENT — PRIVILEGE — SUSPENSION OF IRISH MEMBERS (JULY 1).

RESOLUTION. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [9th August], "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" (for Committee of Supply).

And which Amendment was,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "the record of the suspension of John Dillon, Member for Tipperary, Dr. Commins, Member for Roscommon, Joseph G. Biggar, Member for Cavan, and Frank H. O'Donnell, Member for Dungarvan, be erased from the Minutes of Proceedings, on the ground that the suspended Members were not in the House during the proceedings for the obstruction of which they were so reported,"—(*Mr. Joseph Cowen*,)

—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Debate *resumed.*

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Main Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

THE PATENT MUSEUM (SOUTH KENSINGTON).—OBSERVATIONS.

Mr. HINDE PALMER, who had the following Notice on the Paper:—To call attention to the state of the Patent Museum at South Kensington, to the necessity of providing a new Museum, and to an eligible site for the same; and to move—

> "That the Patent Museum is greatly inadequate and ill adapted for its purpose, and inasmuch as a site, designated in several successive Reports of the Patent Commissioners, is now vacant and available to the Government, steps should be taken for the erection of a proper Museum thereon,"

said, he had frequently brought the subject before the House, and in 1868, when Mr. Ayrton was at the Office of Works, he received a promise that when the Natural History Museum was built some provision should be made in a wing of that building for the reception of the Collection of Models. In Paris the Museum of Inventions was of a most interesting character, and was conducted in an admirable way. Provision was made that all persons who went to see the models should be able to examine them carefully. In Washington, he was told, there was a very perfect Museum, and as, by the Patent Laws of the United States, all American inventors were obliged to present models to the Institution, the Collection had now outgrown the accommodation provided for it. The expense of creating a new Museum could easily be defrayed out of the surplus fund derived from patent fees. In 1879 the sum to which that fund amounted was £144,230, and in 1880 it was £189,987, while the aggregate surplus approached £2,000,000. One year's surplus income would thus almost pay for the building. He wished to impress upon the Government that the question was of a National character. The Patent Museum at Kensington was arranged in a most inconvenient manner, and was crowded with machinery in such a way as to make it impossible to examine any of the models exhibited there, except under very great difficulties. He had seen attempts made to disparage the Museum and to represent it as being one not of great practical utility, but of curious old relics and things which were more curious than useful. That was quite a mistake, because he had seen working men examining the older models with great interest, and had heard them comparing those models with other and similar ones of a more modern kind. There was another reason why the present was an opportune time for the erection of a new Museum. The site which the Patent Commissioners had pointed out as a very suitable site for the building was now vacant, and at the disposal of the Government. The spot in question was in Whitehall Gardens, close to the Offices of the Board of Trade, and more accessible for working men than South Kensington. That the Museum would be well patronized was certain. Since the opening, in 1858, of the present Museum, which was in a less convenient neighbourhood, 4,000,000 persons had visited it. The Museum was either useful or it was not. If useful, then it ought to be made creditable to the country; but if it were not made so, then it ought to be broken up and the models distributed among the various local Institutions in the Kingdom.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, having regard to the lateness of the Session, would confine himself to a very few words in expressing the opinion which he had formed of the present position of this matter. He was quite prepared to admit that a Collection of the kind referred to would undoubtedly be of considerable interest and value. He might differ a little from his hon. and learned Friend as to its comparative value; but he was ready to admit it had a distinct value of its own, and he should be sorry to see this Collection broken up. The building in which the Collection was now exhibited was altogether inadequate for the purpose; but the question remained whether the very large amount required to establish such a Museum as his hon, and learned Friend contemplated could be applied to any better purpose at the present moment. He was not prepared to admit that the fees received on patents should go back to inventors in the shape of a reduction of those fees. On the contrary, he thought that persons who obtained a valuable monopoly for a certain period should pay something to the general taxation of the country. His hon. and learned Friend proposed the site of Fife House for the new Museum; but that site was worth £500,000, while the cost of building would be another £500,000. The question was whether £500,000 could be appropriated to this purpose at the present time with advantage. Before coming to the determination to enter upon that expenditure he thought they were bound to exhaust every other alternative. A proposal had been made by the Patent Commissioners and laid before the Board of Trade, and it was a proposal which he himself favoured. It appeared that the buildings now occupied were to be required for some other purpose, and therefore in some way or other the question had to be decided. It had been suggested by the Commissioners that the exhibition should be transferred to the Science and Art Department at South Kensington and arranged on the principle of the *Arts et Métiers* of Paris. The Vice President of the Council had had the matter under his consideration, and would be able to tell the House what preparation his Department was likely to be able to make for the accommodation of the Collection. He himself thought the proposal was one which deserved the favourable consideration of the House.

Mr. BROADHURST said, he thought the value of models could not be overestimated for the promotion of invention, and he could not consider the proposal merely to enlarge the present Museum at South Kensington as at all satisfactory. The natural home of all our Museums should be in the neighbourhood of Charing Cross. It was a great pity that the present Government had allowed the magnificent sites there to be used for what he might term a fashionable public-house and for hotels, &c., rather than appropriating that land to building our Picture Galleries and Museums. There was still left the site which had been referred to, and the Government ought to be ashamed of itself if it allowed it to be bartered away for the purpose he had stated. The Museum at South Kensington seemed to be built to suit the convenience of large masses of people, who had plenty of time at their disposal. Charing Cross was convenient to the whole of the Metropolis, and, above all, to the great number of people who visited London from the country. The expenditure that was asked for would be for the benefit of the nation as a whole. Those who asked for a reduction of patent fees did so on the ground that an increase of income might be expected from such reduction. The Prime Minister was well aware that a reduction of taxes on articles of consumption led to an increase of the Revenue.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, this subject had been brought to his notice by the Treasury so late as the 25th of last month. He was far from underrating the value of the Patent Museum. On the contrary, he considered their Patent Museum a most admirable and almost unique Collection, for it showed the very commencement of all the great industrial inventions of the past and present generations, and contained objects of which no other Museum could boast. That it was at the present moment most miserably and inadequately housed he fully agreed. He believed that for the benefit of inventors they wanted a Museum of Practical Science—a Museum of Invention, so to speak—and not merely a Museum of Patents pure and simple. The Patent Museum of New York contained a most valuable Collection; but the objects of real value were choked and encumbered by rubbish and worthless inventions. To his mind the *Musée des Arts et Métiers* in Paris was the model which they should have in view, for in that Museum the gems of invention were to be found. What he proposed to do was to take one of the Galleries at South Kensington and to appropriate it to the use of the Collection of Patents, together with other objects of scientific invention. The Collection would be arranged in proper order, so as to show the beginning and the development of each great invention, and would be placed under the charge of the Science and Art Department. With respect to the situation of the Museum, he did not think that a better site could be found than South Kensington. Not only was it as accessible as any in London, but it was found that many more people visited Museums when they were kept together than when placed in detached and isolated buildings. If the hon. and learned Member who had brought forward this subject would allow the matter to stand over until next Session, he hoped that satisfactory arrangements would be made.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR complained that the fees formerly payable to the Law Officers of the Crown were still charged to inventors, although the Law Officers were no longer paid by fees.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—THE HALL OF SCIENCE, OLD STREET, E.C.

OBSERVATIONS.

Sir HENRY TYLER, who had placed on the Paper a Motion—

> "That the Hall of Science is, by reason of its associations, not a proper place, and Dr. Edward B. Aveling, Mrs. Besant, and the daughters of Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, are not proper persons to be employed for the work of instruction, in connection with the Science and Art Department of Her Majesty's Government,"

disclaimed bringing this forward as a Party question in any sense, and declared that he had no personal feeling in the matter. He desired no worse to the persons mentioned in the Resolution than that they should see the error of their ways, and that they should in future use their abilities for the public good instead of continually employing them for evil purposes. The question might be asked—"What has science to do with religion?" and certainly as long as persons taught science properly he did not desire in any way to inquire into their religious opinions. But this particular case stood in a very different position, as Atheism and irreligion constituted the first object of the persons he was referring to, who used science as a means of promoting their doctrines. In proof of this view, the hon. Member read extracts from a series of articles written in *The National Reformer*, under the title of *Design in Nature*, by Dr. Aveling, who asserted that "God is left out of all calculations in science." Again, in a pamphlet entitled *The Wickedness of God*, Dr. Aveling said—

> "The God held up to reverence by the Christian religion is by his own showing a being of the most immoral character."

Yet this man was chosen by the Vice President of the Council to teach science.

Mr. MUNDELLA: By the late Vice President.

Sir HENRY TYLER observed that, in a pamphlet entitled *Irreligion and Science*, Dr. Aveling stated that there was an internecine warfare between science and religion. Mrs. Besant, too, had asserted that "all science is by necessity Atheistic," and that "every branch of science must be Atheistic if it is to progress;" while Miss Hypatia Bradlaugh had expressed her opinion that "scientific education is the most efficient aid in our Freethought movement." He maintained that such persons ought not to be employed by the Science and Art Department to instruct the people of this country in science.

Mr. LABOUCHERE complained of the bad taste, not only of the hon. Member's mode of treating the question, but of the course he had pursued in introducing into a Notice, which he had allowed to remain 12 months on the Paper, the names of the daughters of Mr. Charles Bradlaugh as not being proper persons to be employed in instruction. These were quiet, inoffensive young ladies. The hon. Member seemed to think it a high crime and misdemeanour that they were the daughters of their father. The hon. Member said he had no ill-feeling towards Mr. Bradlaugh; but he come had forward as a species of Defender of the Faith, and brought an action against the father of these young ladies for blasphemy. Whether that was an indication of good or bad feeling he would leave the House to judge.

Sir HENRY TYLER explained that what he said was that he had no ill-feeling against the persons named in his Notice of Motion.

Mr. LABOUCHERE: Well, because the hon. Member had an ill-feeling towards the father he sacrificed his good feeling towards the daughters. The young ladies taught botany and mathematics. The hon. Gentleman urged that because *The National Reformer* taught Atheism these young ladies should not be allowed to teach mathematics. He complained of the time this Motion had been kept on the Paper, and left the action of the hon. Gentleman in regard to his (Mr. Labouchere's) Colleague to the appreciation of Members of both sides of the House.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, he thought that a Member who put on the Paper a Motion reflecting on other persons and on ladies ought to have used due diligence to have brought it before the House in less than 12 months. He could not congratulate the hon. Gentleman on the support he had now from his own Party, for every Member of it had deserted those Benches, not to be subjected to the infliction they had had. The hon. Member spoke of these persons as if they were employed by the Science and Art Department. The fact was, that he and the noble Lord who preceded him (Lord George Hamilton) had no option in the matter, and could not impose a religious test as to who should be employed. Among the teachers of science in this country there were no fewer than 35 clergymen of all denominations. The hon. Member objected to these persons teaching science on account of their Secularist opinions.

Sir HENRY TYLER said, he had not said that; but he objected to them on account of their connection with *The National Reformer*, with the circulation of pamphlets, and with other means for propagating Atheism in the country.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, let it be supposed they were connected with *The National Reformer*, what right would that give him to say that they should not receive grants for the teaching of science? In "another place" a noble Lord had lately attacked Professor Huxley in connection with the publication on his own account of a science primer. Was the Education Minister to begin inquiring into the religious opinions of Professors of Science? If he were to do so at all, surely he must begin at the head. Did the hon. Member assume that all opinions were orthodox except those of the Secularists? The science classes at the Hall of Science had been formed three or four years ago, strictly in accordance with the regulations laid down in the official directory, with a committee which included a clergyman of the Church of England. He had requested one of the Inspectors to ascertain what kind of teaching was really going on there, and whether anything was being taught of that horrible literature to which the hon. Member seemed inclined to give a wide circulation. The Inspector made several surprise visits to the Hall, and reported that the teaching that went on there was sound and deserved commendation. He might say that the Inspector in question was a religious man, and the son of a clergyman. What was taught there was simply dry science, without reference to religious subjects. On what pretexts could he withdraw the grants for good science teaching? Was it wise to make these attacks in the House and to give a wide circulation to extracts such as had been read? Was it serving the cause of charity and of true religion to attack in this way lady-like and well-educated women, and to attempt to associate the Government with blasphemy? He had as much reverence as the hon. Member; but he could not see any grounds on which he should be justified in interfering with the efficient teaching of science in strict accordance with the prescribed regulations.

INDIA (BENGAL)—FLOGGING OF PRISONERS.—OBSERVATIONS.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, that, as they were approaching the end of Supply, he was bound to take this opportunity of reverting to a subject which he had previously brought forward. He had given Notice that he would call attention to the flogging of 11,000 prisoners in the gaols of Bengal during the period of excessive mortality between the 1st day of January 1879 and the 31st day of March 1880, almost exclusively on charges of short work; and, had the Forms of the House permitted, he would have moved—

> "That the appointment to the Indian Council of Sir Ashley Eden, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal under whose tenure of office these floggings took place, is a condonation of reprehensible misgovernment calculated to hinder and discredit good government in India."

His complaints were borne out by official Papers recently circulated, and they were fully justified by a despatch of the Secretary of State this year, in which he said—

> "I have been much impressed in particular by the statement contained in the Bengal Gaol Report for 1879 that heavy mortality has been going on from month to month without the attention of the Government being called to it, and I request that measures may be taken to prevent the recurrence of such a state of things."

The statement of the noble Marquess implied his recognition of the want of supervision which, during the year 1879, allowed the mortality to continue unchecked. When Sir Ashley Eden became aware of the state of the gaols in his own Presidency, he began to make effectual improvements. Writing on July 20, 1880, he admitted the extreme gravity of the case, and the fact that during 1879 the great mortality among the gaol population could not be attributed to the general condition of the public health. He stated that the chief cause of the increased sickness in the gaols was the new diet scale, which was insufficient for men who were frequently in a poor state of health. When it was introduced the Superintendents were instructed to watch its effect, and to report any sickness resulting from it; but its effect was probably too gradual to be noticed by them. No Report, therefore, was received for nine months, although, to say nothing of the deaths that occurred, the majority of the discharged prisoners were found to have lost weight. That was Sir Ashley Eden's account of the matter; and it followed, from his own admission, that for nine months he asked for no Report—a fact that argued serious dereliction of duty. Had similar deaths occurred in English gaols, verdicts of manslaughter would certainly have been returned. Sir Ashley Eden also admitted that during the year 1879 prisoners were flogged, probably for short work, in unprecedented numbers. The noble Marquess would, perhaps, maintain that Sir Ashley Eden was in no way responsible for that; but he contended that a Lieutenant Governor who knew that a new dietary was being tried, and made no further inquiry, was responsible for the result, if he had any responsibility at all. During that year —1879—there were 8,232 floggings; and in the first six months of 1880 there were 3,386; and a whole year was allowed to pass before even quarterly Returns of corporal punishment were ordered, for those Returns were mentioned as having been prescribed in January, 1880. The deaths were 97 per 1,000, so that every tenth man who was imprisoned for a few months found himself virtually sentenced to death. The noble Marquess had said last year, in reply to a Question he had put to him, that—

> "On its being discovered that the diet scale was unhealthy, a change was made and the health of the prisoners improved."

That reply was technically accurate, no doubt; but the phrase "on its being discovered" did not fairly describe the state of the case, seeing that the discovery was not made for 12 months. One might conclude from the ambiguity of that answer that a remedy was immediately applied, and the House would be so misled as to have a right to complain of that sort of answer being palmed off on the noble Marquess by his informants. The statement was technically true; but the lateness of the so-called discovery was the all-important omission. In the Report of the Sanitary Commissioner of the Government of India—a Report as exculpatory as possible of the Central Government—it was admitted that the supervision of the prisoners was so neglected that there was no security for their getting even the reduced scale of diet. The Report says—

> "The temptation which presents itself to the gaol officials to enrich themselves at the expense of the prisoners is very great. . . . . The embezzlement of their food is very profitable."

And yet the Superintendents paid so little attention to the condition of their gaols that they did not even report the number of deaths which occurred in them. Accordingly, the Government of India had now to warn the Superintendents to observe when the prisoners were falling in weight, and when the gaol officials were plump and sleek. A large number of the articles of food which the prisoners were required to use appeared to be worthless. And yet the Superintendents, who were so careless or so ignorant of what was necessary for the food of the prisoners, were allowed by Sir Ashley Eden, in Bengal, to go on without sending in a Report for nine months, though during the whole of that time the prisoners were perishing like flies. On the 7th of June, 1882, two years after Sir Ashley Eden began to remedy the evils in the Bengal gaols, and three and a-half years after those evils had reached their culminating point, Sir Ashley Eden's successor said that under the head of offences relating to work, the number fell from 40,000 and odd to 27,963 in 1881; that the Inspector of Prisons attributed it to better diet, and an extra early morning meal; and that the decrease in the number of punishments was in some measure due to the orders under which no prisoner who was losing weight was punished for short work. It was impossible for the noble Marquess to whitewash the kind of Government supervision which allowed what he had described to take place without any Report received or required. He was happy to say that there was little doubt now that the necessary reforms would be carried out in the gaols of Bengal. There was, for instance, a prospect that wooden platform beds would be substituted for raised beds of earth. For the information which had led him to bring the subject of the Bengal gaols before the House he had not been in any way, in the first instance, indebted to the letters of his brother, Mr. Charles O'Donnell, of the Bengal Civil Service, who, however, owing to the suspicion of being the informant, had been exposed to dastardly persecution in a variety of ways. As a matter of fact, not one but several correspondents had called his attention to the condition of the Bengal gaols, and the details he subsequently received on some points from his brother only formed part of the evidence on which he had acted. Official persecution would not deter his brother from doing his duty, nor would it prevent him (Mr. O'Donnell) from bringing forward the grievances of the people of India. He hoped that ere long not only one but 50 Irish Representatives would stand up in defence of the 250,000,000 of people in India.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, that he had had some difficulty in following the hon. Member through his rather discursive examination of the Papers presented to the House. He did not think that it was necessary that he should answer the hon. Member at any great length, as the hon. Member had himself admitted that the grievances formerly existing, including the maladministration of the gaols, had been carefully investigated and, to a great extent, removed. More than once he had paid a fair tribute to the service rendered by the hon. Member in bringing facts bearing on the subject under the notice of the House; but it was to be regretted that he should have thought it necessary to make, for the second time, what he (the Marquess of Hartington) could not help thinking were unnecessary and unfounded charges against the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. Before making any observations upon the prison diet and similar matters, he would refer to what fell from the hon. Member at the close of his speech. The hon. Member said that some of his information came from his brother, who had been exposed, so he alleged, to the most dastardly persecution because he had supplied that information. Well, he knew that Mr. O'Donnell had had the misfortune to incur on more than one occasion the censure of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal and of the Governor General of India. He also knew that the recent conduct of Mr. O'Donnell had met with the most careful, minute, and impartial investigation at the hands of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, of the Members of the Supreme Council, and of the Viceroy himself, and that the Viceroy was satisfied that Mr. O'Donnell had been treated with great consideration. He ventured to say there was not the slightest foundation for the statement that had been furnished to the hon. Member, that the action taken by officials with reference to his brother was influenced in the slightest degree by the course he had adopted with reference to the Bengal prisons. The hon. Member had referred at great length to Papers that he (the Marquess of Hartington) had laid on the Table, and he had referred to what he called the admissions of Sir Ashley Eden. The fact, however, was they were not admissions, because it was Sir Ashley Eden who, in his review of the Gaol Administration Report of 1879, first called attention to the excessive number of corporal punishments and the great increase in the mortality of prisoners. That information was published and commented upon; and, but for the course thus taken by Sir Ashley Eden, the matter might have been ignored up to the present time. Therefore, it was unjust to Sir Ashley Eden to say that the matter was first brought forward by the hon. Member. The hon. Member complained that action was not taken by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal as soon as the facts were brought to his knowledge. It was impossible for the Lieutenant Governor, who had to administer the affairs of 40,000,000 people, to exercise personal supervision over the administration of prisons; and it was only when he had brought before him, from time to time, official Reports that he could take action. The statement of the hon. Member that prisoners were starved was, no doubt, borne out by what Sir Ashley Eden had said, perhaps somewhat hastily, as to the great mortality having been caused by a change of diet. It appeared to be doubtful whether the great mortality was owing to starvation or to a change of diet. Dr. Lewis was of opinion that the mortality was not owing to a change of diet, and that the cause of the mortality must be sought for in some other direction. It was far more important to ascertain what were the real causes of sickness and mortality which prevailed in Bengal than whether some official had or had not failed in the discharge of his duties. When the attention of the Government of Bengal was called to the matter, means were taken to remedy the evils complained of; and there could be no doubt that measures had been adopted that were likely to be productive of improvement, not only in the gaols of Bengal, but in the gaols all over the country. Instead of deserving censure, Sir Ashley Eden deserved the highest approval of the House; and he considered it fortunate that the country had obtained at the Council of India the assistance of one who had so vast and great a knowledge of Indian subjects as Sir Ashley Eden had.

Mr. ONSLOW said, he could not sit in his place and listen to the remarks of the hon. Member without assuring the House that Sir Ashley Eden was one of the ablest administrators they had in the Government of Bengal. He did not wish to say one word against the hon. Member's brother; but he would say this—that no hon. Member had a right to come to the House and endeavour to get his brother out of a very serious difficulty into which he got entirely through his own fault in writing anonymous and scurrilous articles in newspapers and elsewhere against his superiors. [Mr. O'Donnell: No; that was the charge against him.] He did not know what the charge was; he knew it was the fact. He knew something about the gaols in India, and he knew that many years ago nothing could be more awful than their condition. He thought it was manifest there had been some reform. It was impossible to effect reforms in India all at once. That had to be done gradually. Anyone who went to India would see that a thousand things wanted reform; but an immense amount of money was required to reform all of those things. He hoped that a real attempt would be made by the Government to ameliorate the condition of prisoners in India. With respect to what had been said as to the oppression of the Natives of India, he did not believe that they were oppressed; but that, on the contrary, they had never been better governed than they were at present.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR contended that the despotic power exercised in India was worse than useless if it were not used to redress the evils of which they had heard. Respecting what had been said as to Irish Members taking up the cause of the Indian people, he did not think that any interference by them would be calculated to do the people of India much good. He was surprised that hon. Gentlemen opposite should have permitted the sole responsibility for bringing forward these terrible grievances, or for getting them in any way redressed, to rest with his hon. Friend the Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell).

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

Supply—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Class III.—Law and Justice.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £63,238, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries, Allowances, and Expenses of various County Court Officers, and of Magistrates in Ireland, and of the Revising Barristers of the City of Dublin."

Mr. SEXTON said, this Vote included certain allowances to the County Court Judges in Ireland, and he would take advantage of that circumstance to inquire from the Chief Secretary whether he could give any explanation of the very limited extent to which the people in Ireland went to the County Courts for the administration of the Land Act. Looking over the Return for the month of June, he found that, whereas the Government claimed that the Sub-Commissioners had in that month had several thousand cases before them, only 200 cases were settled by the County Courts throughout Ireland, and in the greater part of Ireland the County Courts were not resorted to at all. It would be a great advantage if the people of Ireland could feel such confidence in the County Courts that they could resort to them for the fixing of fair rents. The Irish Members had lately impressed on the House the calamitous character of the fact that the machinery for the administration of the Land Act was very inferior to the necessity of the case. If, as he said, the County Court Judges enjoyed the confidence of the people, and the people resorted to them, it would greatly ease the congestion which prevailed in the administration of the Land Act; and he should be curious to hear for what reason farmers and landlords resorted so little to County Courts to have fair rents fixed. Perhaps one individual fact which he was about to state might throw some light upon the avoidance of the County Courts by the farmers of Ireland. Was the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary aware of any peculiar circumstance connected with Mr. Lefroy, County Court Judge, who was one of the gentlemen entitled to administer the Land Act? He found upon the prospectus of Mr. Kavanagh's extermination Company the name of Mr. Lefroy as a subscriber to a considerable amount. In the ordinary exercise of his functions as County Court Judge, Mr. Lefroy was to say whether or not the rent which the tenant was to pay to the landlord was a fair rent for the farm held, and he (Mr. Sexton) would like to know whether a gentleman who subscribed to a Company for the purpose of keeping rents at their present height, and for the purpose of preventing tenants availing themselves of the Land Act, was a fit person to be charged with the administration of the Land Act? It was also possible—indeed, it was probable—that Mr. Lefroy might be called upon to administer the Arrears Act, which, by a sudden and unexpected failure of valour on the part of noble Lords in "another place," was now about to become part of the law of the land. Surely a gentleman who was a subscriber to a Company intended to clear the land of the present tenants was not a proper person to decide whether a tenant was unable to pay his rent, or whether a tenant should be allowed to remain on his holding, or to administer a law intended to keep the tenants in their holdings. This Vote also provided for the salaries and expenses of Resident Magistrates in Ireland. The stipendiary magistracy in Ireland had lately been the subject of some re-organizing work on the part of the Government. A number of magistrates had developed symptoms of dissatisfaction, and he desired to know for what reason that dissatisfaction was developed. Was it true that the ordinary stipendiary magistrates had been provoked by the fact that they had been practically deprived of their ordinary functions, and that persons like Mr. Clifford Lloyd had been appointed to play the part of despot over them as well as over other people? It had been said a number of Resident Magistrates had been invited to retire on favourable terms. How many had retired, and what were the favourable terms? In other words, to what extent were the public to be burdened by these favourable terms of retirement in consequence of the fact that Mr. Clifford Lloyd and others had made the service intolerable? The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary lately promised the House that in any new appointments of magistrates two principles would be kept in view. The first was that the gentlemen appointed should have some legal training; and the second was that they should be persons who, as far as possible, would be free from bias as between the landlord and tenant classes in Ireland. From day to day persons were appointed to the office of stipendiary magistrates in Ireland; and he thought the time had come when the right hon. Gentleman might conveniently and usefully inform the Committee and the country on what principle the selections had been made. He had heard criticisms with regard to the new magistrates which led him to suspect that the right hon. Gentleman had either been overborne in reference to the appointments, or he had not borne his pledge vividly in mind. It was impossible to forget for a moment the name of Mr. Clifford Lloyd. He was by far the most prominent and conspicuous man in the magisterial service in Ireland; and he (Mr. Sexton) would move that the Vote be reduced by £1,000, which he conceived to be about the amount of the salary and allowances to Mr. Clifford Lloyd. He considered that the fact that a gentleman like Mr. Clifford Lloyd held an official position was a danger to the Government and a calamity to the country. Early in the Session he placed on the Paper a Notice of Motion to the effect that in the opinion of the House Mr. Clifford Lloyd should be withdrawn or ought to retire. He, however, found no favourable opportunity of bringing that Motion forward; and in making the Motion which he did make to-night—namely, that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £1,000 in respect of the salary and allowances of Mr. Clifford Lloyd—he did so in order to mark his sense, as perfectly as he could, that the time had come when it was imperative that Mr. Clifford Lloyd should be either dismissed from the Public Service or transferred to some other sphere of labour for which he was more fitted than that of magistrate in Ireland. A little time ago the Chief Secretary was asked a very pertinent Question with regard to Mr. Clifford Lloyd. He was asked in how many counties or districts in Ireland Mr. Clifford Lloyd had, during the last year, exercised jurisdiction; what was the number of outrages committed during his magistracy, and during the corresponding period before he took charge; what were his qualifications; by whom was he recommended; and in what district he first acted? It was well to remind the Committee of the answer the right hon. Gentleman gave. The right hon. Gentleman said he had endeavoured to obtain a Return of the outrages committed in the district during Mr. Clifford Lloyd's magistracy, and during the corresponding period before he took charge; but the Inspector General of Constabulary informed him that the Constabulary and magisterial districts were not conterminous, and the crime records in his Office did not afford the information asked for. Of course, the Constabulary districts might not be conterminous with the districts of the Resident Magistrates; but surely it had lately been the practice to issue Crime Returns for counties. Mr. Clifford Lloyd was the Superintendent of three counties all at once, so, in spite of the very civil answer given by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, nothing could have been easier than to have given the information requested--namely, what had been the crime in Limerick, Clare, and Galway before Mr. Clifford Lloyd assumed the charge of these counties, and what was the crime after his advent? He (Mr. Sexton) had looked over the Returns of Crime, which were preserved in the Library, and he was prepared to stand on the assertion that after the arrival of Mr. Clifford Lloyd in counties Limerick, Clare, and Galway there had been no considerable diminution in the most serious classes of crime, neither had there been any improvement in the detection of crime—in fact, no criminal had been detected in respect of any conspicuous or any serious crime since Mr. Clifford Lloyd took charge of those districts. Mr. Clifford Lloyd adopted a very peculiar method of detecting crime, for he told the inhabitants of Roscrea that he "would make the grass grow in the streets of the town, or he would find out who committed a certain murder." He had made the grass grow in the streets of the town, but he had not found out who committed the murder. He had ruined the town by oppressing the people, but he had not discovered a criminal of any importance. The right hon. Gentleman was asked by whom Mr. Clifford Lloyd was originally recommended. In reply, the right hon. Gentleman said there was no official record of by whom Mr. Clifford Lloyd was recommended, or of what qualifications were submitted to the Government at the time. The right hon. Gentleman, feeling, no doubt, the hollowness of that reply, went on to add that it appeared from Returns that the gentleman in question had held various legal and Executive offices in British Burmah. He should hardly think the right hon. Gentleman would say that an experience gained in British Burmah would qualify a gentleman to hold a magisterial office in such a country as Ireland, where the people were supposed, at least in theory, to be equal before the law with every British subject of the Queen. The Committee would remember that early in the present Session the question of the erection of huts for evicted tenants in the county of Clare came under the notice of the House. He should say that one of the first acts of Mr. Clifford Lloyd in Kilmallock was to stimulate a prosecution against certain ladies of the town for having gone to the lodgings of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), and waited outside the door to receive and welcome the hon. Gentleman. The prosecution, however, turned out to be of so ridiculous a character that Mr. Clifford Lloyd himself was obliged to throw it overboard. While in the East Mr. Clifford Lloyd appeared to have acquired a passion for theatrical display, for it was his practice to go about Limerick and Clare, surrounded by a body-guard of policemen, and amidst the glittering of spurs and the clattering of sabres. Now, in regard to the question of huts. The Committee would remember that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) early in the year visited the district of Tulla, in Clare, where a number of families had been thrown out of their farms and cast on the roadside. While in Tulla the right hon. Gentleman was asked by the priest of the place whether it would be legal to erect huts for these people, and the right hon. Gentleman replied that it would be legal and laudable. Encouraged by this decision, the Ladies' Land League sent down Miss Kirk to procure shelter and provide food for the evicted families. Mr. Clifford Lloyd, however, suddenly took the notion that this work, which the then Chief Secretary (Mr. W. E. Forster) had described as being legal and laudable, was illegal and dangerous to the peace of the district. He arrested Miss Kirk, who had been sent on this mission of charity; and by way of illustration of the manner in which Mr. Clifford Lloyd performed his magisterial duties, he would read the affidavit sworn by Miss Kirk in the High Court of Justice in Ireland—

"I, Annie Kirk, now a prisoner in the gaol of the City of Limerick, aged 20 years and upwards, make oath and say as follows:—No. 1. On the morning of Friday the 21st day of April instant, I was arrested in my sitting room in Tulla, in the county of Clare, by the Head Constable of the district, and informed by him that I should proceed in his custody to the police barrack to appear before Mr. Clifford Lloyd. The said Head Constable added that he had a warrant for my arrest, and that I should go with him at once. No. 2. I was then taken to a room in the police barrack, which was in a few minutes afterwards entered by Mr. Clifford Lloyd, R.M., Mr. O'Hara, J.P., and Mr. Crean, Sub-Inspector. No. 3. When so arrested I was wholly ignorant of the nature of the charge made against me, and thereupon at once applied to Mr. Lloyd for an adjournment of the case, whatever it might be, with which he appeared to be about to proceed, as I was entirely unprepared to defend myself. I asked for a postponement for three days, in order that I might ascertain the nature of the charge against me and produce such witnesses as might be necessary to show that the statements made against me were unfounded. No. 4. Mr. Lloyd, however, refused to grant me any adjournment or postponement, and insisted on the case being proceeded with forthwith. No. 5. I then asked that one of the local clergymen whom I wished to examine for my defence might be allowed to be present, but Mr. Lloyd positively refused to allow the reverend gentleman to be present. No. 6. An information of the Sub-Inspector was then read, in which he stated that he believed me to be an emissary of an illegal Society known as the Land League, and that I was engaged in creating discord and dissension amongst Her Majesty's subjects. No. 7. I stated, as I swear the fact is, that I was solely engaged in charitable purposes—namely, endeavouring to provide food and shelter for the families of tenants evicted for non-payment of rent; but I was nevertheless ordered to enter into recognizances in £50, with two sureties of £50 each, to be of good behaviour for three calendar months, and on refusing to enter into the same was committed to Limerick Prison for that period. No. 8. I admit I am a member of the Ladies' Land League, but I deny that it is an illegal body, and no proof whatever that it is such was given at any trial. I say that its objects are to promote the cause of charity and humanity, and I submit that until the contrary has been properly established the said Ladies' Land League should not have been assumed to have been an illegal body. No. 9. I say that if the postponement for which I applied had been granted I would have been able to produce and would have produced witnesses who would prove that I was innocent of every charge alleged against me, for I say that I never excited discord or dissension amongst any of Her Majesty's subjects, and I never intimidated or attempted to intimidate anyone, nor was I then or at any time engaged in any illegal practice, nor was I guilty of any misconduct whatsoever or any act which would justify the order made against me. No. 10. I submit that the said order ought to be quashed; that I was taken entirely by surprise by the proceedings, and was denied all opportunity of defending myself or obtaining professional assistance which said opportunity, if granted, would have enabled me to give complete proof of my innocence," &c.

Such was the case with regard to Miss Kirk. It was a case disgraceful to Mr. Clifford Lloyd and to the Government, and it was typical of the manner in which the law had been administered in Ireland during the last few months. Mr. Clifford Lloyd, and others like him, refused to allow adjournments of cases, so that the persons brought before them could not put their cases in a legal shape. He hoped the Attorney General for Ireland would attend to this matter. Mr. Clifford Lloyd refused to allow Miss Kirk and other ladies to provide themselves with counsel, but threw them into goal; and the Court of Queen's Bench held that unless legal points had been raised in the Court below the Court above could not receive them. Mr. Clifford Lloyd took care that by gagging the prisoners no legal points should be raised in the Court below. When the question of huts came up in the House of Commons, Mr. Clifford Lloyd was defended by the late Chief Secretary (Mr. W. E. Forster). He (Mr. Sexton) asked on what pretence Mr. Clifford Lloyd said the huts were erected for purposes of intimidation; and through the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) Mr. Clifford Lloyd said that the grossest intimidation was being practised on the tenants, that they were prevented in many instances from paying their rents, and under Land League intimidation they suffered eviction; and in order to keep a grip of the soil the Land League built huts on other tenants' land, who dared not refuse to allow it. There were 24 evicted tenants, and this was what they themselves said—

> "We, the undersigned, evicted tenants from the property of Major Molony, D.L., of Kiltanon, Tulla, now occupying and about to occupy the houses provided for our shelter by the Ladies' Land League, having seen the statement of Mr. Clifford Lloyd, read by Mr. Forster in the House of Commons on Thursday last the 20th instant (April), to the effect that 'many of us had privately paid our rents, are not permitted by the Land League to return to our farms, and are forced to occupy the Land League huts,' hereby give our unqualified denial to these several statements, and pronounce them to be a tissue of falsehoods. We suffer no intimidation, except from the myrmidons of Mr. Clifford Lloyd, from whom our liberties, even our very lives, are unsafe; yet we feel obliged in the interests of truth and justice to make this declaration."

And then followed the names of the tenants. The tenants went before the Board of Guardians for the purpose of procuring out-door relief, and they made this additional declaration—

> "We solemnly declare, and are prepared to testify on oath, if necessary, that we have paid no rent privately or otherwise since we were evicted from our holdings by Major Molony. We have no means by which to pay, and, therefore, did not pay. We have not been forced by anyone to occupy the huts erected for us by the Ladies' Land League; on the contrary, we gladly availed ourselves of the shelter provided for us, which also relieved our poor neighbours from the trouble and inconvenience they have been put to, in making room for us and our families in their own already crowded dwellings, and which, in many cases, could not possibly be continued for any lengthened period."

With regard to the allegation that tenants were induced to give sites for Land League huts, five tenants made a declaration denying the statement *in toto*. Now, there was a complete reply to the false statements which Mr. Clifford Lloyd induced the Chief Secretary (Mr. W. E. Forster) to make in this House. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford opposed to him (Mr. Sexton) in the matter a resistance like a wall of adamant, for he credited the declaration of Mr. Clifford Lloyd that these huts were intended for the purpose of intimidation. But what fastened attention upon the truth was the case of the poor old man, John Kenny. Old Kenny had gone to one of the huts; but he with others were turned out. They were obliged to herd together in a house which was not large enough for them, and when meal time came, they had to go out on the hedge side. He asked if that were true, and Mr. Clifford Lloyd, adding to his former falsehoods, put it in the mouth of the Chief Secretary that it was not true. Kenny, however, in a few days, died from exposure, and his death fastened the attention of the Executive upon the case of these huts. Lord Spencer personally inquired into the case, and the result was that he allowed the erection of the huts. The wonder to him (Mr. Sexton) was that, after such a result, Mr. Clifford Lloyd was retained at all in the magisterial service. Mr. Clifford Lloyd put forward a series of falsehoods in this House; he said that the tenants who were evicted had been evicted because they were afraid to pay their rents; he said that the tenants who gave sites for the huts did so because they were afraid to refuse them. He (Mr. Sexton) had produced the evidence of the people themselves, and he was able to point to the conclusion arrived at by the Lord Lieutenant himself in refutation of the statements. He was curious to know how long this gentleman would be continued in his present position. It was well to consider what bearing the conduct of Mr. Clifford Lloyd had had upon the remainder of the Resident Magistrates. He was reliably informed that no Resident Magistrate was content to live under him.

Formal representations had been made to Dublin Castle by the magistrates of Limerick, Clare, and Galway that it was impossible for them to act in concert with Mr. Clifford Lloyd. He would take one case which would serve as an illustration. Mr. William Morris Reade retired recently from the Resident Magistracy of Galway, and *The Galway Observer*, a paper on the popular side, writing on the retirement, said—

> "It is believed that Mr. Reade has resolved upon this step rather than be under the control of Mr. Clifford Lloyd, who it appears, though not coming to reside here, has jurisdiction in this county. Mr. Reade has been a Resident Magistrate for 20 years, and during that time has earned the respect of all by his impartiality, yet withal, his firmness in giving decisions. All classes in this town have a high opinion of his judicial capacity. It is said that he himself has been so successful in the discharge of his duties, both towards the Government and the people, and on account of his long standing as Resident Magistrate, that he objects to be controlled by a meddling military man, who knows nothing about the duties he is called on to perform."

Lest there should be any doubt about the cause of his retirement from the service, he had here a letter addressed by Mr. Morris Reade himself to *The Irish Times*. Mr. Morris Reade wrote—

> "I was appointed to serve Her Majesty by one of her representative Lord Lieutenants, to every one of whom in turn, and to every subject of the Crown, without fear, favour, or affection, I have, to the best of my ability, honestly done my duty; and, though not one word of complaint was made in the resignation which I tendered to Earl Spencer, and which he was graciously pleased to accept. I trust it may be distinctly understood by every man, woman, and child in Ireland, that I would cut my right hand off before I would 'Kowtow' to any Special Resident Magistrate."

It, therefore, did not appear that Mr. Clifford Lloyd was very successful or popular amongst even the magistrates. Certainly, by the people of the town of Belfast, where he formerly served, he was held in anything but happy memory, and in the places where he now officiated the feeling against him was exceedingly strong. Amongst the official classes he seemed to have provoked feelings of a very nearly identical character. It was one of the peculiarities of Mr. Clifford Lloyd's character that he seemed to infuse in the officials around him a desire to act like himself—Sub-Inspector Smith affording a memorable example. He distinctly wished the Committee to understand that he stigmatized Mr. Clifford Lloyd as a person who was not to be believed upon his word, a person who, for the sake of his official position, had made statements, which had been read in that House, which were flagrantly contrary to the truth. Some time ago he asked in that House whether it was true that Mr. Clifford Lloyd had caused a telegram to be sent to the sergeant of police at Carrigaholt, asking him to send in the names of half-a-dozen tenants of Colonel M'Donnell who had not paid their rents, so that he might have them arrested under the Coercion Act. The late Chief Secretary denied that such was the case, but he (Mr. Sexton) had been supplied with the exact words of the telegram. The telegram ran—

> "If Colonel M'Donnell's rents be not paid by Monday or Tuesday, send me names of 20 prominent Land Leaguers, with a view to consideration of their arrest."

This was the way in which this gentleman used his magisterial power. And what was the extraordinary fact? Why, that the tenants referred to in the telegram had since gone into the Land Court; some of them had had their rents reduced by 75 per cent, but upon the average the rents of this very property had been reduced 50 per cent. In other words, these rents had been reduced one-half by the constituted Judges of the land, and yet last spring, before these rents had been reduced at all, Mr. Clifford Lloyd considered the delay in paying them a sufficient reason for arresting the tenants under the Coercion Act. If the Chief Secretary had any doubt that Mr. Clifford Lloyd sent the telegram in question, let him apply to the telegraph office in the district, and he could easily obtain the original. He had no doubt whatever that the telegram was sent, and upon that ground alone he maintained that this gentleman was extremely incapable of holding his position any longer. He desired, in conclusion, to refer to the condition of the counties of Limerick, Clare, and Galway under this gentleman's *regimé*. Mr. Clifford Lloyd had exasperated the people of those counties, and he had produced no healthy effect upon the state of crime. In the first place, Mr. Clifford Lloyd had failed in detecting crime; and, in the second place, he had failed as regarded veracity. When the interests of his position, and the moral claims of veracity came into conflict, in his mind the moral claims of veracity went by the board. He had disgraced the magisterial service; he had caused heartburnings wherever he had gone, and he had created a sort of mutiny among the people. He had done all that the most active official could do in the way of exasperating the people; and, at the same time, he had done all that an incompetent official could do to exasperate those who acted under him. The Committee would remember what happened last Friday in Limerick. Mr. Clifford Lloyd had the audacity to call upon the police to parade before him, and to interfere with their financial arrangements with the Government. He insulted them because they had combined together; afterwards the men refused to parade before him, and he had not the temerity to appear again. The time had really come when the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary might invite Mr. Clifford Lloyd to retire from the Public Service. It was not merely a calamity to the country, but it was a disgrace to the Government that so incapable a man should be continued in so responsible a post. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would represent to the Cabinet the propriety of reconsidering the position of Mr. Clifford Lloyd. The Government, by retaining this man, condemned themselves. He moved the reduction of the Vote by £1,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £62,238, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries, Allowances, and Expenses of various County Court Officers, and of Magistrates in Ireland, and of the Revising Barristers of the City of Dublin."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

COLONEL NOLAN said, that some weeks ago a very horrible murder was committed in Loughrea, and 26 people were arrested in the town. Many of the people he happened to know. Several of them occupied very respectable positions, and he believed three of them were Poor Law Guardians or Town Commissioners. These people were arrested upon evidence, or they were not; but certainly the time had come when something definite should be done. If no evidence could be brought forward, the people ought to be released. Mr. Clifford Lloyd happened to be the official on the spot, and he arrested the people. It was a terrible thing for respectable people to be accused of a foul murder, and, therefore, he hoped the Government would state what they intended to do in the matter.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN said, that as the salary of Mr. Clifford Lloyd was included in this Vote, he thought it would be very desirable that the Chief Secretary should inform the Committee what Mr. Clifford Lloyd really cost the country, since the date of his appointment as a Special Resident Magistrate. There was more than the actual salary of Mr. Clifford Lloyd concerned when he spoke of what he had cost the country since the date of his appointment; for instance, allowances were made to him for servants and orderlies. If Mr. Clifford Lloyd was withdrawn from the service of the country, the service of a large number of police, who had been told off for his special protection, as he called it, would be dispensed with. These men, as the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had put it, had been withdrawn from the service of the country for the pleasure of Mr. Clifford Lloyd, and to give him the satisfaction of making a grand military display wherever he went through the streets and cities and towns of Ireland. It was a fact that he went out in "high pomp and circumstance." He was fond of going about with an advance guard and a rear guard; and in the house where he lived he had a large body of police on guard in various passages and lobbies, and so forth; and therefore, in calculating the cost of this famous gentleman to the country, all these circumstances were bound to be taken into account. It was desirable that the Committee should freely and honestly be told what the country had to pay for such a man as Mr. Clifford Lloyd. He (Mr. Sullivan) saw the hon. Member for Drogheda (Mr. Whitworth) in his place, and he had never forgotten the testimony which that hon. Member gave, some time ago in that House, when first the name of Mr. Clifford Lloyd began to come up in debate; he had never forgotten the testimony that the hon. Gentleman gave as to the character of Mr. Clifford Lloyd, and as to the effect which was likely to be produced in any part of the country which might be afflicted with his presence. The hon. Gentleman told the House, upon the authority of his brother, who was a magistrate in Drogheda, that it was his opinion that wherever Mr. Clifford Lloyd was sent, whether it be to the South, East, North, or West of Ireland, he would produce something very like a rebellion. That was told to them a very long time ago, when the name of Mr. Clifford Lloyd was almost new to them; but did not the facts and circumstances which had since occurred bear out the description of Mr. Clifford Lloyd's character given on that occasion? He would be glad if the hon. Member for Drogheda would again refresh the memories of the Committee by repeating, on this occasion, the testimony he gave at that time. On a previous occasion he (Mr. Sullivan) referred to Mr. Clifford Lloyd as a very costly luxury to the British Government. Besides the actual cost in salary and allowances, Mr. Clifford Lloyd had been an enormous burden upon the country in other respects. There was no estimating the amount of mischief he had done; there was no estimating the amount of evil he had created; and long after that gentleman should have disappeared from the stage which he was now so unworthily occupying, the evil he had done would remain. It was absurd and improper for the Government to maintain this gentleman in the position he now held, because, instead of doing service to the cause which they professed to have at heart—the cause of peace and order in Ireland—Mr. Clifford Lloyd had shown himself its enemy. That being so, unless the Government wished to maintain the irritation of the Irish people; unless they desired to show themselves to be bullies of the Irish people, why did they maintain this firebrand in the position he held? Let the Government justify, before this Committee and the country, their policy in maintaining such a man in an office he so unworthily filled, and filled to the detriment of good order and government in Ireland, and to the shame of the Government that maintained him.

Mr. PARNELL wished to join the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan) in urging upon the Government to bring the gentlemen—for many of them were in the position of gentlemen and respectable traders—who were arrested on suspicion of being concerned in the murder of Mr. Blake, at Loughrea, to trial or to release them. He was very much surprised to find that the Government had yielded to Mr. Clifford Lloyd, after that murder, so far as to make these wholesale arrests. It was not until Mr. Clifford Lloyd came into the town of Loughrea that the arrests were made, and it was evident that they must have been made upon his suggestion. He should be very indisposed to attach any weight to any representation Mr. Clifford Lloyd might make with regard to the act of any person, unless he was willing to bring him before a magistrate in order to make out his case. He could tell some strange stories to the Committee of the language and action of Mr. Clifford Lloyd towards accused persons who had been brought before him. He knew that in many cases Mr. Clifford Lloyd held his inquiries in prisons and other places, in the absence of the Press, and that he had sought to bully and intimidate people into admissions of guilt. He could tell a story with regard to a prisoner who was brought before Mr. Clifford Lloyd for attempting to murder Mr. Wilfrid Lloyd, and who was sent under the Coercion Act to Kilmainham subsequently. No particle of evidence had been brought against the man, and he could repeat to the Committee expressions used by Mr. Clifford Lloyd during his secret inquiry into the case against the prisoner which were an outrage to all justice, and certainly expressions which a Resident Magistrate should be ashamed to use towards an accused person. The Government in Ireland appeared at one time to imagine—he would not say they did so now—that they could succeed in creating a respect for the law by meeting the illegal acts, which had undoubtedly been done in some cases by the popular agents, with intimidation of a much more extreme kind on their own side. The struggle carried on in Ireland resolved itself simply into this—whether the officers of the law should use more illegal intimidation than the people themselves. So far, certainly, the effect had been that the officers of the law, instead of vindicating the law, had simply put down popular right by the exercise of intimidation. Mr. Clifford Lloyd had proved himself one of the most unscrupulous agents in the administration of that system. He (Mr. Parnell) had been hoping, having got rid of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), and seeing that another policy had been inaugurated by the Government in Ireland, a policy that was signally justified by the result that there had been a reduction of outrages by 80 per month ever since it had been introduced, that they would also have got rid of the right hon. Gentleman's pet—Mr. Clifford Lloyd. This officer was only fit to rule in some savage country where it was necessary to adopt martial law, and where a number of persons were endeavouring to obtain a settlement on land that did not belong to them. It would suit him well to be engaged upon the North-Western Frontiers of America, or he might have been suited for the position of magistrate in Burmah.; but, certainly, to introduce this man into a civilized country, where the Government were endeavouring to win the people over to law and order, was the most palpable absurdity that any Government could contrive. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant would make a statement as to what they intended to do with regard to the 26 respectable persons who were languishing in gaol without hope or expectation of trial. Why were they arrested? What was the case against them? Did the case to any extent rest upon the representations of Mr. Clifford Lloyd? Did he hold out any hope that he would be able to obtain evidence to justify what had taken place, and had he obtained any evidence? He had now some experience of the use made of the Coercion Act by the late Chief Secretary and the present Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, in arresting men on suspicion of murder against whom there was not a single particle of evidence, whom they did not bring to trial, and whom they themselves did not believe to be implicated in the crime. He wished to know whether it was right and just to apply the powers of the Coercion Act to respectable men who had lived for years in their native towns, where many of them had been engaged in large businesses, and whose businesses were irretrievably injured by their forcible detention? One of these men having been detained in gaol for 12 months was released, and had been since re-arrested. The promise made by the Chief Secretary when the Coercion Act was passing through the House had never been fullfilled—namely, that no person should be arrested except upon evidence which, if he were in the jury-box, would justify him in finding that person guilty. The persons he had referred to were still detained in prison, although there was not a particle of evidence against them. Why had they not been proceeded against under the ordinary law? When a policeman could swear that he expected to get evidence a prisoner could be remanded from time to time until some evidence was forthcoming, and the magistrates in Ireland were never unwilling to commit a prisoner for trial if there was a promise on the part of the police that they would introduce evidence at the trial. There were still 170 prisoners in gaol under the Coercion Act of last Session, almost all of whom were entirely innocent of any offence; and had he known that this would have been the case he should certainly have preferred to remain in Kilmainham until that day. Looking at the fact that outrages in Ireland had decreased, he thought Irish Members were entitled to complain that this large number of 170 men should still be languishing in gaol without trial, and without hope of trial; and, therefore, he hoped that when the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was able to go over to Ireland and see the state of affairs with his own eyes, he would use his influence to get rid of such agents of disorder as Mr. Clifford Lloyd, and to bring about the release of a very large number, if not all, of the 170 men now in prison on suspicion.

MR. WHITWORTH said, he rose because he had been appealed to by the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) to say a few words about Mr. Clifford Lloyd. He had not the privilege of knowing Mr. Clifford Lloyd personally; but he had stated in that House that his brother had told him that the conduct of that official in Drogheda was anything but creditable, and that he was an exceedingly dangerous man to send down to the South or West of Ireland. The hon. Member for Westmeath exaggerated when he said the statement was that "Mr. Clifford Lloyd was a dangerous man to be sent either to the West, North, East, or South of Ireland." He (Mr. Whitworth), only mentioned the South and West, because he believed that in the North, where Mr. Clifford Lloyd was first stationed, he gave perfect satisfaction to the people. He must candidly admit that he had greatly changed his opinion with regard to Mr. Clifford Lloyd since he first mentioned his name in that House. He found he was condemned by every rebel in Ireland. Every rebel in Ireland hated Mr. Clifford Lloyd; and he was bound to say from the evidence he had heard that evening that he had been of immense service in the South and West of Ireland. Moreover, he had such confidence in Her Majesty's Government as to believe that if they were convinced that Mr. Clifford Lloyd was not doing his duty they would at once dismiss him.

Mr. CALLAN called upon the Attorney General for Ireland to say at the Table of the House what he had said on the Treasury Bench a short time ago. When the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) referred to the fact that Mr. Clifford Lloyd had put women in prison, he heard the right hon. and learned Gentleman say—"Served them right." The brother of the hon. Member for Drogheda (Mr. Whitworth) was a man of larger experience and greater knowledge than the hon. Member, and his language was that Mr. Clifford Lloyd "was a firebrand, and would prove himself to be so wherever he went." And had he not justified that description of himself? Why, it was only a few days ago that he was on the verge of driving the Irish Constabulary into revolt; he was nothing else than a meddling busybody, and there were other persons in Ireland of the same character. Mr. Clifford Lloyd went to Limerick last Saturday; the Inspector was to arrive at 2 o'clock, but Mr. Clifford Lloyd went into the police barracks, paraded the men, and used language for which he had been obliged to apologize. It was true that afterwards he sent a communication to the newspapers explaining away his language; but he (Mr. Callan) asked whether the Government were willing to grant a Court of Inquiry as to his conduct on the occasion referred to? For his own part, he was almost sick of Mr. Clifford Lloyd's name, and he had only risen to express the feeling of indignation with which he heard the remark made use of by the Attorney General for Ireland on the Treasury Bench.

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member has no right to refer to remarks that were not made with the intention of their being heard by the House.

Mr. CALLAN said, with all respect to the Chair, when an observation of the kind he had mentioned was directed in an insulting tone to the remarks of an hon. Gentleman, he was entitled to notice it.

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member must not refer to that subject again.

Mr. CALLAN said, with the dread consequences of suspension before him, he should, of course, bow to the Chairman's decision. He had heard observations, even of the Prime Minister, called in question, and if he had erred at all, he had erred inadvertently in not closing his ears to an insulting observation. He could not help remarking that it would conduce more to the order and harmony of the debates if the presiding authority censured Members of the Government for irregularity as readily as it censured Members sitting in that part of the House.

Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN said, he rose with reference to the statement of the hon. Member for Drogheda (Mr. Whitworth) that he had been guilty of some exaggeration in recalling the remarks of his brother, the late Member for Drogheda, with reference to Mr. Clifford Lloyd. If there had been any exaggeration in the matter, it was certainly unintentional on his part. He understood the hon. Member to state that his brother had said, "Wherever Mr. Clifford Lloyd is sent he will do this evil work"—that was to say, he would get up something like rebellion. The hon. Member now said it was only in the South and West of Ireland that it was supposed these consequences would ensue from his being sent amongst the people. But was it not a curious fact that these were the very quarters of Ireland in which the Government had set Mr. Clifford Lloyd to work? He was, it seemed, doing no harm in the North; but they would not leave him there; they sent him to the very parts of the country—the South and West—where he was likely to do a great deal of harm. But they had now heard the hon. Member for Drogheda say that he had changed his mind about Mr. Clifford Lloyd, and that he regarded the

South and West of Ireland as fit fields for the exercise of his talents. He would like to know the whole amount that the country had to pay directly and indirectly for Mr. Clifford Lloyd, because, as far as he had been able to gather, the Government were paying altogether "too dear for their whistle," so far as his services were concerned.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN said, the Committee had listened to several suggestions as to the best kind of occupation which the Government could find for Mr. Clifford Lloyd. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) had suggested that he should be sent to the North-West Frontiers of America, and he believed the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had recommended that he should be appointed to the office of magistrate in Burmah. But his own opinion was that it would be a good thing to find him a situation as stipendiary magistrate in England. He was bound to say that, having visited the district in which Mr. Clifford Lloyd was engaged the last time he was in Ireland, his acts there did not appear to bear out the character which had just been attributed to him by the hon. Member for Drogheda (Mr. Whitworth), but rather that which had been given by Irish Members below the Gangway—namely, that he was a disturbing element amongst the Irish people, and that his transfer to some other part of the Kingdom would be an advantage for all parties. He had already asked his right hon. Friend a question about Mr. Henry George, who had been arrested and released after some detention. Although he did not then suppose he had suffered any serious injury by that detention, yet he now found that Mr. George and his companion, whom he (Mr. Cowen) was not acquainted with, had been subjected to great personal indignities by the police—he believed their luggage had been broken open, and all the usual indignities done to them which were practised under such circumstances by "Jacks in office." He knew Mr. George was a man of considerable eminence in his own country, and that he was also a man of great ability; he was not an Irishman, but an American subject, and had no more to do with the political organization existing in Ireland than the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary and his Colleagues who sat beside him. He said it was a great hardship that a man like Mr. George, who went into a village purely for the purpose of getting information, should be arrested under the despotic powers of the Prevention of Crimes Act, and that, too, under circumstances of indignity and, in some measure, of pain; and he urged that if the Act was to be enforced in respect of foreigners, it must be applied with some amount of discrimination. It was fair to ask that some amount of consideration should be shown to persons arrested under such circumstances as he had described. Mr. George was a man known to many Members of that House, and he was known, moreover, throughout Europe and America; his companion, too, was well known, and he had no difficulty in getting the Justices to release him. But suppose he had been a man in different circumstances, and that he got into the hands of Mr. Clifford Lloyd, he would, in all probability, have been detained in gaol for weeks or months. He asked what would be the feeling here if the representative of an English newspaper, a political economist, had been taken when in a town in Germany collecting information for the purpose of writing a book or making communications to the newspapers at home—was arrested at, say, Breslau or Halle, and subjected to gross indignities on the part of the local police? The feeling here would be one of great indignation; yet that was the part we had acted towards Mr. George. He had no other intention in making these remarks than to insist, as far as he was able, that some amount of leniency and consideration should be shown in exercising the powers of the Prevention of Crimes Act. There were still under the Coercion Act of the previous year 170 men in prison. It would be in the recollection of hon. Members that the Prime Minister had stated that when this Act came into force, the old Act would cease to operate—at least, if that was not given literally, it was given in substance in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman—and, therefore, he thought it was only fair to ask that the men now imprisoned on suspicion should be brought to trial or released. Her Majesty's Government talked of restoring order; it would be a matter of surprise if order were not restored, considering the despotic powers of the Acts he had referred to. It was very easy to govern in a state of siege;

and if Her Majesty's Government could not govern Ireland with these two Acts at their disposal, he said there were no circumstances in which they could preserve order in the country.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had begun his speech by referring to the amount of confidence which the Irish farmers had in the Civil Bill Courts, in respect to the administration of the Land Act. It was quite true that the Civil Bill Courts were more applied to than the Land Commission, a fact which he regarded as somewhat surprising. He had lately cursorily examined the statistics of recent months, and his hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General for England had also examined them, but much more carefully; and the result of the latter examination was a complete confirmation of the superficial examination he had himself made of the decisions arrived at by both the Civil Bill Courts and the Land Commission. It showed—first, that the Civil Bill Courts had done their duty in a manner which entitled them to the confidence of the tenants of Ireland; and, secondly, it proved beyond all question that the charges brought against the Sub-Commissioners, of being actuated by a dislike to landlords and indifferent to local information, and of having been set to work simply for the purpose of reducing rents, were absolutely illusory. With regard to the four Provinces, it appeared that a certain average of reduction held both as to the cases decided by the Civil Bill Courts and those decided by the Land Commissioners, which showed that, although these Courts decided without reference to each other, there was the same method running through the judgments of both. Both the Courts had decided that, on the whole, the reductions in Ulster should be about 22 per cent of the rent; in Connaught something less than that; in Munster about 20 per cent; and in Leinster about 13 per cent. If there was anything that could prove that these reductions were made upon a system, it was that both the Civil Bill Courts and the Land Commissioners, as well as the Sub-Commissioners, had arrived at almost the same average amount of reduction for the four Provinces of Ireland. Therefore, he hoped that in future very much less would be heard of the Sub-Commissioners being too Conservative in their views, and that they would possess the confidence of the people to a larger extent than they did at present. The hon. Member for Sligo had referred to the case of a Judge of one of the Civil Bill Courts being a member of the Land Corporation. Upon this point he had to observe that the Land Corporation was a body which existed in perfect conformity with the law; and, therefore, it was quite certain that the Irish Executive could take no notice of the circumstance; but, speaking as a Member of Parliament, he must own that the less a judicial functionary was associated with any organization which took an active part in the burning questions that were arising in Ireland the better. Again, the hon. Member for Sligo referred to a matter in connection with the magistrates in Ireland, and his remarks upon that subject had, on the whole, coincided with what had fallen from hon. Members who had followed him. He said that dissatisfaction existed amongst the Resident Magistrates on account of the appointment of Special Resident Magistrates. Now, he must admit that to some extent that was the case; but it was extremely difficult, in any re-organization or re-arrangement of the service, to distinguish the cause from which dissatisfaction sprang. It might be the inevitable dissatisfaction caused to individuals who had hitherto been supreme in their district, and who found someone sent there who would in future stand between them and the Central Government, to report upon their proceedings, and to be, to a certain extent, the arbiters of their fortunes. But this special arrangement had not been long enough in force for the Government to be quite certain whether the dissatisfaction was due to the cause he had just indicated, or to something faulty in the plan of re-organization; and upon this point he was better able to judge than he was upon some other matters, because the arrangement had existed such a short time that very few hon. Members had seen more of it than he had. With regard to the system, Her Majesty's Government were not able to say whether it was going to be confirmed or not. The hon. Member asked who had retired amongst the magistrates, what were the terms on which they had retired, and whether those terms constituted a very great burden on the public purse? He was glad to notice the growing anxiety in the matter of expenditure that was showing itself more and more in that quarter of the House where the hon. Member for Sligo sat. Well, three magistrates had retired willingly and without any pressure or invitation, and 12 had retired under a certain amount of pressure and invitation.

COLONEL NOLAN asked how many had refused to retire without invitation?

MR. TREVELYAN said, he did not think it necessary to state to the Committee how many magistrates had taken the course suggested by the hon. and gallant Gentleman. They here came to the question of official administration. Both at the time when a service was reorganized, and at the time when it was simply doing its ordinary work, it was absolutely necessary that the Heads of Departments and high Ministers of State should have power to put pressure on officers whom they considered really inefficient to retire. If Ministers were not able to perform that function when justice or the interest of the State required it, the country could not be well governed. These gentlemen had retired under circumstances in which men retired compulsorily at the time of administrative changes, under the well-known terms of abolition of office which were laid down by the Treasury in the Minute of the 14th of June, 1859—that was to say, every person who had served not less than five years would be awarded an allowance at the rate of one-sixth of his income; in the case of a person who served 10 years, three years would be added in counting his pension; in the case of persons serving under 15 years and not less than 10 years, a period of five years would be added; in the case of persons serving under 20 years and not less than 15 years, eight years would be added; and in the case of persons who served 20 years and upwards a period of 10 years would be added in connection with their pensions. This arrangement, it was believed, afforded a legitimate solatium for men who retired, not when they wished to leave the service, but when, as a matter of fact, the authorities thought it better that they should be retired in the interests of the public, obviously without any stain on their character, because if there were such stain they would not be qualified for the pension that would otherwise be awarded to them. The operation was one which he had seen performed in large offices in cases of difficulty, and it was an operation which must, from time to time, be performed in every Department, unless that Department was to become inefficient for its work. With regard to the new appointments, very great care had been taken. The officers who had been selected belonged to three classes; and he might say that in making these appointments an infinitesimal amount of weight had been given to interest and patronage. Whether the selection was good or not, it had been made with a desire to appoint men who would do justice without fear, without favour, and without being oppressive to the people. As he had before pointed out, these gentlemen belonged to three classes. Four of them were Sub-Inspectors of the Constabulary, who had shown those qualities which the Irish Government imagined would fit them for the office. Four of them were Irish barristers, of which class of men the Government would gladly have got more; but it was found to be impracticable. It was necessary, in order to tempt gentlemen out of the Legal Profession, to give them much higher emoluments than would tempt men out of the Military Profession, or, still more, out of the professions in civil life. The salaries of civil magistrates began at, say, £400 a-year, and for that sum they could not get good lawyers to undertake the office. He had gone into these matters for the purpose of showing that the Government had done their best to fulfil the pledge given in Committee on the Prevention of Crime Bill, to get as many gentlemen as they could from the Legal Profession who were qualified to discharge the duties of the office, not simply because they were lawyers, but because they were men of the requisite legal attainments. As he had already said, then, four of them were barristers; one of them was a magistrate, who had been very active on the Bench; and eight of them belonged to what he might call the general public and, to a great extent, to the Military Profession.

MR. SEXTON asked whether these were ordinary magistrates?

MR. TREVELYAN said, they were ordinary Resident Magistrates, and there were 17 of them in all. Before concluding, he wished to say a few words with regard to another subject which had been referred to at length in the course of the evening. It was obviously impossible, with the feelings which hon. Members had about Mr. Clifford Lloyd, that they could pass this Vote unchallenged. A great many cases had been referred to in connection with that officer, and discussed with more or less detail. The case of a lady sent to prison in default of bail had been referred to. As he always wished to be practical, he should forbear to go back to the past, and would merely observe that since there had been a new method in operation of dealing with intimidation, he did not believe that any lady had found her way into prison.

Mr. SEXTON: Mary Keene.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he had only to say, in the case of Mary Keene, that she went to prison in default of bail. He did not think he was called upon to defend this case any more than he was called upon to defend any of the cases of the kind which came before Petty Sessions. However, he earnestly hoped that no lady would go to prison under the same circumstances hereafter. With regard to the question of the huts, hon. Gentlemen opposite had acknowledged that whether the Irish Government, six or seven months ago, in the agony of that great struggle between the law and those who defied the law, were right or wrong in the strong course which they took with respect to these huts, the present Government had come to the conclusion that it was not necessary any longer to continue the embargo. Further, the Government considered that, in this matter, their judgment had been vindicated by the result. Hon. Members had spoken of Mr. Clifford Lloyd's method of procedure as not being successful in the districts to which he had been sent. They said that offences had not diminished there, and that this, in all probability, was due to the arbitrary opinions he had expressed. Without going into that matter, he thought that Mr. Clifford Lloyd's district showed a very great improvement. That officer became Special Magistrate of Clare and Limerick in December, 1881. In Clare the outrages in October were 48, in November 42, and in December 58. Well, in the next month, January, they rose to 61; they stood at 56 and 55 for February and March; but in April, May, and June, they were for these months 35, 23, and 28 respectively. In Limerick, for the month in which Mr. Clifford Lloyd was appointed, the outrages fell from 62 to 30, and since that time they had averaged about 35 per month. In June they fell to 20. It might be the case that this diminution of outrages was coincident with the diminution of outrages all over Ireland; but it could scarcely be said that there was any evidence in these figures that Mr. Clifford Lloyd's measures had so far failed. Again, the hon. Member had alluded to Mr. Clifford Lloyd's conduct at Limerick a few day ago; and upon this point also his remarks had been supported by hon. Gentlemen who followed him upon the subject of Mr. Clifford Lloyd's interview with the Limerick police. Now, he had in his hand a telegram sent by Mr. Clifford Lloyd, and which he had received since the hon. Member asked him a Question upon that point, and spoke of Mr. Clifford Lloyd as having addressed the police in an irritating manner, and of the police as replying that they were not soldiers. In the telegram Mr. Clifford Lloyd said he did not use the language mentioned by Mr. Sexton, or any language similar to it in the sense or manner suggested by him. The language he had used was reported in *The Irish Times* of the 7th instant. In pointing out to the men the gravity with which such action by an armed force was viewed, and the impossibility of listening to demands made under such circumstances, he had instanced soldiers, saying that if soldiers so acted they might even incur, under certain circumstances, an extreme penalty. There was no such response from the men as indicated, and no declaration or hint even from them that they would not parade again. Putting aside the actual agitation, their conduct had been and continued to be, so far as he could learn, satisfactory. One man had replied, in a perfectly respectful manner, "But, sir, we are not soldiers," which was the only foundation for the statement made. That was not on parade, but while he was talking afterwards to some of the men standing around him. He was inclined to think that that bore out his original view of the question—namely, that the magistrate had used his influence in a legitimate way.

MR. PARNELL: Did these men parade again before Mr. Clifford Lloyd?

MR. TREVELYAN said, he did not think they did. Before referring to the observations of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), he wished to say a word with reference to a Question which the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. Cowen) asked him the other day. The hon. Member said that since he asked that Question he had received some information. Well, so had he (Mr. Trevelyan). He had had the advantage of reading a letter written by Mr. Joynes, and what had taken place, according to that gentleman's statement, was exactly what had been said in the newspapers. The two gentlemen were arrested, searched, but not detained more than a few hours. He (Mr. Trevelyan) was extremely sorry for it. Within the past two or three days an hon. Member had asked him in the House whether cases of this kind had occurred, or were likely to occur—he forgot the Question—and he was now in a position to say that he had been in communication with the Irish Government, and that it had been agreed that a specific Circular should be sent out giving a very distinct warning to the police. It was obvious that this sort of thing must not occur again. He did not mean that such a person as an Eton Master might not be arrested again, but that if people of a certain standing in this country were arrested it might be easier for them to get away, although people less known might find it difficult to obtain relief. The hon. Member for the City of Cork had referred to the question of the arrests at Loughrea; but on that question he (Mr. Trevelyan) had spoken at length in answer to a substantive Motion brought forward by the hon. Member for Sligo. These arrests had not been made in consideration of one murder only; but within comparatively recent times there had been nine murders in the vicinity of Loughrea, the perpetrators of which had avoided detection. The crimes might be said to have been committed with the connivance of the inhabitants, because no one could doubt that a large number of the residents must be aware who were the murderers in, at any rate, some of the nine cases. The murders could not have been so carefully planned and executed unless there had been general sympathy with them amongst the people. The hon. Member said there were still 171 persons incarcerated under the last Coercion Act, and he had said that he little valued his own release when he knew that there were so many of his friends still in prison. In fact, the hon. Member had said, he (Mr. Trevelyan) thought, that he would willingly go back again if he found himself alone when he got there. The hon. Member had said—and no doubt it was a generous feeling which prompted him to say it—that he valued the release of himself and his two Colleagues only as an earnest of what they expected to follow in the case of the other "suspects." Well, in the presence of the Prime Minister, he (Mr. Trevelyan) would say what he believed was the fact—namely, that the right hon. Gentleman had stated that the list of "suspects" would be carefully examined in order that the Executive might see who of them could be let out with reasonable safety to the public. He (Mr. Trevelyan) had not the figures before him; but he believed that since that day—that was to say, during the last three months, 130 "suspects" had been released, and only 110 of the old "suspects" remained in prison. As a matter of fact, he believed there were not more than 100 in prison now, the list being made up by 50 who had been put in by Lord Spencer, every one of whom, with, perhaps, a single exception, had been put in under suspicion of the very gravest crimes. There were three from Cavan who had been put in in connection with a horrible assault, 11 from Dublin in connection with the Fenian murders, one from Sligo on account of a crime of a very serious kind ——

MR. SEXTON: On a warrant 13 months old.

MR. TREVELYAN: And some from Loughrea. A good deal of what had been said to-night referred to a state of things which was rapidly passing away, in which crimes of violence were rampant in the country, and in which that kind of crime was being dealt with by a process which it was hardly necessary to defend or attack, seeing that on the 30th of September next it would be a thing of the past. The process by which the Executive proposed to deal with crime of that kind in the future was much more easy to defend in the House, and he believed it would be very much more satisfactory and effective. He was very sorry that in the interval between the passing out of the old system and the coming in of the new certain very dreadful crimes in a particular part of the country had obliged the Executive to have recourse to the old system; but by the 30th of September the advantages of doing away with that system would decidedly outweigh the disadvantages. He looked forward with confidence to the prospect of being able to deal with violence in Ireland in two ways, first by the operation of beneficent laws which were beginning more and more to tell upon the country, and next, to a subsidiary extent, by a scheme of Criminal Law, which, though by no means mild, was still far less objectionable than those methods which they had been obliged to have recourse to in the past.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, the speech of the right hon. Gentleman was so satisfactory that he (Mr. O'Connor) should not find it necessary to trouble the Committee for more than a few minutes. The right hon. Gentleman had carried out his promise by sending out the Circular he had referred to; and his hon. Friend (Mr. Sexton) might, he thought, claim that the right hon. Gentleman had practically taken the same view on the question as the hon. Member had taken himself. He was glad to find that some of the rates fixed by the County Boards had been much better than those fixed by the Sub-Commissioners; but when the right hon. Gentleman came to deal with the magistrates his statement was not so satisfactory as that of the hon. Member, because he said that only some 12 of them had been forced to resign their positions, and that altogether about 15 had been got rid of. But 15 was not a bad proportion of magistrates to compel to resign out of a total of 72. The case of Mr. Clifford Lloyd had been so fully dealt with, and so frequently gone into, that he would be brief in his reference to it. The right hon. Gentleman, although no doubt from no want of candour, had rather evaded that point. His hon. Friend (Mr. Sexton) brought four main capital charges against Mr. Clifford Lloyd. He said, in the first place, that outrages had increased under his administration; in the second place, that no detections had followed under his administration; in the third place, that his administration had led to the exasperation of the people in the district; and, fourthly, that it had conduced to the disorganization of the Public Service. The right hon. Gentleman failed to meet a single one of these four capital charges. He had given them statistics to show that outrages had decreased in Mr. Clifford Lloyd's district; but he had failed to take into account the extraordinary help that Mr. Clifford Lloyd had had in the beneficent working of the Land Act. When the right hon. Gentleman gave them the total of outrages, he might have told them how many were trifling, and how many were serious. He (Mr. O'Connor) believed his hon. Friend (Mr. Sexton) was quite right when he said that the outrages of a serious character had increased during the administration of Mr. Clifford Lloyd. With regard to the outrages that remained undetected, it was a fact that under Mr. Clifford Lloyd not a single case of the detection of an offender had taken place. That point which the right hon. Gentleman had failed to deal with was a matter of popular notoriety in the district; and that Mr. Clifford Lloyd's administration had led to the exasperation of the people was also a matter of public notoriety. No name in the whole of Ireland excited more bitter, acrimonious, and terrible feelings than that of Mr. Clifford Lloyd. The right hon. Gentleman admitted that the resignation of several magistrates had been caused by the appointment of the Superintendent Resident Magistrates, of whom the most notorious was Mr. Clifford Lloyd; and, in fact, on all four charges Mr. Clifford Lloyd stood convicted on the testimony of the right hon. Gentleman himself, who was responsible for his acts as being his advocate and defender in that House. The right hon. Gentleman had given them figures to show how the outrages had decreased; but he did not tell them the reason why the three counties over which Mr. Clifford Lloyd ruled were proclaimed? Why did he not tell them that extra police had had to be stationed in those counties, and that of all the cities in Ireland the only one to which the Curfew Clause had been applied was the City of Limerick, where Mr. Clifford Lloyd lived? The right hon. Gentleman had alluded to the change that had taken place in the condition of Ireland. That was also the subject of the address of the Prime Minister. He (Mr. O'Connor) was expressing not only his own sentiments, but those of all his hon. Friends around him, when he said that the change in the condition of Ireland was a matter that must bring gladness and joy to the heart of every honest man in the House. If there was anyone in the House who ought to take to heart the fact that the condition of Ireland was improving, it was the Members on those (the Home Rule) Benches. It was in the name of that change that they asked the Government to get rid of Mr. Clifford Lloyd. When they heard that the Government meant to stand by that gentleman, half the bright hopes, founded on the change in the Chief Secretaryship of Ireland, were darkened. Was it worth the while of any Government to keep within the body politic a disorganizing and disturbing element like Mr. Clifford Lloyd? Both the right hon. Gentlemen who had spoken about Ireland had had the good sense to acknowledge that it was just legislation and not coercion that must bring about peace and order in Ireland; and he would here say one word to hon. Members on the Radical Benches. ["No, no!"] Perhaps the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) would allow him to exercise his own judgment. He would say one word to hon. Gentlemen sitting upon the Radical Benches, and it was this—none of them had thought proper to take part in this debate. He did not blame them—it was a matter for their own discretion. But his hon. Friend (Mr. Sexton) intended to go to a division on this Vote; and he would, therefore, ask those hon. Members, if they could not support his hon. Friend by their voices, at any rate to give him their votes on this occasion. He would ask them to do so for the sake of Ireland, for the sake of their Party, and for the sake of the Administration they believed in.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, that the Chief Secretary was apparently very indignant at what had taken place in Ireland—namely, the arrest of Mr. Henry George and Mr. Joynes. During the discussion which had taken place on the Coercion Bill, which some persons seemed to think was a little exhaustive, it was frequently pointed out to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary that the consequence of giving arbitrary powers to so many people for the arrest of suspected persons in Ireland would be to lead to great injustice. They gave power in the Coercion Act to every constable in Ireland to arrest anybody whom he thought he found under suspicious circumstances. How in the world could they suppose that that power would not be abused? For his own part, he was rather glad that English tourists were arrested in Ireland, because that sort of thing seemed to him very likely to bring home to the English mind a desirable knowledge of what a Coercion Act really meant. On the other hand, so far as Ireland itself was concerned, it was an undesirable thing that these arrests should take place, particularly at this period of the year, when a great many people were going away from home on their holidays. A great many people might feel inclined to visit Ireland, and when there they would, of course, spend money, which would be a substantial benefit to the country. The right hon. Gentleman told them that these mistakes must not occur again, and that a Circular would be sent round to the Constabulary requesting them to stop them. What did the right hon. Gentleman mean by that? Did he mean that the police were to exercise more caution, or that they were not to put in force the clause of the Coercion Act under which Mr. Joynes and Mr. George had been arrested? He (Mr. Labouchere), for his own part, thought if the English people were to travel about in Ireland, as they did in any other civilized country, if this clause was to be maintained in the Coercion Act, the Irish Executive should prepare passports to protect tourists and travellers from arrest and annoyance. It was necessary in Germany to supply English travellers with passports, because it had been found that they went wandering about, getting into trouble here and there, it always being supposed that they were suspicious persons if they were without their passports. In this case of Mr. Joynes, he found that his letters were seized by the police, and that was a circumstance that gentleman had to be thankful for, as the result was that they discovered his identity. But it was a monstrous thing that a gentleman visiting Ireland for his pleasure should be in danger of having his letters seized in this way. It would be much better, to guard a man against such an annoyance as that, to give him some paper or document which he could produce to prove that he was an honest person, travelling on business or pleasure. He (Mr. Labouchere) hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant would take this suggestion into his consideration.

Mr. O'SHEA said, that, as one of the Representatives of a county in which Mr. Clifford Lloyd was a Special Magistrate, he wished altogether to dissociate himself from the remarks which had been made hostile to that gentleman.

Mr. LEAMY asked whether the police, before they took those two gentlemen—Mr. Joynes and Mr. George—before the magistrates, examined the documents and letters those gentlemen had in their possession; and, if they did, by what authority under the Prevention of Crime Act did they proceed? As far as he (Mr. Leamy) was aware, the Act did not give them the authority. Did the right hon. Gentleman think that the police were justified in going outside the Act? There was another thing he wished to ask, and it was a question which had been asked several times before—namely, what Mr. Clifford Lloyd cost the country—what were his expenses? That question had been put to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) on several occasions, and it had been put to the present Chief Secretary; but no satisfactory reply had been received, and surely the House was entitled to know such a fact as this. How much did Mr. Clifford Lloyd get as salary, and how much in allowances—how much did he get for a salary, how much for clerks, how much for police protection?—because he (Mr. Leamy) had not the slightest doubt, if all the amounts were known, the grand total of the amount spent on Mr. Clifford Lloyd would startle the country. The right hon. Gentleman, in referring to the Land Courts, mentioned the average of reductions made in the different Provinces of Ireland, coming to 22 per cent in Ulster and 13 per cent in Leinster; and he had said it was evident from the way in which the reductions were made, both in the Land Court and in the Civil Bill Court, that both the Commissioners and the County Court Judges were reducing the rents on a system. It would be well that they should have evidence of the system; but it seemed to him that it would be very hard to get it from the Government. If the right hon. Gentleman could give the opponents of the Land Act assurance that there was a perfect system, and could describe it, he ought to do so.

Mr. HEALY said, that great complaint had been made with regard to the arrest of Mr. George and Mr. Joynes; but, so far as he (Mr. Healy) was concerned, it seemed to him that the police officer who had made the arrest had acted rightly. He did not know what else the constable could have done. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had made the most extraordinary statement, as far as inconsistency was concerned, that he had ever heard, even from a Chief Secretary. The right hon. Gentleman had said that the police were to do this kind of thing no more. Why should they not do it again? Was it because Mr. Joynes wore a black coat, and, say, John Murphy wore a frieze—was it because Mr. Joynes wore a shiny hat and John Murphy a cloth cap, that the latter was to be arrested and the former allowed to proceed on his way? Only the other day a policeman met a man in the street and told him to go home. The man replied, "I shall go home when I like," whereupon the constable arrested him, took him to the police station, and had him locked up for 24 hours. Why did not the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant complain of that? Why, it was because this poor fellow had not dined with two Cabinet Ministers at the Reform Club. It appeared to be a passport to respectability to dine with two Cabinet Ministers. The people to blame were not the police; they were to blame George Otto Trevelyan and Sir William Harcourt, and the Ministers who passed these Acts giving the police such powers. What was the use of blaming the miserable subordinates who put these Acts into operation? Those Gentlemen on the Front Ministerial Bench were, in reality, the pendulum and weights, and the police were but a minor part of the machinery. Well, it was said that they were not going to arrest people like Mr. Joynes and Mr. George any more. He hoped they would—he should like to see them arrest a few Archbishops and a couple of Cardinals, and keep them in a close cell for a night on the principle that he believed Sydney Smith advocated, when he said the best way to stop railway accidents was to put a railway director on each buffer of the engine. As for those poor wretches who lived on potatoes and stirabout, and earned, perhaps, only 1*s.* a-day, it appeared they might be arrested, and welcome, without rousing any right hon. Gentleman's indignation. It was a very different thing when they came to arrest a Professor from Eton, and Head Master Henry George, a person who had been invited to dine with two Cabinet Ministers. When these gentlemen were arrested, the country began to understand the horrors of the situation, and their indignation at once burst out. They could arrest a poor man in the West of Ireland dressed in a frieze coat; but directly they arrested a gentleman in a black coat the House was going to come to pieces. Hitherto the right hon. Gentleman had been afraid to caution the police about abusing the Prevention of Crime Act; but now, because they had arrested two swells, they were told that the police were to be cautioned not to do it any more. He might say, of all the absurdities of the British Government, he had never heard the equal of this. If he, like the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, were a British official, he should defend everything the Irish police did. If the British Government in Ireland was good, it was proper for them to defend it all through. In the view of the Irish Members, the end the British Government had in view was frightfully bad; but, bad as it was, the English Government, holding the opinion they did with regard to it, ought to stick to the machinery they had prepared for its maintenance. One of two things would happen to the right hon. Gentleman—either he would get hardened in defending the police in swearing that that which was white was black, and that that which was black was white; or, in spite of his official character, the honesty of his soul would come to the surface and assert itself, and they would find him retiring from his post dismayed and disgusted.

SIR HENRY FLETCHER said, that, as an old Eton boy, he wished to bear his testimony to the fact that Mr. Joynes was an Eton Master and a perfect gentleman. He was a straightforward and an honest Englishman; and he (Sir Henry Fletcher) was sure that all that had been done had been done by mistake.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 24; Noes 81: Majority 57.—(Div. List, No. 326.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(2.) £75,317, to complete the sum for the Dublin Metropolitan Office.

(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £1,082,146 (including a Supplementary sum of £300,000), be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Constabulary Force in Ireland."

MR. SEXTON said, he supposed the Government scarcely cherished such an expectation as that this Vote could pass without a fight upon it. Under other circumstances, it seemed to him that it would have been necessary to have made the subject of this Vote a matter of extended observation; but they had had on recent occasions an opportunity of discussing the condition and the recent duty of the Constabulary in Ireland, and they had an assurance from the Chief Secretary that his personal attention would be given to the subject of keeping the members of the Police Force in that country within the pale of the law. They had also heard that a Circular had been sent round warning the officers and the men not to exercise more discretion than they had authority to exercise under the extraordinary powers of the Coercion Act. Under these circumstances, he did not think it necessary to enter into a discussion of any great length; but, at the same time, it appeared to him to be desirable to say that with regard to certain officers of the Constabulary, officers whose names had been prominent before the House and the country, it was necessary to insist that some action should be taken on their account. He referred especially to County Inspector Smith, of Clare; to Inspector Ball, of Ballina; to Inspector Rogers, of Tullaghmore, and others. The nature and extent of the misconduct of these officers had been more than once explained in that House, and he should not trouble the Committee with any further detailed reference to it; but he would appeal to the Chief Secretary that if Sub-Inspectors and County Inspectors provoked conflicts which led to the loss of life, they could not be punishable in the course of law. He entertained a hope that there might be some inquiries into the conduct of these officers. He had heard complaints from more than one constable that the conflicts which had occurred between the police and the people were due in a large measure to the officers, who had provoked conflicts against the wish of the men. The officers had thought it necessary to maintain the military character of the Force; and it was due to that desire to develop the military character of the Force that it had become so useless to protect life in Ireland. He would put before the Chief Secretary an axiom which might be of some use—that in proportion as the military character of the Force was lessened, and was freed from the oppressive military code of drill, so its efficiency would increase. There was a wanton arrest of men, and bad treatment of men when they were arrested. In one case a man, who was suffering from lung disease, was confined in a cell seven feet by nine inches, and he had to be held up to the small window to get air. He knew of cases in which men were thrown into prison under the Coercion Act, and in their absence the police annoyed their families by prowling about their houses, greatly to the discomfort of their wives and children. The right hon. Gentleman had urged that bygones should be bygones in relation to Mr. Clifford Lloyd. That was, no doubt, the Government view of dealing with the outcome of that gentleman's actions; but he hoped while the right hon. Gentleman said that, there would be some assurance that the future would be different from the past. He could refer to the conduct of the police under the Coercion Act; but it was enough now to say that they had arrested men simply for lighting their pipes under a hedge; and they had even thrown girls into prison. The opinion in Ireland was that there was a Police Force every member of which felt himself at liberty to irritate and annoy and torment those whom he took into custody, and to alarm those who were left at home, and that the youngest constable felt that in pursuing this course he was commanding, at least, the tacit approval of the higher officials placed over him. He hoped all this would be changed. Before the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) left Office, he had lost all faith in that right hon. Gentleman, not only in regard to his administration, but in regard to his Answers to Questions in that House; but he regarded in a different light the present Chief Secretary. He had had occasion to ask that right hon. Gentleman many Questions, and up to the present time he had not found in any case anything such as he should call a suppression of facts, of the substitution of equivocal Answers for the plain, frank facts of the case. The right hon. Gentleman the present Chief Secretary told the truth. He did not mean to convey an imputation that the right hon. Gentleman would tell a falsehood under any circumstances; but he thought there was something in the right hon. Gentleman which prevented the authorities from playing disgraceful deceptions upon him as they did on the late Chief Secretary. It was for that reason that he refrained from referring to those improprieties and cruelties which might be laid to the fault of the police. He would make an abstract of the communications he had received, and would place in the hands of the Chief Secretary the names of the persons accused of misconduct, with a statement of the nature and time and circumstances of their misconduct. He would depend upon the right hon. Gentleman to have a careful and independent inquiry into these statements, and to rely upon his own independent judgment. He would do this with more confidence because there might be an Autumn Session, when, although it was intended to devote that to a particular purpose, there might be opportunities of judging of the manner in which the right hon. Gentleman fulfilled his pledges. In the meantime, he was content to rely upon the character of the present Chief Secretary.

Mr. HEALY said, he wished to draw attention to the answer of the Solicitor General for Ireland with regard to certain police transactions. The hon. and learned Gentleman gave a series of denials which he might have spared the House; and he (Mr. Healy) desired to place the true facts of the case before the Committee, and ask upon what the hon. and learned Gentleman founded himself. He had brought before the

House a case of "Boycotting" Her Majesty's Sub-Commissioners in Castletown, and the fact that a gun-boat had been placed at their disposal, because the Hon. Robert White, J.P., had closed his hotel. The hon. and learned Gentleman fell back on the excuse that Mr. White closed his hotel because of a lack of waiters; but there was another hotel in that town, kept by an "ex-suspect," and the police permitted Mr. White to shut up his hotel for the alleged lack of waiters; and, of course, Mr. John George M'Carthy would not bemean the Sub-Commissioners by going to the hotel of a "suspect." He (Mr. Healy) had put a Question with regard to the "Boycotting" of the Sub-Commissioners by Mr. White, whether it was not the fact that, under the Prevention of Crime Act, persons of humble class had been sent to gaol for refusing to work for persons whom they disliked; and the hon. and learned Gentleman, taking advantage of the absence of his Colleague, denied that that had been the case. But just before, near Cloyne, a smith was sent to prison for refusing to shoe the horse of a person, and a labourer in the smithy was also sent to prison. The smith stated that he would only shoe the horses of his customers, and the Inspector told him he should shoe anybody's horse that was brought to him. Yet the Solicitor General for Ireland denied that persons of humble class had been sent to prison for "Boycotting." He supposed the hon. and learned Gentleman's subterfuge was that the smith was not a person of humble class, but he would dispute that; and if the hon. and learned Gentleman denied that labourers had been sent to gaol he would take leave to say that the hon. and learned Gentleman stated what was grossly inaccurate. Here was Mr. Robert White shutting up his hotel, and the hon. and learned Gentleman said he was not an hotel-keeper, because the licence was not in his name. But he drew the money, and was a brother of Lord Bantry, against whom land cases had been filed; and yet the hon. and learned Gentleman gave this unsifted statement simply, he presumed, on the word of a local police officer down in Castletown-Berehaven. A gun-boat was placed at the disposal of the Sub-Commissioners, and they had to travel 40 miles a-day in the gun-boat in wild weather, because Mr. White was short of waiters. If, instead of Mr. Robert White, it had been the case of Mr. O'Gorman, of Charleville, the police would have been sent to call upon him. There was not a single record of a process in Ireland under the old Act used against Mr. O'Gorman, and Mr. Justice Stephen, in the Criminal Code Bill, proposed its repeal; but the Attorney General for Ireland came and rooted up that Act, and put it in force against Mr. O'Gorman. Not being content with a civil verdict against that gentleman, he entered a criminal prosecution against him; and then to-day, with disingenuousness, the Solicitor General for Ireland stated that that prosecution had been "dropped." He should like to characterize that statement with the strongest words it was possible to use in that House. The statement was wholly and absolutely inaccurate. The prosecution was not dropped, but was pursued vindictively against this man under this old Statute, which had never been put in force in Ireland or in England; and it was only when an honest jury refused to be a party to nefarious chicanery that the prosecution was dropped, because it could not be sustained any longer. Yet the hon. and learned Gentleman came forward to-day and claimed in his clemency to have dropped the prosecution. If there was an Act in force, let it be applied with an equal hand. He could understand the Chief Secretary being horrified at black-coated people being put in prison sometimes. Labourers might be put in prison, but not Hon. Robert Whites and brothers of Lord Bantry, who carried on the high and mighty trade of hotel-keepers, and shut their doors because they were in want of waiters. Were waiters so short in Ireland? Were the numbers of excursionists so small? Why did not the Chief Secretary inquire into the matter when the hotel was closed? The hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone) went down there and took good custom with him in the shape of military and police, and the hotel was not closed; but when the Commissioners went down the Hon. Robert White was short of waiters. All that was claimed was that the Act should be put in force with equal hand; and all he would say was that he hoped when the Attorney General for Ireland achieved high office, as he had not chosen to proceed against the Hon. Robert White, he would order the release of the humbler individuals who were in prison.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, he could not quite see what purpose the hon. Member for Wexford had in view; but he could not allow the hon. Member's remarks to pass without some observations. He did not rise to defend himself in this matter, for he had given an answer from the best official information he could obtain, and he had not the faintest doubt that his statement was perfectly accurate in every respect. As to the other charge—that against the Attorney General for Ireland—it was one of the ways of the hon. Member to use the words "nefarious chicanery;" but he did not think such a remark would commend itself to the judgment of the Committee, or would tend much to the propriety of the debates. His right hon. and learned Friend was known to the House to be absolutely incapable of swerving from the truth; and he thought that observation, in his absence, might have been spared. What the right hon. and learned Gentleman did in the Charleville case was this. Mr. O'Gorman refused to open his hotel to Emergency men. That was an offence under the English and the Irish law, and had been punished both in England and in Ireland—[Mr. HEALY: Never.]—and he thought it undesirable that the law should be dispensed with. The Attorney General for Ireland, therefore, in the exercise of his duty, took proceedings against Mr. O'Gorman. Since the Question was asked to-day upon this matter, he had ascertained that the hon. Member was quite accurate as to the case having gone so far as a disagreement of the jury; but he himself had been perfectly accurate in what he had then said—not being aware that the trial had gone so far—that the Attorney General for Ireland deliberately and advisedly allowed the prosecution to drop. A prosecution was not terminated by a disagreement of the jury, but the Attorney General for Ireland allowed the matter to drop, because the landlord had been mulcted in two civil cases, and was in prison under the Coercion Act, and the Attorney General for Ireland thought the proceedings might be allowed to drop. With respect to the other matter, he had not the least doubt that Mr. White was the landlord of the hotel, and he was informed that Mr. White was the landlord of the hotel, and nothing more. As to the gun-boat, it was true that the Sub-Commissioners had to stay at Glengariff — an exceedingly pleasant place to stay at—and, one hotel being closed for the want of servants, they preferred to go to the hotel at a distance. This matter was really not worth being dealt with in Parliament, and he should not have thought of speaking, but that the hon. Member had made some rather strong remarks.

MR. HEALY said, it was too much the custom of Law Officers to make statements simply on their own authority; but there never had been either a conviction or a prosecution in England under this old Statute, and Mr. Justice Stephen, in his Criminal Code, had recommended its repeal.

MR. O'DONNELL, upon this Vote, wished for some information which he casually applied for some time ago in a Question addressed to the Chief Secretary with reference to the disproportion of Catholics and Protestants in the Royal Irish Constabulary, from the lowest to the highest grades. He did not bring this question forward in any religious spirit, nor did he care whether a constable was a Roman Catholic or a Protestant; but he was bound to call attention to serious facts of which he wished some explanation. He procured a Return in 1880 of all the members of different ranks in the Royal Irish Constabulary, and from that it appeared that there were some 11,000 or 12,000 sub-constables; and of those, two-thirds, or nearly three-fourths, were Roman Catholics. As he advanced to the rank of constable and to the higher grades he found the number of Roman Catholics strangely diminished, until he came to the officers, of whom there were 240; and of those, only about 35 or 40 were Roman Catholics, while three-fourths of the men of the lower grades were Roman Catholics. He wished to know what was the reason of this apparent exclusion of Roman Catholics from the rank of officers? To a certain extent he could answer his own question. There were so many vacancies filled up by the Inspector General of Constabulary, so many by the Lord Lieutenant, and so many by competition. But in the competition nominations were required, and the result of this system of recruiting was that the Inspector practically himself nominated Protestants; the Lord Lieutenant also largely nominated Protestants, and the result of the system of nomination by which officers were chosen excluded Roman Catholics in nine out of ten cases. He thought he should not press too much on the Liberalism of the Chief Secretary if he said it was high time for this sort of thing to cease. The idea that the Protestants were better educated in Ireland than Roman Catholics had more truth formerly than at the present, and did not explain the preponderance of Protestant officers in the Constabulary, because the educational requirements of the Constabulary officers were slight—not to exaggerate the matter. Any ordinary young country gentleman, with a small amount of coaching, could make up all that was required for a Constabulary officer. He presumed that the Roman Catholic was pretty nearly as open as the Protestant to the reception of that species of knowledge which was calculated to make a police officer of him. Then, again, among the County Inspectors, of whom there were about 30, the Protestants were in the proportion of two to one, so that, practically, while all the good berths in the Constabulary were secured for Protestants, the merest minority of Roman Catholics were admitted—not more than one in seven or eight; while the vast majority of the rank and file were Roman Catholics. He made this statement on the authority of a very large number of men of all ranks in the Constabulary. At the time when he took this question up a couple of years ago, he received a large pile of letters from the Constabulary all over Ireland, who, without making any complaint against their officers, pointed out that in a great number of cases the Protestant officers found themselves almost naturally led to choose Protestant sub-constables for promotion; and the fact that there was such an enormous Protestant preponderance of officers explained the circumstance that there was also an undue preponderance of Protestant constables and head constables. The mass of the sub-constables were Roman Catholics; but in the non-commissioned ranks Protestants always got the best promotions and the best places. Another explanation had been given to him, which he would ask the Chief Secretary to bear in mind. He was told by dozens of correspondents that most of the favouritism which existed in the ranks of the Royal Irish Constabulary in regard to selection of constables and head constables for promotion, and also in the promotion in the officers' ranks, was to be attributed less to the Protestantism of the leading authorities than to the Freemasonry of the leading authorities. He received statements that it was almost impossible for a Roman Catholic member of the Constabulary to be promoted unless he were a Freemason; but, unfortunately, that offered no escape for a Roman Catholic. He did not wish to say a word that was disrespectful to the Masonic Body; but by the regulations of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, as in other countries, no man could be at the same time a Freemason and a Roman Catholic. If a man became a Freemason he ceased to be a Catholic, and that must be a certain bar on the consciences of Catholics. A Protestant constable had to take an oath that he was not a member of a secret society; but, although the Freemasons were a secret body, the oath did not obtain in regard to them. The Freemasons were a most respectable body in Ireland and in England; but, on the Continent, they were one of the most formidable revolutionary bodies in existence, and he thought the Government ought to watch the influence of Freemasonry so far as it tended to convert the general comradeship which ought to exist in the Constabulary into the comradeship of Freemasonry as distinct from that which should exist in the general body of the Force. He only wished now to lay these considerations before the Chief Secretary without asking for any explanation on the subject; but he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would take note of these facts, and inquire whether there was any jealousy of Freemasonry in the Constabulary, and whether he should take steps to redress the enormous existing inequality between Protestants and Catholics in the higher grades of the Constabulary, looking to the fact that an overwhelming majority of constables were Catholics.

MR. TREVELYAN said, the hon. Member for Dungarvan had stated that he only proposed to lay these matters before the Irish Government; and although he did not think the hon. Member wanted any detailed answer, he should like to see the figures from which the hon. Member had quoted from memory. The general bearing of the Return, as described by the hon. Member, he would take for granted; but the practical question was whether the Irish Government would do what they could to correct this inequality. He might fall back on the principle that he ought not to inquire into matters of religion. In this case it was sufficient that the idea had got abroad that the Roman Catholics had not their fair proportion of men in the Constabulary. Under ordinary circumstances, he should have said that men ought not to be excluded from the Service on account of their religious principles; but, fortunately, the principles of open competition had been introduced into the Royal Irish Constabulary, and one of the many advantages of those principles was that the authorities were enabled to appoint even a somewhat overplus of nominations to a particular class, because it was certain that they would be tested by the process of open competition. Ever since he had been in his present Office he had been glad to receive the name of any young Protestant or young Catholic for the Constabulary. He had not received as many as he could have wished, and it was not always easy to find Irish Roman Catholics such as he wished to see in the Constabulary. He was always glad to receive such names and to see such young men try their chance against others in the open competition. Up to the present that competition had been held under circumstances which, on the whole, he thought were not the best. As vacancies occurred very often these men were appointed for trial; three or four of them were, perhaps, good Roman Catholics; but there might be one who was better than they were, and the consequence was that the three eligible men were defeated, and then they had to come forward subsequently as other men went out. That was not the process for Fellowships at Oxford; and he proposed to correct this system by waiting till there was a small reservoir of vacancies and a somewhat larger examination, which would secure a greater average of candidates, so that each person who was deserving would have a chance, and everyone who was very deserving something little less than a certainty, and four or five out of 20 men might get in.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 86; Noes 14: Majority 72.—(Div. List, No. 327.)

(4.) £100,704, to complete the sum for Prisons, Ireland.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND desired to urge upon his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland the expediency of appointing a small Royal Commission to examine into and report upon the condition of the convict and local prisons in Ireland, upon the management of those prisons, and upon the constitution and working of the present Prisons Board. He felt quite sure that the Chief Secretary would, if a Commission were not granted, set to work with the ability and vigour which he had displayed in his Office to inquire into these points; but he felt equally sure that, looking to the pledges which the Chief Secretary had already given to examine into other Departments and other subjects, it would be simply impossible for him to undertake such an inquiry. He could not find time to make that personal inspection into the prisons which was absolutely necessary. He (Sir Henry Holland) spoke from experience upon that point, as he had acted as one of the Royal Commissioners who were appointed in 1878 to inquire into the working of the Penal Servitude Acts; and they found it not only necessary to visit the different convict prisons, and to see themselves the cells and food and general system of working the prisons, and to take the evidence of Governors and warders, but also to communicate with many of the convicts alone in their cells, without the presence of the Governor or warders. In this way only could they get the prisoners to speak freely. He need hardly add that such statements had to be very carefully tested, as they were often highly coloured, and, indeed, often without foundation; but it was desirable to get hold of these complaints, as they formed the groundwork of further inquiry. It might be urged against his proposal that the Royal Commission, to which he had referred, had, in fact, examined into the convict prisons of Ireland, and reported as recently as in 1879. No doubt that was the case; but he would point out that the Commission did not inquire into the working of local prisons, and this would form the first part of the work of the proposed Royal Commission. The second branch of their work would be to see how far effect had been given to the recommendations made by the Royal Commission with respect to the convict prisons. He would not, at that late hour, go through those recommendations; but he might state that the most important ones referred to the abolition of Spike Island as a prison; an alteration in the dietaries; a revision of the system of marks, so as to make it more uniform with the system in force in England; and to the establishing an independent inspection of prisons by persons unconnected with the Government or with the Prisons Board. Now, as regarded Spike Island, he believed that some prisoners had been removed, but that the place was still kept up as a convict prison, although it was most unsuitable for that purpose. As regarded the independent inspection, he was informed that it had failed, from what cause he was not now prepared to say; but, unless he was mistaken, the Chief Secretary himself admitted, a short time ago, that since December, 1880, there had only been one visit paid. The third branch of the inquiry of the proposed Commission would relate to the constitution and working of the present Prisons Board. In 1854, a Board of Directors, with a Chairman, was appointed under the Convict Prison Act for Ireland. It was very similar to the Board now existing in England, and the members of it themselves personally and regularly visited the prisons. Now, in his opinion, and he thought he might add in the opinion of the Royal Commission, members of the Board, who were both Directors and Inspectors—as now in England—were, if they did their duty, in a far better position to understand and to remedy the evils and defects of the system than if they merely acted on the Reports of Inspectors and Governors. It was good also for the prisoners, as it made them feel that they were treated with justice. They then knew that their cases and complaints reached the highest executive authority. If the Directors did not visit the prison, the prisoners did not feel sure that their cases were reported, or, at all events, that they were accurately reported and not coloured by the Inspectors or Governors. It was no slight advantage to make the prisoners believe that, though they were treated with severity, they were treated justly, and that no favour was shown, and a face to face inquiry greatly promoted that belief. But from 1862 to 1869 there were several changes in the constitution of the Prisons Board, and in 1869 there was only two Directors, and, in fact, for five years after 1873 Captain Barlow was sole Director. The present Board was constituted in 1877, and consisted of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and two other members. One of these latter members was unpaid; but he was paid in respect of other official duties which he performed, and which must take up a considerable portion of his time. Under the Board were three Inspectors. He (Sir Henry Holland) was not sure how far the members of the Board paid visits to the prisons; but, if he was rightly informed, they acted, as a rule, on the Reports of the Inspectors; and if such were the case, he thought the system needed revision for the reasons he had above stated. He trusted that, without going at length into the matter, he had shown that there was good ground for appointing a Royal Commission to inquire into the convict and local prisons of Ireland and into the working of the Prisons Board, and that the Chief Secretary would favourably consider the proposal.

Mr. PARNELL said, the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken had long been distinguished for the care and attention which he had paid to the question of prison discipline, and for the humanitarian views he had always expressed on the general question. He was glad the hon. Gentleman had given the weight of his powerful recommendation to the appointment of a Royal or small Commission in Ireland, for the purpose of investigating the condition of the prisons subject to the Act of 1877, and also to the condition of the convict prisons in that country. In addition to the matters which the hon. Gentleman had alluded to, he (Mr. Parnell) wished to direct the Chief Secretary's attention specially to some other matters which constituted clear defects in the management of prisons, and which required to be immediately looked to. The subject of independent inspection was a very important one, although it was a very difficult one. He feared very much that one of the great evils attending the passing of the Prisons' Act of 1877 had been the doing away with the independent inspection by the Justices which previously existed. Experience had shown that the Visiting Justices appointed under the Act of 1877 took no practical interest whatever in their functions; and, having no power to cause obedience to their recommendations, they visited the prisons in a most perfunctory fashion. In fact, as a general rule, the functions of Visiting Justices had entirely ceased under the new regulations. He thought that a very wise course to adopt with regard to independent inspection of prisons would be to take advantage of the Local Boards which now existed in Ireland, and to appoint the Boards of independent inspection, partly from the elected Guardians, and partly from the *ex-officio* Guardians of the Unions in which the prisons were situated, and, where there were Corporate Bodies, that those Corporate Bodies should be empowered to name persons from amongst their members to act as independent Inspectors of both county and borough prisons and convict prisons. By doing that, a body of men would be got who would fulfil the duties of independent inspection, both to the satisfaction of the public and of the Government. He would wish to direct the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, while on the question of independent inspection, to a Circular which was issued lately by Sir Walter Crofton in regard to this matter, and to the treatment of men who might be imprisoned under the Prevention of Crime Act for agrarian offences. Of course, the right hon. Gentleman was aware that Sir Walter Crofton filled, for many years, with the utmost distinction, the position of Chairman of the Irish Prison Board, and only resigned that office so recently as 1878. Sir Walter Crofton said that, in 1879, Lord Kimberley's Commission on Penal Servitude, after a very close examination of prison officials, recommended that arrangements should be made for the independent inspection of convict prisons by persons appointed by the Government and unconnected with the Department, and unpaid. In the case of Ireland that recommendation had been practically disregarded, although the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross), then Home Secretary, did institute a system of independent inspection for English prisons, which he (Mr. Parnell) thought was far from being sufficiently minute to satisfy the requirements of the case. Sir Walter Crofton pointed out that, in his evidence before Lord Kimberley's Commission, he showed the special necessity which existed in Ireland for such a control over the prison administration as would be afforded by a real independent outside inspection, and stated that, although in England such inquiries had constantly been held, no such investigation had been made in Ireland for 25 years, the obvious result being that the Governors had been unchecked in their management. That was a state of things which would not be tolerated in England. Sir Walter Crofton went on to say—

> "Having regard to the consequences of the Prevention of Crime legislation,"

—and this was what he (Mr. Parnell) particularly wished to direct the attention of the Committee to—

> "I do not think any time should be lost in instituting safeguards against abuse. In my early management of Irish convict prisons I had a very large number of men convicted of belonging to secret societies, administering unlawful oaths, &c., and I know them to be a sensitive class, requiring great care in their management."

Sir Walter Crofton separated the class of persons who were likely to be convicted under the Prevention of Crime Act from the criminal class. He looked upon them as a different order of men, not necessarily criminal by nature, and almost as having committed a sort of political offence requiring special treatment and care. Sir Walter Crofton wound up by making several recommendations; but it was not necessary to trouble the Committee with them at that time of the night (12.30). He (Mr. Parnell) wished to add one or two observations derived from his own practical experience of the treatment of convicted persons in Kilmainham. The part of the prison in which he and his hon. Friends were imprisoned was separated from the main body of the prison, where the other "suspects" were confined; it was that in which the criminal prisoners or convicted prisoners were imprisoned.

He believed there were 60 or 65 of such prisoners, and he had daily opportunities of observing their treatment, their appearance, their demeanour, and so forth, and also the condition of their cells. The general impression made upon his mind was that these prisoners were suffering from insufficient food and clothing, that their cells were not properly warmed, and that many of them were exceedingly damp, and that the prisoners were treated with an ostentatious appearance of harshness and brutality by the warders. Knowing, as he did, many of the warders to be most humane men, he could only suppose that, owing to long custom and habit, they had come to believe it was necessary that this class of prisoners should be treated in this way. These convicted prisoners were spoken to, and ordered and directed by the warders as if they were dogs. He had seen men after they had suffered 18 months' imprisonment with hard labour—he had known them before they were sent into prison; he had known them to be well and able-bodied men, and he had seen them after 18 months' imprisonment come out permanently, he feared, enfeebled both in mind and body. He had seen a statement in print by one of the Irish Judges to the effect that no person could stand a sentence of imprisonment for two years with hard labour without its leaving a permanent effect upon his mind or his body, and that such a period of imprisonment was more useful in its effect than sentences of five, six, or seven years' penal servitude. He (Mr. Parnell) believed that to be perfectly true. There were very few men who, under the present prison discipline in Ireland, could stand six months' imprisonment with hard labour without it permanently enfeebling them in body; and he believed that an imprisonment of two years would, in all probability, also enfeeble them in mind. Of course, he was making a general attack. What he had to say applied to every class of prisoners. He considered that the treatment of prisoners in Irish prisons was inhumane, that the prisoners did not get enough to eat. Short term prisoners only got 20 ounces of farinaceous food a-day, and long term prisoners received very little more. The demeanour of the warders towards them was, in many cases, exceedingly brutal; and he trusted there might be a Commission appointed to inquire into the general management of prisons, and also to inquire what difference, if any, there should be as regarded the treatment of prisoners who might be convicted for offences against the Prevention of Crime Act, which, of course, would not be offences against the ordinary law of England. He thought he was entitled to ask for somewhat less harsh treatment of prisoners convicted under the Summary Jurisdiction Clauses of this Act for offences specially constructed by the Legislature this Session. He wished to give the Committee an illustration of the need for independent inspection, and of the absolute necessity, where that inspection took place, that the prisoners should be examined apart from the prison officials. He had reason to believe that that was very seldom done. It was the custom—it was the law, in fact—that when a child was sent to a Reformatory, it must, first of all, be imprisoned for a fortnight in one of the common gaols of the county. He did not know the reason of this provision; it was a very foolish and absurd one; but it was the law, and the consequence was that children of tender ages were kept in solitary confinement, and many of them almost frightened to death. When he was in Kilmainham, he often heard children crying in their cells for nights and nights together, and he had wondered that the law should be so. The incident to which he wished to refer was that of a child who was crying all night—crying for its mother. The next day it was still crying. He was out in the yard exercising just under the child's cell. He heard a blow administered to the child; he heard the child dragged from the cell to some distant part of the prison where it cried even louder. He reported the incident to the Governor, and told him he believed the child had been struck. The Governor, a most humane man, at once inquired; but his inquiries were conducted in the presence of warders, and, he believed, in the presence of the very warder who had struck the child. The child, of course, denied that it had been struck. He inquired of the chaplain, and that gentleman told him that the child had been struck. He mentioned this as an illustration of the necessity for such inspection as would insure the examination of prisoners in private, and apart from the prison officials. Now he wished to say a word in regard to the treatment of political prisoners—that was to say, of prisoners who might be sent to penal servitude, like the prisoner Walsh, for political offences. It was one of the disgraces of this country that there was no separate or different treatment for political prisoners. No one would say that even the man Walsh, who had been sentenced to seven years' penal servitude, ought to be classed with murderers, wife beaters, and the ordinary criminal scum of the cities. He did not mean to say that such a man as Walsh ought not to be punished now that he had been convicted; but if there were to be many convictions of a similar kind in Ireland, he warned the Government that the treatment of the men would leave marks behind which they would not be able to get rid of for many years to come. It was so in the case of the last Fenian outbreak, during which outbreak many men by their treatment were driven out of their minds. The Committee had it on evidence given before the Devon Commission that many of the Fenian prisoners were brought over from Ireland and stripped of their flannels in the winter time in order that their punishment might be the more severe. Some of the prisoners lost their health permanently in consequence of the treatment they had received; and their sufferings, he said, would constitute a lasting disgrace to the prison discipline of the time. Let the right hon. Gentleman read the evidence given before the Commission which sat to inquire into the treatment of prisoners who were confined for political offences; let him read the evidence of Mr. Davitt, and then say whether, in his opinion, the treatment which he received was proper treatment for a man of his class and character to receive; whether he did not feel ashamed that he had received such treatment. The cruelty from which he suffered continued until he was invalided and allowed to go into an infirmary cell. There was no power under the existing law to give exceptional or lenient treatment to a person convicted of treason-felony; unless he was made out to be an invalid he would have to go through the same horrible treatment that was meted out to the criminal classes. He said this was a wrong, and in the event of there being convictions obtained for treason-felony in Ireland he appealed to Her Majesty's Government to look into the matter, and save themselves from the reproach of treating men honourable in their opinions as if they were the enemies of the human race. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman would see his way to grant what the hon. Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland) had asked for, and Irish Members would then have somebody before whom they would be entitled to lay their complaints with regard to the present treatment in Ireland of political and other prisoners.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, that at that time of the evening, and at that time of the Session, he should be very much to blame if he were to detain the Committee with an argumentative speech. His hon. Friend opposite (Sir Henry Holland), who opened this discussion, had stated with great truth that, when he (Mr. Trevelyan), went back to Ireland, he would have to look into a great many questions; but that they were questions which, on the whole, anyone accustomed to administration might hope, with care and attention, to be able to influence. But his hon. Friend, than whom no man in that House had a wider or more exact knowledge of the various Departments of the State, knew very well that the question of prison administration was one which it would be idle for him to say he would pay attention to when he went back to Ireland. But he might say that the Lord Lieutenant, with whom he had conversed on the subject, appeared to be favourable to the appointment of Commissioners to examine into the state of the Irish prisons, and very much so for the reasons laid down by his hon. Friend opposite. He would only detain the Committee for the purpose of adding that, in view of the many questions and problems presented by the carrying out of the Protection of Person and Property Act and the Prevention of Crime Act, and considering the great changes that had taken place within recent years, he could not but feel that the time had come for an inquiry into the management of Irish prisons.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT desired to express the great satisfaction he felt at the announcement on the part of the right hon. Gentleman with reference to the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the management of prisons in Ireland. The appointment of such a body would be very likely to rectify any abuses which might exist in the Irish prisons, and so remove the just causes of complaint which, unfortunately, gave occasion for the exaggerations of popular speakers. There were two points which he wished to urge on the attention of the right hon. Gentleman with regard to the Commission—first, that they should consider the condition of Spike Island Prison; and, secondly, the question of the establishment of a system of outside and independent inspection of Irish prisons. He had, as a member of the Penal Servitude Commission, seen Spike Island, which had left upon his mind the most painful recollections; and he felt sure that those Members who had seen it, or might see it hereafter, would retain equally unpleasant impressions of it. He did not remember to have spent a more disagreeable time than when he visited the place in question. Not only were the approaches to Spike Island objectionable, but the arrangements under which it existed were altogether eminently unsatisfactory; and, therefore, he trusted the whole subject would be considered. He had on many occasions been forced to disregard complaints made in that House by Irish Members; but he had no hesitation in saying that the management of prisons in Ireland was a question which ought to receive attention; and he repeated the satisfaction he felt at the announcement that it would meet with the consideration it deserved at the hands of Her Majesty's Government. With regard to an independent system of inspection of prisons, he pointed out that the Commission on which he had the honour of serving, under the Presidency of the present Secretary of State for the Colonies (Lord Kimberley), reported in favour of the application of that system to the prisons in England and Ireland, and that recommendation with respect to England, where few complaints were heard, had been carried out; but with regard to Ireland, the prisons of which country were the subject of constant reproach and complaint, nothing had been done in the way of providing independent inspection. He would therefore impress upon Her Majesty's Government the desirability of organizing a system of real inspection by means of Committees, before whom people would have an opportunity of laying their complaints.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR remarked that the convicts at Spike Island found useful occupation in constructing a breakwater. However, the place was condemned on all hands; and he took that opportunity of asking the right hon. Gentleman whether, if a Royal Commission were appointed, its functions would include the examination of witnesses, or the investigation of the question as to whether a new convict prison should be made in place of Spike Island, and, if so, whether the public would be allowed to give evidence?

MR. TREVELYAN said, he was under the impression that an official inquiry had taken place in connection with the subject just referred to by the hon. Member for Galway, and that ground had been marked out whereon to erect a new prison. He could not, however, pledge himself to any details, nor make any other promise than that when the time came for taking into consideration the scope of the inquiry, the subject brought forward by the hon. Member for Galway should be named.

Vote *agreed to.*

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

(5.) £231,400, to complete the sum for the Science and Art Department.

MR. BUCHANAN said, at the beginning of the Session he had called the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President on the Committee of the Council of Education to a Memorial signed by the Geological Society, and addressed to the Science and Art Department, with reference to the Geological Survey of Great Britain. It appeared from the reply given that the Survey, so far as England was concerned, might be completed in two years and a-half from the beginning of last April, and that then it was intended to set apart a certain number of men now engaged upon the English Survey to complete the Survey of Scotland. Having regard to the rate of progress up to the present time, it was possible that in 1895 the Survey of Scotland might be completed; but it by no means followed that the public would then reap the benefit of the Survey, because they found that, although the Survey had now been going on in England for 20 years, and notwithstanding the fact that £4,000 a-year more was spent on that Survey than was spent in respect of the Scotch Survey, only 20 maps had been published in England, and in Scotland only two. So that, although the actual Survey might be completed in 1895, he feared it would be 10 years later before all the sheets were published. He regretted to find by the Estimate now before the Committee that, instead of there being a prospect of the work being accelerated, or even going on at the same rate as last year, there was a decrease of the staff engaged upon the active work of the Survey. No doubt there was one argument that might be used against increasing the active staff, and which was entitled to weight—namely, that work of this kind could not be turned over to men who were inexperienced; but, considering the importance of the work, he regarded it as extraordinary that there should be a decrease of the staff engaged on the Survey. He hoped the matter would be proceeded with vigorously, notwithstanding that the reduction of the staff seemed to indicate a further consumption of time for the completion of the Survey. He did not wish to express any dissatisfaction with the work done in connection with the Geological Survey in Scotland; but merely to remark that the Survey generally, which appeared to be going on very slowly, might, in his opinion, be very much accelerated by the exhibition of a little more generosity on the part of the Science and Art Department.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, the Department was doing everything in their power to facilitate the Geological Survey. But, as the hon. Member for Edinburgh had justly remarked, it was not desirable to place important work of this kind in inexperienced hands. It was the intention, as soon as the Survey now in progress in England was finished, to transfer the staff engaged therein to Scotland, so that the work there would from that time proceed much more rapidly.

Mr. BUCHANAN asked whether a successor had been appointed to the Director of the Scotch Survey?

Mr. MUNDELLA said, he thought no appointment had been made.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE said, it appeared by the Estimate that there would only be four assistant geologists employed this year on the Scotch Survey, as against six employed in 1881-2.

Mr. MUNDELLA assured the hon. Member that there was no diminution of the staff. There had been changes from time to time; but the acting number was the same this year as it was last.

Vote *agreed to.*

(6.) £82,375, to complete the sum for the British Museum.

Mr. SPENCER WALPOLE said, the increased amount asked for this Institution was partly due to the increase in the salaries and wages at the British Museum, and still more so to the increase in the salaries, and the transfers of Collections which had taken place in connection with the Natural History Museum at South Kensington. Three out of the four Collections intended to be sent to South Kensington had already been transferred — namely, the Geological, Mineralogical, and Botanical. The fourth, or the Zoological Collection, had not yet been transferred, the preparation of cases for its reception requiring considerable care, pains, and labour. He believed, however, that the transfer would be undertaken at the commencement of next year. He had some years ago made a promise with regard to sending duplicate specimens to the various Institutions in the country; and he begged to assure the Committee that every pains had been taken to admit of that distribution taking place. But he might point out that great difficulty had been experienced in many cases in arriving at a conclusion as to what were and what were not duplicates. Some time had necessarily been consumed in considerations of that kind; but he was happy to inform the Committee that within the last two years nearly 20,000 duplicate specimens had been distributed amongst the various Museums of the Kingdom. The Accounts laid upon the Table of the House for the past year showed that a considerably greater interest was taken by the public in these Natural History Collections than before, and he felt confident that the arrangement with regard to them was the best that could be made. One strong proof of that interest on the part of the people was that the number of visitors had increased during the last five years from 563,000 to 764,000, while the number of visitors who attended for the purpose of study had increased from

709,000 to very nearly 1,000,000 for the same period.

MR. MAGNIAC said, the statement made by the right hon. Gentleman opposite was one of very great interest to those who had at heart the well-being of the Museums throughout the country. He hoped the distribution of specimens would be in future carried out to the fullest extent of the powers of the Trustees. They were aware that the powers of the Trustees were limited—that when an object was sent to the Museum the Trustees were obliged to keep it there, and that they had no power to move many specimens which would be most serviceable and proper in other museums, notwithstanding the fact that there were at the British Museum whole Collections of objects which would be much better placed elsewhere. He thought the time had arrived when the large Collection of Medals at the British Museum should be placed in a position where they could be better inspected. He thought that a great deal more than could be effected at the present time under the existing system was necessary to bring an appreciation of all these Collections home to the minds of the people which, after all, was the real object in view. He was glad to hear the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education make a firm stand at an earlier period of the evening against the creation of a new Museum in London.

Vote *agreed to.*

(8.) £3,462 (including a Supplementary sum of £1,977), to complete the sum for the National Portrait Gallery.

MR. MAGNIAC said, that this Collection of Portraits, which had grown in a most unprecedented and unforeseen manner, was an illustration of the disadvantage of having no controlling power for making such exhibitions available to the public. He thought there should be a Committee of Inquiry into the subject.

Vote *agreed to.*

(9.) £16,900 (including a Supplementary sum of £6,500), to complete the sum for Learned Societies and Scientific Investigation.

(10.) £6,631, to complete the sum for the London University.

(11.) £2,000, Aberystwith College, Wales.

(12.) £2,100, to complete the sum for the Deep Sea Exploring Expedition (Report).

SIR HENRY HOLLAND asked whether the Financial Secretary to the Treasury could give the Committee any notion when the Report of the Expedition would be finished, and when an end would be put to the charge?

MR. COURTNEY said, he was happy to be able to inform his hon. Friend that the Report of the Expedition was being proceeded with rapidly; but he could not say when it would be completed.

MR. MAGNIAC believed it would be five years before the volumes on special subjects would be ready.

Vote *agreed to.*

(13.) £9,680, to complete the sum for the Transit of Venus.

(14.) £13,532, to complete the sum for Universities, &c. in Scotland.

(15.) £1,700, to complete the sum for the National Gallery, &c. Scotland.

MR. BUCHANAN said, he was sorry at that hour of the morning to have to speak upon this Vote; but he would only occupy the attention of the Committee for a minute or two. He wished to make an observation with regard to the grant for the National Galleries of England and Scotland. He had already asked a Question with regard to the Scotch National Gallery, his opinion being that if extra payments were made they should be made to the three National Galleries equally. Why, he would ask, should Scotland be left out in the cold? An objection raised by the Secretary to the Treasury was that the authorities in Scotland had a right to accumulate a surplus from year to year. That was, no doubt, true, the grant to the National Gallery of Scotland being on a different footing to the grants to the other countries. There had been a composition since the Union. The Scotch National Gallery, having a right to any surplus which might be accumulated, had disposed of that surplus from time to time, and had built the Royal Institution with it. It was limited as to its disposal of the funds, for, according to the Act of 1847, the money had to be applied in manner specified in a

Treasury Minute. Under the existing Treasury Minute, the Scotch National Gallery had no power to spend money in the purchase of pictures. He had no intention of saying anything about that; but he would say that while the English National Gallery received such a large grant, and while there was so much given for the English National Portrait Gallery, Scotland also ought to have a grant for the purchase of pictures. If time had allowed it, he should have moved to reduce the Irish or the English Vote; but the period was so late, and so many Scotch Members had gone to their own country, and he should get such little support if he made that Motion, that he would not adopt that course. However, he thought it was a scandal that such an enormous expenditure should take place upon the English National Gallery, and that nothing should be given to Scotland.

Mr. COURTNEY said, the National Gallery Trust in Scotland rested on a different foundation altogether from that of the English National Gallery. In England the Trustees only received an annual grant, which they could not accumulate, but had to return if they did not use it. In Scotland that was not the case; and they had, in fact, accumulated a great surplus.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE said, he had intended to call attention to this matter; but in view of the work the House still had in hand he thought it would be better not to. But if the question was not raised now, perhaps no notice of it would be taken during the interval between this and the next Session. The grant was not a grant of public money to Scotland; but was really a payment to Scotland of her own money. The payment was made in accordance with an arrangement entered into at the time of the Union. While England received £2,300, Scotland received £2,100, and out of that had to support a School of Art, an Antiquarian Museum, and pay £960 to the Scotch Board of Fisheries, and only some £860 was left for the Arts, and that sum was swallowed up in maintaining the Gallery, so that not 1*d.* could be spent in the purchase of new works of Art.

Mr. MAGNIAC said, that the Scotch Members only had to put a reasonable grievance before the House to have it redressed. He was sure that hon. Gentlemen from the other side of the Border would experience no lack of support from hon. Members on that (the Ministerial) side of the House.

Vote *agreed to.*

(16.) £380,461, to complete the sum for Public Education, Ireland.

Mr. SEXTON said, he wished to say a word or two in order to bring to the notice of the Government the fact that certain ladies imprisoned by the Government had been rather harshly treated by the Commissioners; and not only these ladies, but their relatives. He knew one case where a man was arrested on suspicion of having committed a political offence under the Coercion Act. He was a teacher, and his sister and brother were teaching with him. The Commissioners, in consequence of the imprisonment of this brother, deprived both these people of the promotion they had a right to expect. Now that the Coercion Act was about to expire, he would press the Government not to allow the position of these persons to be made worse by the fact of their having been imprisoned under that Act, and certainly not their relatives.

Vote *agreed to.*

(17.) £1,098, to complete the sum for Teachers' Pension Office, Ireland.

(18.) £325, to complete the sum for the Endowed School Commissioners, Ireland.

(19.) £2,439 (including a Supplementary sum of £1,000), to complete the sum for the National Gallery of Ireland.

(20.) £10,178, to complete the sum for the Queen's Colleges, Ireland.

(21.) £1,200, to complete the sum for the Royal Irish Academy.

Class V.—Foreign and Colonial Services.

(22.) £92,320, to complete the sum for Diplomatic Services.

(23.) £138,100, to complete the sum for Consular Services.

Mr. MAGNIAC said, that on this Vote he had conferred with his hon. Friend below him (Sir Charles W. Dilke). He would not, at that hour of the morning, detain the House any length of time; but he would just observe that the status of British Consuls in some foreign countries was not what it ought to be. Our Agents abroad were not the same as foreign Agents with us in regard to the taxes imposed on them, and such like things, which he would not now go into. He hoped the attention of the Government would be directed to the matter.

Vote *agreed to.*

(24.) £3,473, to complete the sum for the Suppression of the Slave Trade.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, that the amount spent as a subsidy for the suppression of the Slave Trade in Muscat needed a full investigation, and he would recommend that the question at some future time should be carefully inquired into.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND said, that last year it was proposed that the matter should be considered during the Recess; and he thought that they should have some statement as to whether it had been considered, or, if it had not been taken into consideration, that some reason would be advanced for such neglect. The subsidy was started some years ago quite as a temporary matter, and the Motion with regard to it had only been withdrawn on the understanding that the matter would be carefully considered.

MR. COURTNEY said, there had been a Report on the matter; but he would inquire as to the position in which the subject stood.

Vote *agreed to.*

(25.) £6,296, to complete the sum for Tonnage Bounties, &c., and Liberated African Department.

(26.) £870, to complete the sum for the Suez Canal (British Directors).

(27.) £20,835, to complete the sum for Colonies, Grants in Aid.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND said, he did not know whether the Financial Secretary to the Treasury could answer a question on this matter. Last year there was a question as to continuing Sir Arthur Gordon as West Pacific High Commissioner. There had been a strong opinion expressed that when that gentleman ceased to be Governor of Fiji he ought to have ceased to hold the office of High Commissioner, and that the post ought to have been given to the Governor of Fiji, or to the Commander-in-Chief on that station. He (Sir Henry Holland) should like to know whether the matter had been under the consideration of the Colonial Office?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY said, the whole of this question was under the consideration of the Colonial Office, and was in process of re-arrangement.

Vote *agreed to.*

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked whether it was intended to take the grant for Cyprus after Class V. or after Class VII.?

THE CHAIRMAN: After Class VII.

(28.) £7,145 (including a Supplementary sum of £2,000), to complete the sum for South Africa and St. Helena.

MR. WARTON said, that the item of £2,200 was really the extra charge for bringing Cetewayo to this country. ["No, no!"] Yes; he believed he was right this time.

MR. CROPPER said, there was an item of £4,400 for the maintenance of Cetewayo this year.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: No; last year.

MR. CROPPER said, that, no doubt, it would have to continue. Whatever the cost was, a great many people would like to know when it would come to an end. There were a large number of people who considered Cetewayo one of the most ill-used of men, and that, of all the cruel wars England had ever waged, none had been worse than that which had led to the deposition of the Zulu King, and the setting up in his place of John Dunn. There could be no doubt that Cetewayo had the sympathy of many people in this country; and he should like to know whether the Government had yet made up their minds what they would do with him? If Zululand was to be governed well, it seemed to him that it should be governed by a man of its own race. ["Hear, hear!"] He would not dispute with the hon. Gentleman opposite who cheered that sentiment as to whether the hon. Member and he (Mr. Cropper) were of the same race; but he was not of the same race as Cetewayo, and should not like to govern Cetewayo's country. Had the Government made up their minds as to what was to be done with the ex-King?

Sir HENRY HOLLAND (who rose amid cries of "Agreed!" said, he must move to report Progress if he were not allowed to speak on this question. He had strongly opposed the Zulu War, and was of opinion that Cetewayo had been treated very badly; but he by no means thought it right to agree to Cetewayo going back to Zululand, as this country had entered into most solemn promises with the Chiefs; and unless their consent was obtained to his going back, the Government could not, in honour, allow him to do so. They must also get the consent of John Dunn; and if they did not get that consent, the only compromise would be to let Cetewayo have the rest of Zululand. If Cetewayo were restored in that way, he might fall into the hands of the Boers, and he and the other Natives might have a very hard time of it.

Mr. DILLWYN said, that if they did not let Cetewayo go back they might have to annex Zululand, and that would involve a much larger expenditure than had hitherto been incurred. He thought it would be the most reasonable course to let Cetewayo go back.

Mr. CROPPER said, there would be no difficulty in making an arrangement with John Dunn, because the whole country would soon be in a condition of the greatest disorder; and, if left as at present, war would before long break out.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER said, he could not agree with the hon. Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland) that John Dunn deserved any great consideration, for he seemed to be a person of the very worst class with whom they could have to deal. He was a renegade Englishman, who had renounced all the virtues of civilization; and it was much better that the country should be governed by one whose faults were only those of his country than by an Englishman who had renounced all the virtues of civilization, and adopted all the vices of savage nations. He quite agreed with the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) that the only courses open were to annex the country, restore Cetewayo, or place it under the authority of John Dunn. The annexation of the country had been repudiated by all parties in that House, although he knew that course was advocated by a great many people in Natal. He did not expect to hear anyone in that House argue in favour of annexation, or advocate placing the country under John Dunn; and, under those circumstances, there seemed to him only one course, and that was to restore Cetewayo. So far as he could gather, it was the wish of the people to have their King restored. He had seen paragraphs in the Durban Correspondence of *The Times* in favour of John Dunn, and he had also seen a statement that the other day a meeting had been held at which Mr. John Robinson, a leading politician in Natal, had moved a Resolution against the restoration of Cetewayo, and carried it against Mr. Escombe; but, as the Committee knew, there had lately been an election at the wish of the Colonial Office in Natal. Mr. Robinson and Mr. Escombe solicited re-election, Mr. Robinson urging his claim on the ground of his opposition to the restoration of Cetewayo. Mr. Robinson, however, lost his election, while Mr. Escombe was elected. Under these circumstances, he thought it was evident that, though Mr. Robinson might be able to carry with him a meeting, yet, when the people of Natal were appealed to at the poll, they opposed Mr. Robinson and elected Mr. Escombe, who took a more favourable view of Cetewayo. He did not, however, think that that telegram deserved any great attention by the Committee; and, in his opinion, the best solution of all the difficulties would be the restoration of Cetewayo.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH said, he hoped the Government would not unduly delay the settlement of this question, because the country was occupying an undignified position with regard to this captive Chief. He could not understand the visit of Cetewayo to this country, unless there was an intention to restore him to his former position. By the Liberals the Zulu War was almost universally condemned; and he failed to see any outcome where justice would be done, and reasonable expectations satisfied, unless Cetewayo was restored. He was satisfied that this country would suffer in reputation and character in bringing Cetewayo here without some assurance that if he could make good his case and give some undertaking he would be restored.

MR. T. C. BARING said, the opinion of the Committee seemed to be all running the same way; but, whatever the Government might choose to do, he could conceive nothing more unfortunate to the relations of England with her Colonies than the restoration of Cetewayo.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY said, all he could do was to repeat his answer that he was not in a position to give any definite information as to the intention of the Government with reference to Cetewayo; but before Parliament adjourned he hoped he should be in a position to give some definite information.

MR. WARTON protested against the system adopted that evening of bringing in the Supplementary Votes and tacking them on to the Accounts. He did not object to any Votes; but he did object to this principle, and he hoped in future that Supplementary Votes would be treated as Supplementary Votes.

MR. COURTNEY said, what had been done was in accordance with precedent, and that was not the first time this Session that this plan had been adopted. All the Members interested in these Votes were perfectly well aware of what was being done.

MR. WARTON said, very bad things had often been done before, and the reason why this was a bad system was that the Supplementary Votes were not published until some of the earlier Votes had been got through.

Vote *agreed to.*

(29.) £16,300, to complete the sum for Subsidies to Telegraph Companies.

CLASS VI. — NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND moved that Progress be reported, as it was most unusual to go on with further Votes at that time of night.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Sir Henry Holland.*)

MR. COURTNEY admitted that it was unusual; but urged that the Committee should go on a little further, promising that if there was any Vote which really gave rise to discussion he would report Progress.

MR. WARTON said, it was very probable that there was no item in these Votes which would involve serious discussion; but it was also probable that hon. Members who were not present might reasonably suppose that such rapid progress would not have been made.

MR. H. H. FOWLER pointed out that this was a time of the Session when it was to the interest of all parties to bring it to a close; and as there were no disputable matters in these Votes, and as any question could be raised on the Report, or on the Appropriation Bill, he thought the Committee ought to help forward the Business this evening.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND said, that when the late Government expressed a like desire to get on with the Votes they were most steadily opposed.

MR. R. N. FOWLER asked whether the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Courtney) expected to get his Supply to-night? If not, he could go on with Supply early to-morrow.

MR. COURTNEY said, he would be willing to report Progress when this Class was disposed of.

MR. T. C. BARING observed, that if there was nothing objectionable in this Class it could be got through in five minutes at the next Sitting just as well as to-night. When he remembered the opposition by hon. Members now on the Treasury Benches, when the late Government wished to take Supply an hour earlier than this, he felt a strong objection to taking a new Class at 2 o'clock in the morning.

Question put, and *negatived.*

(30.) £208,582, to complete the sum for Superannuations and Retired Allowances.

(31.) £11,800, to complete the sum for Merchant Seamen's Fund Pensions, &c.

(32.) £18,900, to complete the sum for Relief of Distressed British Seamen Abroad.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND asked the Secretary to the Treasury, or the Secretary to the Board of Trade, for an answer to a question he had already put. He would point out that one of the disadvantages in taking these Votes so late as this was that there were no Representatives of the Government present. Certain relief was afforded by masters of vessels to seamen abroad; but the Board of Trade, having some doubt as to their statutory power to grant relief, and looking at the difficulty of getting these expenses repaid, had given up these grants altogether. The Public Accounts Committee, however, thought the Board of Trade was not justified in doing that, and the Treasury concurred in that view. He should like to know whether the Board of Trade proposed to yield to the recommendations of the Treasury and the Public Accounts Committee, or to adhere to their determination not to give grants, and try to regain the money paid?

Mr. COURTNEY said, the Department hoped to regain the money paid, but they had no great expectation of that. They intended to exercise a more rigid supervision over the amounts granted.

Vote *agreed to.*

(33.) £432,500, to complete the sum for Pauper Lunatics, England.

Mr. MAGNIAC inquired what decision had been come to with respect to pauper lunatics who had become lunatics while in prison? He presumed this matter had been settled, but he should like to hear what the decision was, because every day increased the evil, and increased the burden on the ratepayers. The transfer from one prison to another had very much increased this burden, and he hoped to have some satisfactory answer.

Mr. COURTNEY said, the case to which the hon. Member referred was that of pauper criminal lunatics, who had become lunatics in prison, being transferred to county asylums.

Mr. MAGNIAC said, they might be pauper lunatics up to a certain point.

Mr. COURTNEY explained that pauper lunatic criminals whose sentences had expired ceased to be criminals, and were then simply pauper lunatics like any ordinary pauper lunatic. The question of the general expenses had been considered by a Departmental Committee, which had spent a considerable amount of time during two years on the matter. Their Report was made last month; but the Home Secretary had not yet had time to consider their recommendations.

Mr. MAGNIAC said, he hoped the matter would not be long delayed, because it was causing great dissatisfaction in the country.

Vote *agreed to.*

Sir Henry Holland

(34.) £40,000, to complete the sum for Pauper Lunatics, Scotland.

(35.) £5,000, to complete the sum for Pauper Lunatics, Ireland.

(36.) £8,925, to complete the sum for Hospitals and Infirmaries, Ireland.

(37.) 49,326, to complete the sum for Friendly Societies Deficiency.

Mr. MAGNIAC regretted that there were so few Members present, and wished to know what was the capital amount which this sum represented? Speaking in round figures, one Parliamentary Paper put the amount at £1,200,000, while another put it at £2,100,000. It would be satisfactory to know exactly what the capital amount was.

Mr. COURTNEY said, the capital amount on the 20th of November last was rather over £1,258,000.

Vote *agreed to.*

(38.) £1,529, to complete the sum for Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances, Great Britain.

(39.) £2,808, to complete the sum for Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances, Ireland.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY BILL.—[Bill 264.]

(*Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

Clause 3 (Pensions and allowances).

Mr. TREVELYAN moved to leave out from "Provided," in page 2, line 35, to the end of the clause, and insert—

> "That no county inspector or sub-inspector appointed before the passing of this Act shall be entitled to receive any pension exceeding the amount which may be granted to him under the scale provided by this Act or the amount which it would have been lawful to grant to him if this Act had not been passed; that every such county inspector or sub-inspector shall, on retirement and if otherwise qualified for a pension, be entitled to elect between such amounts respectively."

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. HEALY said, that, before the Question was put, he would like to say it was a rather remarkable thing that although the Government had had two clear days in which they could have put this Amendment on the Paper, they had not thought proper to do so.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill to be read the third time *Tomorrow.*

CITATION AMENDMENT (SCOTLAND) BILL [*Lords*].—[BILL 267.]

(*The Lord Advocate.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Short title).

MR. HEALY moved to report Progress. This was a Bill concerning which hon. Members on the Opposition side of the House had received a large number of complaints and telegrams. It appeared the Scotch people had taken the liberty to send to Irish Members asking them to represent their grievances. The Committee ought certainly to receive from the Lord Advocate some explanation of the clauses which this Bill contained. One of his (Mr. Healy's) correspondents said he was a messenger-at-arms at Edinburgh, that the Government did not give the Law Societies a chance, that the Courts rose before the Bill was printed, and that the lawyers were off to the country without knowing the purposes of the Bill. He did not exactly know what a messenger-at-arms was; but he thought there should be some answer given to the allegations made in reference to the measure.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

COLONEL ALEXANDER said, he did not often agree with the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy); but he cordially agreed with him on this occasion, and if he persisted in his Motion to report Progress he should certainly support him. He (Colonel Alexander) had been waiting night after night in order to make certain representations with regard to the Bill. All Scotch Members had been receiving telegrams respecting the Bill; and, in common decency, the representations made in those telegrams should receive some consideration. The Bill was to come into operation on the 1st of October, and all the future gains of the messengers-at-arms would be entirely gone. It was very objectionable that such Bills as this should be brought in at this time of the Session. Though a small class of men were affected, the interests of those men were just as important as those of larger numbers.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, the object of the Bill was to provide a simpler and less expensive method of serving writs of certain kinds issuing from the Civil Courts than the method now in existence. It was believed that it would be very advantageous, particularly in the smaller class of cases. Representations had been made, especially in reference to serving of such writs in the remoter parts of Scotland, that for the purpose of recovering exceedingly small sums—they might only amount to shillings—messengers-at-arms and other officials were required to be sent long distances, and that the cost of service very often amounted to much more than the actual sum involved in the suit. He apprehended that was one of those things which was a real grievance, and which Parliament ought to do its utmost to redress. There had been of late years a series of Acts passed, under which the facilities afforded by the Post Office had been used for serving writs. There had been citations of jurors and various other citations. The Act of 1871, providing for the serving of a certain class of small debt writs, had been entirely satisfactory. So far from no time having been given for considering this Bill, even while it was in the other House, a representation came up from Scotland, not only entirely approving of the Bill, but expressing a hope that the scope of it might be extended, so as to include executions and diligence, as it was called in Scotland. There was no doubt that such a measure of reform as the present would involve a diminution to some extent of the gains of particular classes; but he had never heard that urged as a reason against the introduction of reforms in themselves clearly advantageous. The method of citation proposed was entirely optional, and anyone who wished to employ a messenger-at-arms would still have it in his power to do so. There were other kinds of executions, as distinguished from citations, which this Bill did not interfere with. The officers of the Court could still be employed; but if the law agent preferred to cite the other party to a cause by posting a letter, the option was given him of doing so. As regarded the merits of the Bill, he could hardly suppose there could be any difference of opinion. If there were any objections to it he should be glad to meet them, or to offer any explanations which might be required. He had no desire to proceed with the Bill then, if there was any general wish for a little longer time to consider it; but he might say at once that he had not the least idea of postponing it to another Session.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he did not think the Bill ought to be pushed forward. It was in itself a dangerous principle to admit, that important documents might be delivered by means of a registered post letter instead of by personal service, and it was too important a Bill to decide upon at the last hours of a long Sitting at the fag-end of a Session. And then, again, there were the claims of the messenger, who might or might not be deserving persons; but the personal service was certainly preferable to the posting of a letter by an obscure solicitor's clerk, who might swear to the posting, and yet, in point of fact, not post the letter at all. If a messenger or an official whose duty it was to serve the notice undertook the service, there was some security that it would be properly done, for he would have the responsibility. But to a dishonest attorney there would be no responsibility in simply posting a letter. Then, as to the Lord Advocate's argument, that this was intended to apply to the poor and more remote districts, he was disposed to think that nothing would be more likely than that the citation would reach a person in the remote Highlands or Islands of Scotland, after the decision had been given against him, and he had no means of redress except by a costly appeal.

Mr. ANDERSON said, this objection was purely visionary. The Post Office receipt would prove the despatch and receipt of a registered letter. This Bill was merely the extension of a system introduced some years ago by an Act passed by himself, and which had been found to work admirably hitherto; it was only going a little further, and he was quite satisfied it would be an immense benefit to Scotland.

Motion *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

ALLOTMENTS BILL.—[Bill 227.]

(*Mr. Jesse Collings, Mr. Burt, Mr. Brand, Mr. Bryce.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

Amendment proposed,

In Clause 11, page 4, line 18, after the word "case," to insert the words "as stated by the Trustees, such circumstances to be stated in the certificate."—(*Mr. Jesse Collings.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed,

In page 4, line 19, to leave out the words "such grounds to be stated in the certificate."—(*Mr. Jesse Collings.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. Jesse Collings.*)

Mr. J. G. TALBOT said, he could not claim an intimate knowledge of the Bill, but he understood it made a considerable change in the law; and before the Bill was read a third time he should like to know whether it had the sanction of the Government? If there was no Member of the Government who could speak on it, then the final stage ought to be deferred.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, the Bill had been carefully examined, and it was approved by the Government, and it had been fully discussed previously and amended by the Government in Committee. They had no objection at all to it.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

EAST INDIA (HOME EFFECTIVE CHARGES OF TROOPS) [SETTLEMENT OF ARREARS].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That it is expedient to approve the settlement of certain claims by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury upon the Government of India, as set forth in the Minute of the said Commissioners dated the 2nd of July 1878.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow.*

House adjourned at a quarter before Three o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 11*th August*, 1882.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Allotments * (248).

Second Reading—Reserve Forces Acts Consolidation * (224); Militia Acts Consolidation * (225); Artizans' Dwellings (231); County Courts (Advocates' Costs) * (240); Merchant Shipping (Mercantile Marine Fund) * (241); Government Annuities and Insurance * (243).

Committee—Parcel Post * (223).

Committee—Report—Bombay Civil Fund * (222); Isle of Man (Officers) * (227); Pensions Commutation * (230).

Committee — Report — Third Reading — Bills of Exchange * (234); Labourers' Cottages and Allotments (Ireland) * (210), and *passed.*

Report—Municipal Corporations * (140); Wellesley Bridge (Limerick) * (228); Educational Endowments (Scotland) (239); Poor Law Amendment * (221).

Third Reading—Electric Lighting * (229), and *passed.*

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—ALLEGED DISCONTENT.

QUESTION.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH: I wish to ask the Lord Privy Seal whether any satisfactory arrangements have been arrived at with reference to the police in Ireland?

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL): My Lords, I am very glad to tell the noble Lord that the Reports from Ireland upon this point are very satisfactory indeed. I am informed that the men have ceased their agitation, and that the Lord Lieutenant has promised a careful inquiry into the claims which have not been already met by the Vote in the House of Commons. The Lord Lieutenant expresses himself as well satisfied with their present attitude.

ARTIZANS' DWELLINGS BILL.

(*The Earl of Rosebery.*)

(NO. 231.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that the Act of 1875 had been greatly improved by the Amendment Act of 1879. It having been felt, however, that even the latter measure was incomplete, a Committee was appointed, presided over by the late Home Secretary (Sir R. Assheton Cross), to consider whether further legislation on this subject was necessary, which had arrived at conclusions which were embodied in this Bill. There were four points in the Bill to which he desired to call attention. The first was the modification of the provision compelling the reconstruction of houses in insanitary districts. The Bill repealed the enactment on this subject of the Act of 1879 as far as regarded the country. As far as London was concerned, it gave the urban authority a discretionary power as regarded the rebuilding of houses for one-half of the inhabitants displaced. The second point was that the Bill simplified the steps necessary for acquiring insanitary houses. In the third place, the Bill explained the ambiguous language of the Act of 1879, under which arbitrators had felt themselves compelled to award somewhat extravagant compensation. In the fourth place, it was intended to amend Mr. Torrens's Artizans' Dwellings Act so as to enable the local authorities to take houses in insanitary districts which, although not insanitary in themselves, were the cause of insanitation in others, by blocking up courts and preventing ventilation. He believed that this Bill would be a material improvement upon the Act of 1879.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Earl of Rosebery.*)

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Monday* next.

ENTAIL (SCOTLAND) BILL.

CONSIDERATION OF COMMONS AMENDMENTS.

Order of the Day for Consideration of Commons Amendments read.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, that several Amendments had been made by the House of Commons to this Bill, which he thought were in the nature of improvements. The first of these was one at the end of Clause 6. It had been suggested by a noble Lord opposite, and had reference to a practical matter. The proposition which came back to them was as follows:—

> "When at least one-fourth part of a capital sum borrowed for improvements on an entailed estate upon the security of a terminable rent charge in manner provided by the Entail Acts

shall have been defrayed by the heir in possession, it shall be lawful for such heir, without the consent of the nearest heir being required, and whether the cost of such improvements shall have been charged prior or subsequent to the passing of 'The Entail Amendment Act, 1875,' to avail himself of the provisions of the said Act for the substitution of a bond or disposition in security over the estate for the remainder of such capital sum."

The next Amendment was in Clause 8, and its object was to provide for the granting of leases at reduced rates. There were at the present time provisions in the deeds of entail which forbade the leasing of any farm at a reduced rent. Their Lordships would agree that in the present state of agriculture it was undesirable to put such a bar to the giving of fresh leases. Therefore, it was proposed by this Amendment to give the heirs of entail power to grant leases at reduced rents. Then there was an Amendment giving a minor power to move a charge from a disentailed estate to an entailed estate settled on the same line of heirs. He did not suppose their Lordships would have any objection to that; but in the Amendment he proposed to ask their Lordships to substitute the word "recording" for "execution." The Amendment, with that alteration, would read thus—

"If the heir-apparent, or other nearest heir, whose consent is required as aforesaid, shall have assigned his expectancy or interest, and the assignee shall have intimated the assignation to the heirs in possession for the time being at any time prior to the recording of the instrument of disentail, such assignee shall be entitled to appear at any time prior to such recording, and to demand that the value in money of such expectancy or interest shall be ascertained and shall be entitled to a preference upon such value, according to the date of the intimation of his resignation, and such preference shall be given effect to in his favour when the value of such expectancy or interest is paid or secured."

That Amendment had been inserted at the instance of several influential bodies in Scotland. By the Act of 1853 the creditor might be placed in the position at any time of finding that the disentail had been executed without his knowledge. The object of the Amendment was to enable the creditors of an heir-apparent who had raised his money to have preference over the other creditors, according to the date of the debts. The next two Amendments were merely draftsman's Amendments; and then they came to Clause 15, page 6, line 5, which regarded the question of marriage contracts made previous to the passage of this Act. They then came to the clause relating to the creditors of the heir of the property disentailed. On this point there had been considerable diversity of opinion in this House, as their Lordships would remember. The 1st clause was, as their Lordships were aware, defeated by a majority of 5 in a somewhat full House. Since that time they had adopted an Amendment moved by the noble Lord, whom he was sorry not to see in his place (Lord Balfour of Burleigh), which limited the question of debts to debts incurred after the passing of this Act. That ought to meet the difficulties of noble Lords opposite. It did not, he confessed, meet their difficulties on Report; but he submitted that, on Consideration, seeing that the passing of the measure had the unanimous consent of the Conservative Members, in deference to the opinion of the constituencies as represented by the House of Commons, they should not be disposed to press the opposition which they had carried by a small majority on the Amendment. There was also another objection to the clause, and he confessed he considered it a reasonable one. A noble Lord, whose experience and authority in law was exceedingly high, thought that in the working out of the Amendment the procedure would be difficult. In accordance with other lawyers of weight and authority, the Lord Advocate and Her Majesty's Law Officers in Scotland had drafted a course of procedure which, he was given to understand, met the objections of those whose opinions were entitled to respect in this matter. He, therefore, hoped their Lordships would also agree to the Amendment. Then they had lengthened the period of time during which they might demand a sale by auction, which he thought their Lordships also considered an improvement. The last three Amendments were simply Amendments giving greater latitude in securing provision for the wives and children, and other provisions of that sort, where the estate was going to be converted. Their Lordships would be of opinion that these Amendments were substantial improvements in the body of the Bill, and he would ask them to give their approval to them.

Moved, "That the Commons' Amendments be now considered."—(*The Earl of Rosebery.*)

THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH said, he was not now going to make any objection to the Amendments which had been proposed, and to which they were asked now to consent; but, at the same time, he must make one remark—that Clause 15, dealing with the power of creditors, was twice discussed in this House, and in the first instance it was struck out of the Bill by a majority of 5. The noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Rosebery) tried to re-introduce that clause in almost identical words, except that he put in in respect of debt incurred after the passing of this Act. If he (the Duke of Buccleuch) recollected rightly, they were almost the only alterations in the clause he proposed. That was discussed fully in this House, and negatived by a majority of 15, being 10 more than on the previous occasion. It seemed very extraordinary that a particular clause which had been twice discussed in this House, and twice had gone through the ordeal of a division and lost, should be deliberately re-introduced in the other House as if it were for the purpose of creating a difficulty between the two Houses, or, what was too much the fashion now-a-days, to bring pressure upon this House, which he protested against, and always would. The Amendment brought up from the other House was certainly an improvement on the original Clause 15, which was thrown out here; but, at the same time, he must protest, though in the present state of the House, and in the last days of the Session, it was no use attempting to divide. Unfortunately, also, there was no one on his side of the House who could speak with authority like the noble and learned Lord (Lord Watson), who spoke the other night, and who was perfectly conversant with this matter, and the noble and learned Earl (Earl Cairns), who also took a great interest in the matter. He (the Duke of Buccleuch) should certainly object to the Amendment, and protest against the course which had been adopted in bringing it forward again. It looked very much like that sort of legislation which he had observed during the long time he had sat in this House, where very often a general measure was introduced to meet a particular case. It looked as if there were some particular case here, and this general measure was brought in to meet it. He should certainly say "Not-Content" to that clause, though, as he said, he would not put their Lordships to the trouble of dividing; but he was sure that many noble Lords who took part in the discussion the other night were not present because they had no idea that the matter would be under discussion.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he really thought the noble Duke could not be serious in his statement that it was a disrespect to this House for the Commons to differ from their decision on a particular clause of any Bill sent down by this House to the House of Commons, any more than it was necessarily disrespectful to the House of Commons for this House to differ from them. As to the noble Duke's suggestion that this clause might be intended to meet a particular case, this was the first time he had heard it made. No such suggestion was made on the former occasion, and he (the Lord Chancellor) then very strongly advocated the clause on what seemed to him to be a question of clear general principle, which was that of treating the power to disentail as equivalent to property, whether the owner of the entailed estate wished himself to exercise it or not, when there were not other means of paying his debts. He felt sure that if the Bill had passed into law without some such clause as this, not many years would elapse before it would be found necessary to add such a clause.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, the noble Duke had made a very good protest against what had occurred in this matter; and, for his part, he was quite content to take it as a record of the opinion of the noble Duke. The Amendment had been moved by a highly-respected Member on the Conservative side of the House; and it did seem difficult to please the noble Lord, if, when the Government brought in a clause it was defeated by a majority of 5, and when another clause was brought in by the noble Lord opposite, it was defeated by a majority of 15. He thought the Government had clean hands in that matter. The Bill went down to the House of Commons, and that House, without one single dissenting voice, had insisted upon putting this clause into the Bill. That had been done by the other House, consisting of 658 Members, without one dissenting voice.

THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH: At what hour in the morning?

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, he really could not say; he was not there with a stop-watch in his hand. All he could say was, that a House of 658 Members agreed to this clause, which had been rejected in this House by a majority of 5, and the noble Duke said that under these circumstances it was an insult to this House to re-introduce the Amendment to their Lordships. He (the Earl of Rosebery) thought the House of Commons had some reason to complain that their 658 voices were not to be taken as weighing against a majority of 5 in their Lordships' House. As regarded the curious insinuation that this was a general measure introduced to meet a particular case, he could only say that, for his part, he did not know of any particular case which it would meet, and he had never heard of any such case.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH said, he understood the noble Duke's protest to be in regard to the lateness of the Session when this measure was brought on.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY replied, that there had been noble Lords in the House yesterday who, if they had had any strong feeling in the matter, would have remained till to-day.

Motion *agreed to.*

Commons Amendments *considered* accordingly.

Several of the Amendments *agreed to*, with Amendments; *Moved* to agree to one other of the Amendments; objected to; and, on question, *resolved* in the *affirmative.* The rest of the Amendments *agreed to;* and Bill returned to the Commons.

EDUCATIONAL ENDOWMENTS (SCOTLAND) BILL.—(No. 239.)

(*The Lord Privy Seal.*)

REPORT OF AMENDMENTS.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL), in moving that the Report of the Amendments to this Bill be received, said, he should like to say a word with respect to one Amendment which he accepted yesterday from the noble Duke (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon), who, he was sorry to see, was not in his place. The noble Duke had left London this morning, otherwise he should have communicated with him. He was anxious to say that, in accepting the Amendment upon the 2nd sub-section of the 6th clause, the effect of which was to remove the fixed number of publicly-elected Members which the Commission should be required to include in any future Governing Body, it was an Amendment which he himself thought was an improvement on the Bill, and thoroughly consistent with the sound doctrine that they ought to trust the Commission, and, as far as possible, avoid imposing these absolute restrictions upon their discretion. Still, he found that, in accepting the Amendment on the spur of the moment—it had not been printed—he went somewhat beyond the intention of the Scotch Education Department, and the promises that were made in "another place." He thought it right that he should say that in justice to his noble Friend near him (the Earl of Rosebery), and to the Vice President of the Council.

Moved, "That the Report of Amendments to the Bill be received."—(*The Lord Privy Seal.*)

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, he honestly thought, from the point of view of the Bill, that the Amendments of the noble Duke were not of supreme importance, because, in the first place, they would remove some anomalies; in the second place, he thought the Commission would have had sufficient indications in the spirit of the clause of what was intended to guide them without further restriction; and, in the third place, it must be observed that if the Lord Privy Seal had not accepted the Amendment, it would have been open and competent to the noble Duke to defeat him on a division, which he was afraid, from the appearance of the House yesterday, compared with its appearance to-day, could very easily have been done. But what was of supreme importance in this matter was, that there should not be the slightest doubt or reflection cast on the good faith of the Government in dealing with this Bill. There was no doubt that, after considerable reflection and deliberation in the Scottish Education Department, it was determined to tie up the hands of the Commission with regard to the introduction of the representative element in the Governing Bodies. Those proposals were submitted to Parliament, and received the sanction of Parliament, as being pledged on the part of Her Majesty's Government. If the noble Duke had been present, and it had been possible to give him Notice of the intention of the Government, it would have been the duty of the Government to move the re-introduction of the original words on Report; but, as the noble Duke was not present, and as his Amendment was accepted by the Government yesterday, it would be breaking faith with him if any Motion of that sort were made in this House. The consideration of the Amendments of the noble Duke must be left to be dealt with by the House of Commons, on the clear understanding that the House of Lords had done nothing intentionally to frustrate the intentions of the Government as expressed in the House of Commons.

Motion *agreed to.*

Amendments *reported* (according to order); and Bill to be read 3^{a} on *Monday* next.

House adjourned at half past Five o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter past Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 11*th August*, 1882.

MINUTES.]—New Writ Issued—*For* Haddington Burghs, *v.* Sir David Wedderburn, baronet, Manor of Northstead.

Supply—*considered in Committee*—Civil Service Estimates, Class VII.—Miscellaneous, Votes 1 and 2; Revenue Departments; Supplementary, Classes I. and V.

Resolutions [August 10] *reported.*

Ways and Means—*considered in Committee*—£34,357,774, Consolidated Fund.

Public Bills—*Resolution* [August 10] *reported* — *Ordered* — *First Reading* — India (Home Charges Arrears) * [272].

Second Reading—Ancient Monuments * [263]; Fishery Board (Scotland) [240].

Select Committee—*Report*—Union Officers' Superannuation (Ireland) [No. 353].

Committee — *Report* — Married Women's Property [191]; Citation Amendment (Scotland) [267]; Merchant Shipping (Colonial Inquiries) [235].

Committee — *Report* — *Third Reading*—Corrupt Practices (Suspension of Elections) [265]; Passenger Vessels Licensing (Scotland) * [234]; Supreme Court of Judicature (Ireland) [250], and *passed.*

Considered as amended—Public Works Loans * [269].

Third Reading — Royal Irish Constabulary * [264]; Expiring Laws Continuance * [266], and *passed.*

Withdrawn—Registry of Deeds (Middlesex) * [22]; Ballot Act Continuance and Amendment * [84].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

STANDING ORDERS.

RESOLUTION. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [8th August] on New Standing Order, to follow Standing Order 173:—

"That, in the case of any Bill promoted by a Municipal Corporation or Local Board, Improvement Commissioners, Town Commissioners, or other local authority or public body having powers of local government or rating, the Committee on the Bill shall consider the Clauses of the Bill with reference to the following matters:—

(a.) Whether the Bill gives powers relating to Police or Sanitary Regulations in conflict with or excess of the provisions or powers of the general law;

(b.) Whether the Bill gives powers which may be obtained by means of Bye-laws made subject to the restrictions of General Acts already existing;

(c.) Whether the Bill assigns a period for repayment of any loan under the Bill exceeding the term of sixty years, which term the Committee shall not in any case allow to be exceeded, or any period disproportionate to the duration of the works to be executed or other objects of the loan;

(d.) Whether the Bill gives borrowing powers for purposes for which such powers already exist or may be obtained under General Acts, without subjecting the exercise of the powers under the Bill to approval from time to time by the proper Government Department;

And the Committee shall report specially to the House—

In what manner any Clauses relating to the several matters aforesaid have been dealt with by the Committee; and

Whether any Report from any Government Department relative to the Bill has been referred to the Committee; and

If so, in what manner the recommendations in that Report have been dealt with by the Committee; and

Any other circumstances of which, in the opinion of the Committee, it is desirable that the House should be informed."—(*Mr. Sclater-Booth.*)

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

Mr. Serjeant SIMON said, that before the question was disposed of he felt it his duty to say a few words—not that he expected, in the present condition of Public Business, or in the present scanty attendance of Members, that there were many present who took an interest in the subject, but because he thought he was bound, on behalf of those whom he represented, to point out to the House that this proposal of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Hants (Mr. Sclater-Booth), who was probably not responsible for it, except as the mouthpiece of the Select Committee over which he had presided, and by whom the recommendation was made, went to the very root of local self-government. The whole tendency of recent legislation had been to place in the hands of the local authorities certain powers which Parliament considered they ought to be entrusted with, for carrying on the practical business of local municipal self-government, which powers such local authorities ought to be able to exercise without fear or hindrance. It was idle for Parliament to say they would trust the Corporations and local bodies of the country to regulate their local affairs, of which they were necessarily the best judges, and tell them at the same time that they would impose restrictions upon them, by the Standing Orders of the House of Commons, which would place their action at the discretion of a central authority. When they spoke of the Local Government Board, moreover, they did not mean the right hon. Gentleman at the head of that Board, but the officials in the Office, who supervised in detail, and often opposed, according to their individual judgment and opinion, the wishes and interests of the Local Boards. He (Mr. Serjeant Simon) protested against this system of centralization. In regard to loans, it was provided by the proposed Standing Order that the term for repayment should in no case be allowed to exceed 60 years. Hitherto no attempt had ever been made to fix one unvarying limit for the repayment of loans. There were many works which Local Boards undertook, from the necessities of the case, and often under circumstances which left them no choice — namely, under the compulsion of the Local Government Board itself. They were obliged to undertake many works and improvements for the public health; and they were compelled to lay out considerable sums of money for such purposes. The money was not raised of their own free will, but out of the necessities of the case, and under the controlling action of the Local Government Board. He did not complain of this, because it was essential that the health of the localities should be secured, and proper sanitary regulations provided; but what he did complain of was that when the Local Government Board had compelled the local authorities to borrow money in order to defray the expense, they should then, by a new Standing Order of that House, limit the period for repayment. He thought it would be very hard indeed upon the existing ratepayers that they should be called upon to bear the entire burden of improvements, from which those who came after them were to derive the principal benefit. He would take the case of one of these municipal boroughs—the borough which he had the honour to represent (Dewsbury). The local authorities in that borough were obliged, some years ago, to purchase gas-works, and, in order to carry them on properly, and to give the ratepayers the full advantage of them, they had to incur a debt of no less than £200,000. Upon that sum they had been paying interest. He (Mr. Serjeant Simon) contended that the municipal authorities had no alternative but to incur the debt. They were bound to see that this district was properly lighted; the existing Companies were lighting it most imperfectly, and were charging the inhabitants exceptionally high prices. The authorities, having purchased the rights of the Gas Companies, laid out considerable sums of money in extending the works; and the result, as he had already stated, was that they had borrowed money to the extent of £200,000—a somewhat heavy sum for such a community. The ratepayers were therefore required to pay a considerable sum in the shape of interest, and they now found themselves in competition with the Electric Lighting Companies. The hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Whitley) appeared to be amused; but it was no smiling matter for the ratepayers. It was a great hardship upon the district that it should be compelled, within a given time, to repay the capital which it had been obliged to raise under circumstances which had left them no option, and suddenly to find their efforts superseded by a new competing invention, while the debt remained, and they had still principal and interest to repay. He also strongly objected to another part of this Order —namely, that part of it which provided at the end that, after a Select Committee had inquired into any Bill promoted by a Municipal Corporation, Local Board, Improvement Commissioners, Town Commissioners, or other local authority, or public body, having powers of local government or rating, the Committee should report specially to the House in what manner the clauses had been dealt with; whether any Report from any Government Department relative to the Bill had been referred to the Committee; if so, in what manner the recommendations in such Report had been dealt with by the Committee; and any other circumstances which, in the opinion of the Committee, it was desirable that the House should be informed. They all knew very well what that meant. The Committee were to report to the House; but the real persons who would sit in judgment upon the finding of the Committee would not be the House of Commons, but the Local Government Board. He was of opinion that if they were to have local self-government, that local self-government should be left to take care of itself, and should not be constantly subjected to the meddling interference of the Local Government Board. The Corporations and local authorities of the country did not require that the Department represented by his right hon. Friend (Mr. Dodson) should sit over them to watch their acts, and tell them how far the locality required improvement, and what their necessities demanded. According to this Standing Order, the Local Government Board, and not the ratepayers, were the best judges of the requirements of a district; and their supervision would afford the best check against extravagance on the part of local bodies. He would not detain the House longer. He was sorry that he had been compelled to make these observations to the House; but he had felt that he had a public duty to discharge. At the same time, he made no complaint of the course taken by the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Sclater-Booth) in moving these alterations of the Standing Orders, because he was perfectly aware that the right hon. Gentleman was simply representing the views of the Select Committee.

Mr. LYON PLAYFAIR said, he thought that his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Dewsbury (Mr. Serjeant Simon) was under a misapprehension as to the meaning of the paragraphs he had quoted. The object of the Standing Order was not in the least degree to centralize local government, but to secure that the House should have full information of the action of Committees upstairs. The House had imposed upon the Board of Trade and the Local Government Board certain duties in reference to the examination of Private Bills, and among those duties it was incumbent upon them to report whether any Private Bill proposed to proceed in any way antagonistic to the public interests. The Reports sent in by these Public Departments were sent up to the Select Committees, who worked with great zeal upstairs; and wherever there were opposed clauses, those clauses were thoroughly threshed out by counsel before the Committee. But it might happen that some of the clauses of a Private Bill were not opposed, and in that case they were passed without the House having an opportunity of knowing what was contained in them, and the House were called upon to act to the best of their ability with no information or knowledge before them as to what was required for the public interests. The object of the requirement to which his hon. Friend had called attention was to secure that the House should not be kept in ignorance of the nature of the contents of these Private Bills. His hon. and learned Friend also objected to the limitation of the period for the repayment of a loan to 60 years. The only point which could arise in that matter was whether 60 years was too short a time for that purpose or not. He would take the case which his hon. and learned Friend had himself brought under the notice of the House—the case of the purchase and extension of gas-works, which his hon. and learned Friend stated might in the course of a few years come into competition with a new source of illumination in the shape of electric lighting. That competition might or might not become serious; but if it did, surely it would be very wrong for the Legislature to require the ratepayers of a district for the next 100 years to pay for an instrument which was no longer necessary, having been got rid of by the competition of improved appliances. A hundred years would be manifestly too long to fix as the period over which the repayment of the loan should be extended. Surely it ought to be sufficient to require any loan raised for these purposes to be repaid within 60 years. The recommendations of the Select Committee had been considered with great care, and had received the approval both of the Board of Trade and the Local Government Board. After giving anxious consideration to them in the view of the Amendments which had been placed on the Paper, he had come to the conclusion that, with one or two alterations, the House would do well to adopt them. They would place the House in the possession of most useful information in regard to the provisions of Private Bills promoted by local authorities and public bodies. He begged to move in the first line of the proposed new Standing Order, after the words "Bill promoted by," the insertion of the words "or conferring powers on."

Amendment proposed, after the words "Bill presented by," to insert the words "or conferring powers on."—(*Mr. Lyon Playfair.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, in Section (a), after "conflict with," to insert the words "deviation from."—(*Mr. Lyon Playfair.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, at end, to add, "And the Report of the Committee shall be printed and shall be circulated with the Votes."—(*Mr. Lyon Playfair.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Order be a Standing Order of the House."

Mr. H. H. FOWLER said, he had had the honour of acting as a Member of the Committee over which the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Sclater-Booth) had presided, and which had made these recommendations to the House. He only rose, however, for the purpose of saying that if he thought the Standing Order interfered in any way with the principles of local self-government he should oppose it as strongly as the hon. and learned Member for Dewsbury (Mr. Serjeant Simon) did; but he could not place such a construction upon it. The whole of the Standing Order proceeded upon the assumption that the local authorities were applying to Parliament for certain powers in connection with police and sanitary purposes, which they did not at present possess. There was no interference with any existing power at all; but the Standing Order simply laid down regulations which were to apply when the local authorities came to Parliament for extensive police and sanitary powers in addition to those which they at present possessed. He saw nothing in the Standing Order which was in any way objectionable. When public bodies or local authorities asked for powers that were in excess of the general law, such powers ought only to be sanctioned by the Imperial Parliament under a general law. There ought not to be one law for Blackburn, another for Manchester, and another for Liverpool; and in going through the Bills which had been submitted to them, the Select Committee had struck out some hundreds of clauses which would have been almost grotesque in their social tyranny if they had been allowed to pass. He contended that Private Bill legislation on these subjects ought to be placed under proper checks and restraints. In reference to the other point which had been raised by the hon. and learned Member for Dewsbury—namely, the repayment of loans, he (Mr. H. H. Fowler) certainly thought that 60 years was a period quite long enough to impose a burden upon any community. Was his hon. and learned Friend aware that a sinking fund of 1 per cent would be sufficient to pay off a debt in 60 years? Consequently there was no justification for burdening ratepayers who wished to borrow money for sanitary and other improvements with a lengthened period of prospective liability. A hundred years were far too long. The evil the House ought to keep in view was the desirability of preventing extravagance of the worst possible form. He would not trouble the House further except to remind hon. Members that these recommendations were the result of seven weeks' careful investigation by the Select Committee upstairs.

MR. HOPWOOD said, he had no intention of opposing the Standing Order; he only desired, with the indulgence of the House, to express his gratification that the task imposed upon the Select Committee had been discharged so effectually by the Members of the Committee and by the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Sclater-Booth), who presided over its deliberations. It was at his (Mr. Hopwood's) instance that the attention of the House had been called to the nature of the provisions contained in some of these Private Bills; and he was glad to find that the Committee charged with the duty of inspecting the various Bills had so satisfactorily performed their duty. By the passing of this Standing Order something like uniformity would be secured in regard to the future treatment of measures of this kind; and, therefore, the Committee had rendered good service. So far as he was personally concerned, the action he had taken in the matter was amply justified by the result; and he begged to express his acknowledgments to the Committee for the recommendations they had made.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD said, he thought that if there was one feature in these recommendations which ought to commend them to the acceptance of the House, it was the very one which the hon. and learned Member for Dewsbury (Mr. Serjeant Simon) had so vehemently anathematized. No greater danger attended the recent action of the Legislature in regard to the indebtedness of local bodies than the practice it had encouraged of inducing Corporations and other municipal authorities to raise large loans for sanitary and police purposes, spreading the repayment over a long series of years. What they had to deal with now was the dangerous system of launching Corporations and local districts into debt for the advantage of private interests. When it was found that the repayment of these loans was made to extend, not over a period 20, 30, or 40 years, but over 50, 60, and—in the case of Bradford, even 100 years—he thought it was high time that a rule should be laid down which in the future would prevent this destructive process of indebtedness. The hon. and learned Member for Dewsbury (Mr. Serjeant Simon) was anxious to relieve those whom he represented, and did not wish that the present generation should be too heavily burdened; but he (Mr. Hubbard) thought it was the duty of the House to think of those who came after them, and to have some regard to the interests of posterity. He trusted that the House would adopt the recommendations which had been made to them by the Select Committee.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Ordered, That, in the case of any Bill promoted by or conferring powers on a Municipal Corporation or Local Board, Improvement Commissioners, Town Commissioners, or other local authority or public body having powers of local government or rating, the Committee on the Bill shall consider the Clauses of the Bill with reference to the following matters:

(a.) Whether the Bill gives powers relating to Police or Sanitary Regulations in conflict with, deviation from, or excess of, the provisions or powers of the general law;

(b.) Whether the Bill gives powers which may be obtained by means of Bye-laws made subject to the restrictions of General Acts already existing;

(c.) Whether the Bill assigns a period for repayment of any loan under the Bill exceeding the term of sixty years, which term the Committee shall not in any case allow to be exceeded, or any period disproportionate to the duration of the works to be executed or other objects of the loan;

(d.) Whether the Bill gives borrowing powers for purposes for which such powers already exist or may be obtained under General Acts, without subjecting the exercise of the powers under the Bill to approval from time to time by the proper Government Department.

And the Committee shall report specially to the House—

In what manner any Clauses relating to the several matters aforesaid have been dealt with by the Committee; and

Whether any Report from any Government Department relative to the Bill has been referred to the Committee; and

If so, in what manner the recommendation in that Report have been dealt with by the Committee; and

Any other circumstances of which, in the opinion of the Committee, it is desirable that the House should be informed:

And the Report of the Committee shall be printed and shall be circulated with the Votes.

Ordered, That the said Order be a Standing Order of the House.

Standing Order 3 read.

MR. LYON PLAYFAIR said, there were several Amendments he desired to propose in the existing Standing Orders which were simply of a technical character, with the exception of a new Standing Order to follow Standing Order 158, the object of which he would explain when he reached it. He would move now, in Standing Order 3, page 9, line 11, after "arrangements," insert "or to dissolve any Company."

Amendment proposed,

In page 9, line 11, after the word "arrangements," to insert the words "or to dissolve any Company."—(*Mr. Lyon Playfair.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Standing Order 13 read, and amended, in page 11, line 5, by leaving out the words "the said," and inserting the word "any,"—(*Mr. Lyon Playfair,*)—instead thereof.

Mr. LYON PLAYFAIR said, he would next move, as a new Standing Order to follow Standing Order 29, the Motion which appeared on the Paper in the name of the hon. and gallant Member for Essex (Colonel Makins).

New Standing Order, to follow Standing Order 29:—

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That on or before the 30th day of November a copy of so much of the said plans and sections as relates to the district of any urban sanitary authority in England or Ireland, in or through which the work is intended to be made, maintained, varied, extended, or enlarged, or in which any lands or houses intended to be taken are situate, together with a copy of so much of the book of reference as relates to that district, shall be deposited with the clerk of that sanitary authority."—(*Mr. Lyon Playfair.*)

Question, "That the said Order be a Standing Order of the House," put, and *agreed to.*

Standing Order 33 read.

Amendment proposed,

In page 16, line 13, after the word "relate," to insert the words "and of every Bill whereby any powers, rights, duties, capacities, liabilities, or obligations are sought to be conferred or imposed on any Local Authority in England or Wales in respect of any matter within the jurisdiction of the Local Government Board."—(*Mr. Lyon Playfair.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

New Standing Order, to follow Standing Order 60:—

Ordered, That a copy of every Bill brought from the House of Lords, whereby application is made by or on behalf of any Municipal Corporation, Local Board, Improvement Commissioners, or other Local Authority in England or Wales, for power in respect of any purpose to which the several Acts specified in Part I. of the Schedule to The Local Government Board Act, 1871, relate, and of every Bill whereby any powers, rights, duties, capacities, liabilities, or obligations are sought to be conferred or imposed on any Local Authority in England or Wales in respect of any matter within the jurisdiction of the Local Government Board, and of every Bill relating to Turnpike Roads or Trusts, Highways, or Bridges, shall be deposited at the office of the Local Government Board not later that two days after the Bill is read a first time.

Ordered, That the said Order be a Standing Order of the House.

Standing Order 63 read, and amended, in page 22, line 9, by inserting after the word "same," the words—

"Or authorising or enacting the abandonment of the undertaking, or any part of the undertaking, of any such Company, Association, or Copartnership, or the dissolution thereof."

Standing Order 65 read, and amended, in page 24, line 4, by inserting after the word "same," the words—

"Or authorising or enacting the abandonment of the undertaking, or any part of the undertaking, of any such Company, Association, or Copartnership, or the dissolution thereof."

Standing Order 84 read, and amended, by adding, at the end thereof, the words—

"And in the case of every Bill required by the Standing Orders to be deposited at the office of the Local Government Board, on or before the 21st day of December, shall also be deposited at the office of the Local Government Board."

Mr. LYON PLAYFAIR begged to move the following new Standing Order, to follow Standing Order 158:—

"That in the case of every Bill authorising, before the expiration of the time limited for the completion of a Railway or Tramway, the abandonment thereof, or of any part thereof, and the release of any deposit money impounded as security for such completion, a Report from the Board of Trade respecting the Bill and the objects thereof shall be presented to this House, and be referred to the Committee on the Bill; and the Committee shall report specially to the House in what manner the several recommendations contained in the Report from the Board of Trade have been dealt with by the Committee."

He might explain that this was the only new Standing Order which was not purely technical. The present Standing Order required a Railway Company proposing to construct a railway within a certain limited period to deposit a certain sum of money as security for the completion of the authorized line; but it was constantly found that the Railways, when sanctioned, were not carried out, but were abandoned, and the question was—what was to be done with the deposit money? After some correspondence between the Treasury and the authorities of the House, it had been thought that the best mode of dealing with the matter was to require the Board of Trade to make a Report as to the facts of the case—whether the abandonment was just, and whether it interfered with any private rights. That Report would be sent to the Committee on the Bill, authorizing the abandonment of a railway or tramway before the expiration of the time limited for its completion; and the Committee were to be directed to report specially to the House in what manner the several recommendations contained in the Report from the Board of Trade had been dealt with. It seemed to him that the justice of the case would be fully met by that means.

New Standing Order, to follow Standing Order 158:—

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That, in the case of every Bill authorising, before the expiration of the time limited for the completion of a Railway or Tramway, the abandonment thereof, or of any part thereof, and the release of any deposit money impounded as security for such completion, a Report from the Board of Trade respecting the Bill, and the objects thereof, shall be presented to this House, and be referred to the Committee on the Bill; and the Committee shall report specially to the House in what manner the several recommendations contained in the Report from the Board of Trade have been dealt with by the Committee."—(*Mr. Lyon Playfair.*)

Question proposed, "That the said Order be a Standing Order of the House."

SIR HENRY HOLLAND remarked, that a question might arise after a Committee had finished its labours whether the Company were going to carry out all their undertakings. He did not understand how the proposed Order met such a case.

MR. LYON PLAYFAIR said, the question generally arose in this way. If a Railway Company had not completed its undertaking, it usually applied to Parliament for an extension of time, and a clause was inserted in this subsequent Bill, releasing them from any obligation which they proposed to abandon. It was proposed, by this Standing Order; to refer such Bills to the Board of Trade for their Report upon them.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Appendix (A) to Standing Orders read, and amended, in page 63, by inserting, after line 25, the words,—

"[We also beg to inform you that it is intended that the Act shall provide to the effect, that, notwithstanding Section 92 of the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845 [*or* Section 90 of The Lands Clauses Consolidation (Scotland) Act, 1845], you may be required to sell and convey a part only of your property, numbered on the deposited plans.]"—(*Mr. Lyon Playfair.*)

ORDER OF THE DAY.

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) BILL.

CONSIDERATION OF LORDS AMENDMENTS TO COMMONS AMENDMENTS.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Lords Amendments to the Commons Amendments to the Amendments made by the Lords to the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill be considered forthwith."—(*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)

MR. HEALY said, the proceedings of the hon. and learned Gentleman were somewhat extraordinary. No one knew what on earth the Lords Amendments were, so far as he could gather, and he thought he was asking nothing but what was fair and right in requesting that they should appear on the Notice Paper. This Bill had hitherto involved some attention in connection with Amendments by the Lords; and, for anything he knew, the Amendments to be considered might provoke a conflict between the two Houses. Yet they were, almost immediately that the House met, asked to take the Amendments into consideration before they ever knew what they were. The least thing that the Government could do was to have them printed. The Amendments might be trifling, and only formal, and, for his own part, he might possibly propose a consequential Amendment upon the Amendments of the Lords. But the Solicitor General for Ireland introduced the matter as if it was a second-class Bill. He felt so strongly upon the subject that he should divide the House on the question.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, that the Amendments were of a purely formal character. The only one of the slightest consequence was an Amendment to give effect to an Amendment which had been introduced at the instance of the hon. Member himself. The position in which that hon. Gentleman's Amendment was placed rendered its meaning ambiguous. Its position was, therefore, changed from one part of the clause to another. The other Amendment was of a formal character, and would have no effect on the purpose of the Bill.

Mr. WARTON said, he felt bound to condemn the practice of considering Amendments that were inaccessible to the great majority of the House. Some weeks ago, in the small hours of the morning, and in an angry and impatient House, composed mainly of Liberals, he had called attention to the inconvenience of thus dealing with the measure then before the House—the Bills of Sale Bill. No printed copy of that Bill was obtainable by hon. Members generally, and in the copy which he was able to procure through the courtesy of an officer of the House of Lords, the references did not correspond with those given on the Notice Paper. He protested against a similar course being taken on the present occasion. The Amendment referred to by the Solicitor General for Ireland was one which he had himself opposed; but he was cried down by hon. Members opposite, and they now saw the result of it.

Mr. SEXTON said, he must state that he considered that the proceeding of the hon. and learned Gentleman was one which he could not but stigmatize as objectionable at all times, and it was extremely so as applied to such a Bill as this. This Bill had only been further considered in the House of Lords on Thursday evening, and they had not received any Notice whatever of the Amendments. These had not been placed on the Paper of the House that morning, as they might have been. These Amendments appeared to be the result of an interview between the Government and the managers of the Conservative Party in the House of Lords; and, knowing as they did the character of some of the Lords Amendments in the past, they ought to have the exact nature of these placed before them, so that they might protect them, if necessary, by consequential Amendments. There could be no want of time in this matter. He might remind the Government that they took five days to consider the Lords Amendments, although it was now notorious that that delay was entirely useless. It was now apparent that the greater part of that five days was wasted, and that the Government and the majority of the House of Lords had all along agreed between them what course was to be pursued. He thought that they should insist either that the Lords Amendments should be placed on the Paper of the House, or that they should be laid before the House, and for that purpose he moved the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. MOLLOY seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr Sexton.*)

Mr. GLADSTONE: It appeared to me, Sir, that some parts of the speech of the hon. Member for Sligo were irrevelant; but, besides that, he has stated what is absolutely untrue, and of which the hon. Gentleman must have been entirely misinformed. He thinks fit to go back to the five days which elapsed between the receipt of the Lords Amendments and their consideration by this House. They were complicated Amendments, and, of course, had to be printed, and he says it was a waste of time, because the whole thing had been agreed upon between the Government and the Leaders of the Opposition. I never heard a more rash, a more absurd, nor a more groundless statement made in this House. [*Cries of* "Oh!"] Well, I think I am entitled to speak on a matter of fact as to communications between the Government and the Leaders of the Opposition, and I affirm that there was no communication whatever between them. The hon. Gentleman has been led—why, I know not—into a most injurious, most absurd, groundless, and imaginary statement. That is the state of the case. I do not think this is a very convenient opportunity for raising a general question upon the mode of proceeding with the Lords Amendments; but it is necessary for the House to recollect that, at the close of the Session, the interchange of Amendments, and of Amendments upon Amendments, becomes a nice matter in point of time, and it is greatly for the convenience of the House that such proceedings should be expedited. I think my hon. and learned Friend acted strictly according to precedent in asking the House on his own responsibility as to the character of the Amendments, to consider at once Amendments of a purely formal character without getting them printed. The hon. Member for Wexford says he desires an opportunity of bringing forward a consequential Amendment. Whether the Amendment can be admitted or not I have no knowledge, because I do not know what it is; but I quite agree that he should have an opportunity of moving it.

MR. HEALY: I said that possibly I might desire to move a consequential Amendment. I do not know that I shall.

MR. GLADSTONE: Undoubtedly the House should have an opportunity of considering that matter; and, therefore, I am sure my hon. and learned Friend will not persevere at this moment with this Motion. Whether it should be postponed until a later period in the evening, or whether it should be postponed from to-day till Monday, which will be a loss of three days in the passing of the Bill, I am not prepared to say; but probably the hon. Member will put himself into communication with my hon. and learned Friend, and the matter may be very easily arranged.

MR. MACFARLANE asked if the Amendments could not be taken to-morrow, Saturday? Hon. Members on that side had naturally a very great distrust of Lords Amendments, and desired to see them and consider them before they agreed to them.

MR. GLADSTONE: I ought to apologize, Sir; but I would remind the House, with regard to a question like the Lords Amendments, that we have always confined the Saturday Business to that of a technical description, and to the performance of legislation of a certain kind; but, of course, it is within the pleasure of the House to take the Amendments if they think fit. It is, however, only fair that I should inform the House that the whole of the Amendments which we have to consider were inserted at the instance of the Government.

MR. SEXTON said, he did not think it necessary further to reply to the strictures passed upon him by the Premier than to remark that the complexion of the proceedings between the Government and the majority in the other House bore a political interpretation, and in putting that interpretation upon it he thought he was quite within his right. He begged to withdraw the Motion for Adjournment.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Question again proposed.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

QUESTIONS.

RELIEF OF DISTRESS (IRELAND) ACT —SEED LOANS.

COLONEL O'BEIRNE asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, If it is a fact that the magistrates acting at Ballinamore Petty Sessions, county Leitrim, have lately refused to enter into any inquiry as to whether the entries in the account books kept by the Poor Law Guardians of the Bawnboy Union, for the sums debited to tenants for the purchase of seeds under the Relief of Distress (Ireland) Act, are correct; and, will the Local Government Board direct an examination to be made into the account books of the said distributors, with a view of remedying the injustice that tenants are subject to by the false and careless entries made in the books of the Poor Rate collectors and clerk of the Union?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER): I find that the only information the Local Government Board have upon this matter is contained in a Memorial received from 15 ratepayers, who have been rated for seed in Bawnboy Union, and who state that some of them never made application for seed, and never received any, and that others only received a portion of the seed for which they are charged. They further alleged that the magistrates at Ballinamore Petty Sessions, where they were summoned, refused to investigate the cases, and granted decrees according to the entries in the collector's books without hearing any defence. The Local Government Board have communicated with the Guardians on the subject, but have not yet received their reply. With regard to the action of the magistrates in the matter the clerk of Petty Sessions at Ballinamore informs me that the magistrates, on the 29th ultimo, refused to enter into a general inquiry as to the accounts kept by the Bawnboy Board of Guardians—

> "Having regard to the facts of the accounts then sued for being publicly notified, as well as special notices having been given to each party of the sums due by them for seed, &c., and no objection having been made by those parties within the proper time."

The clerk of Petty Sessions adds that the magistrates did investigate some of the cases.

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—ARMAGH POLICE BARRACKS.

Mr. HEALY asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether it is the case that the Inspector General of Constabulary took a house on lease before it was built, for the use of the police in Armagh, in so secret a manner that none of the residents heard of it until the lease was signed; whether the arrangement was thus carried out in order to prevent the residents from memorialising the Lord Lieutenant to prohibit its being built in their neighbourhood, as they otherwise would have done; whether the County Inspector informed some of the inhabitants that it was now no use sending a protest to His Excellency, as no attention would be paid to it owing to the lease being signed; whether the sub-inspector lodges in the house of the landlord who has signed the lease; whether his attention has been called to an article in the "Ulster Gazette," showing the strong feeling which exists in the district against the police barracks being erected on this site; and, whether he can direct steps to be taken so that the barracks may be built elsewhere?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter): I find that the Inspector General authorized the County Inspector to take the house referred to; but the yearly agreement has not been executed, nor will it be until the house is ready for occupation as a barrack. The arrangements were not conducted in a secret manner, and they appeared in the local paper. After authority to take the house had been received, the County Inspector did inform one inhabitant that there was no longer any use in memorializing. The Sub-Inspector lodges in the house of the landlord. The local Constabulary assert that there is no strong feeling in the district against the proposed barrack, and that there is no other equally suitable site available; and the Town Commissioners, who represent the interests of all parties in the town, have granted the necessary permission to build the barrack upon it.

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—MOVILLE, CO. DONEGAL.

Mr. HEALY asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, For a Return of the number of Roman Catholic Sub-Constables serving in the constabulary district of Moville, county Donegal, during the month ending 30th June 1882; also the number of sub-constables of the Roman Catholic religion entered on Table 9, Return No. 8, Promotion List, in said district for the month ended 30th June 1882, by Sub-Inspector Robert Almon Smith, the officer in charge of said district, and the length of service of each sub-constable so recommended; also the number of sub-constables of the Protestant religion serving in the same district during the said period, and the number of the latter entered on Table 9, Return No. 8, as recommended for promotion by Sub-Inspector Smith, with the length of service of each Protestant so recommended on 30th June 1882; is it a fact that Sub-Constables Marks, Moffit, Johnston, and Taylor were placed on the promotion list (and still retained thereon) when Marks and Moffit had only three years' service, Johnston only five, &c., to the exclusion of many Catholics of over fifteen years' service in said district who were well conducted and qualified for the higher grade of promotion; is it a fact that Mr. Sub-Inspector Smith lives in Carrick House, a statute mile from his head-quarter station, and keeps his office at same house outside the boundaries of the town in which he is in charge; that his men are harassed carrying letters and commands to his house in the country, and thus withdrawing them from their public duties; and, how much rent is allowed to Sub-Inspector Smith yearly for keeping the office at his private dwelling, and why is he allowed any, when all former officers had their office in the Constabulary Barrack, Moville, free, without expense to the public?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter): The Chief

Secretary endeavoured to make out an answer for this Question, which could be compressed within reasonable limits, but found it impossible to do so. At his request, however, I will hand the hon. Member *seriatim* replies to the several paragraphs thereof, which I hope will satisfy him; but I am afraid that they will not be ready before the House adjourns.

Mr. HEALY: Would the right hon. Gentleman give them in the shape of a Return?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter) was understood to say that he thought there might be some objection; but that, as far as possible, the facts and figures would be prepared in a tabular form.

EGYPT (MILITARY EXPEDITION)—THE INDIAN CONTINGENT — ROMAN CATHOLIC CHAPLAINS.

Colonel NOLAN (for Mr. Moore) asked the Secretary of State for India, If he can state whether any steps have been taken to secure the services of chaplains for the Roman Catholic soldiers of the Indian Contingent proceeding to Egypt?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON, in reply, said, that the other day he informed the hon. Member for Clonmel (Mr. Moore) that he had not received any details as to the arrangements made in sending troops to Egypt. He had not yet received such details; but he might add that the Indian troops that would land in Egypt would come under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief of the Expedition; and, no doubt, the arrangements made for the benefit of the Roman Catholic troops despatched from England would be also available for the Roman Catholic troops despatched from India. It was probable, however, that there would be no Roman Catholics among them, as the only British troops yet sent from India were a mounted battery of about 100 men and a Highland regiment.

ENGLAND AND FRANCE—THE ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC—TREATY OF 1847.

Mr. SALT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any action has been taken on the part of France in contravention of Articles 1 and 2 of the Treaty of 19th June 1847, between Great Britain and France, guaranteeing the absolute independence of certain islands in the Pacific?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: The French flag was hoisted at Raiatea, an island to the leeward of Tahiti, shortly before Her Majesty's Government assumed Office, and a provisional protectorate assumed over it by the French authorities at Tahiti, at the solicitation of the Chiefs of the Island; but the proceeding was disavowed by the French Government as an infraction of the Declaration of June 19, 1847. The French Government, however, opened negotiations for the abrogation of the Declaration in consideration of adequate concessions on their part in connection with other pending questions; and Her Majesty's Government have consented that the French flag shall remain provisionally hoisted at Raiatea until the 31st of December next, when, unless otherwise agreed between the two Governments, the *status quo ante* under the Declaration of 1847 will be reverted to.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881 — JAMES AND THOMAS COEN AND J. E. HAZEL.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR, asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether the time has come for the release of James and Thomas Coen, who have now been in prison since the 28th of last February; and, whether the district in which they live has not been remarkably tranquil for the last three months?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter): The cases of both these men were reconsidered by his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant on the 25th ultimo, and he decided that he could not at present order the release of either of them.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether there is any reason for the further detention of Mr. J. E. Hazel, who is suffering imprisonment for the second time as a suspect, and who comes from a district at present in a state of tranquillity?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter): His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant reconsidered John Hazel's case on the 25th ultimo, and decided that the time had not yet come when he could safely order his release. The case will shortly be brought forward again for consideration.

NAVY—VALUATION STATEMENTS.

General Sir **GEORGE BALFOUR** asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, If the Admiralty will now begin forming valuation statements of the new supplies for the armament and reserves and Military equipment of the ships of the Navy, commencing with the armament of the "Inflexible," so that in time the cost and quantities of the complete supplies of guns and stores of every description furnished at the cost of the War Office may be on record?

Mr. **CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN**: We fully appreciate the usefulness of such a record as my hon. and gallant Friend suggests; but I cannot give any definite assurance at present that it will be commenced. We will communicate with the War Office on the subject, and I can promise my hon. and gallant Friend that the matter will not be lost sight of.

ARMY—THE GARRISON AT MALTA—MARRIED SOLDIERS' FAMILIES.

Colonel **O'BEIRNE** asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is a fact that an allowance has been authorised for the families of soldiers of the Malta Garrison, not on the married roll, who are serving in Egypt, and who married out of Malta, and that the same allowance has been refused to those soldiers who were married in Malta, thereby leaving their families in a state of destitution; and, if he will explain why this distinction should be made?

Mr. **CHILDERS**: In reply to my hon. and gallant Friend, I have to say that the wives and families of soldiers not on the married establishment have no claim on the public. But to prevent their becoming chargeable to the local community, they are, in such cases as the present, when they married in England, sent, at the public expense, to their homes in England, and they receive subsistence on board ship or while waiting for passage. Maltese women, married without leave, are in their native country, and have no claim whatever. I certainly shall do nothing to encourage marriage without leave.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—MAIL SERVICE IN WATERFORD CO.

Mr. **LEAMY** asked the Postmaster General, Whether he is aware that, although there is a line of Railway from Lismore to Waterford, viâ Cappoquin and Dungarvan, the night mails from Lismore and Cappoquin for Waterford are sent from those towns by car to Cahir, in the county of Tipperary, a distance of 40 miles, and thence by train to Waterford; that the night mails from Dungarvan and district for Waterford are sent by car to Clonmel, a distance of 28 miles, and thence by train to Waterford; and the mails from Durrow, Stradbally, and Kilmacthomas Stations on the Waterford and Lismore Railway, are sent by car to Piltown, in the county of Kilkenny, and thence to Waterford by train; and, whether the Postal authorities have considered the advisability of utilising the Waterford and Lismore Railway for the carriage of the mails between the towns to and through which it runs?

Mr. **FAWCETT**, in reply, said, that day trains on the Waterford and Lismore Railway were now used for the conveyance of mails from Lismore and Cappoquin and other places in the county of Waterford to Waterford. He feared, if night trains were employed, the charge would be out of all proportion to the postal service rendered, because the mails would be but slightly accelerated.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—PROSELYTIZING IN WORKHOUSE SCHOOLS.

Mr. **O'SHEA** asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he has as yet made the inquiries promised by the Secretary to the Board, as to the correctness of a statement made by a Member of this House to the effect that several children have recently been flogged in a school under the jurisdiction of the Board for refusing to conform to a religion different from that professed by their parents?

Mr. **DODSON**, in reply, said, the name of the Union having now been communicated to him, he directed the Inspector of the district to inquire into the matter. Some of the cases of alleged flogging were said to have occurred three or four years ago, and the schoolmaster complained of had ceased to hold the office.

PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—ROSSLARE HARBOUR.

MR. BERESFORD asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Board of Rosslare Harbour Commissioners having carried out the arrangement entered into by them with the Government, and having completed the line of Railway between the town of Wexford and Rosslare, he will take the matter into his consideration and recommend the Treasury to advance a sufficient sum of money to complete the pier at Rosslare and carry out the project as originally intended, so as to afford a safe berth to vessels lying alongside the pier?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER): This is a matter which rests with the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, to whom I must refer the hon. Member.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—THE LEASES CLAUSES—MR. JUSTICE O'HAGAN.

MR. GIBSON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he could state in what form the report was made to Mr. Justice O'Hagan to give his views as to the provisions of the Land Act relating to leases; was that learned Judge asked to suggest changes in the Law, or only to recommend amendments by which the existing Law might work more effectively; and, if he was asked to suggest changes in the Law, was there any precedent for such an application from the Executive to one of Her Majesty's Judges?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER), in reply, said, that the Question appeared on the Paper to-day for the first time, and he had not had time to make inquiries about it. He was not sure that the matter ought to be made a subject of communication to Parliament at all.

EMIGRANT SHIPS—THE WRECK OF THE "MOSELLE."

COLONEL NOLAN (for Mr. MOORE) asked the President of the Board of Trade, What steps have been taken to provide for the large number of emigrants landed from the wreck of the "Moselle?"

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: The Board of Trade have no statutory authority to interfere with emigrant passengers on a voyage in a foreign ship from one foreign port to another, even though the passengers may land for a time in the United Kingdom. It is the duty of the agents of the foreign steamer to provide the passengers from the *Moselle* with lodging and food while they remain in this country. I have, however, for my own information, ascertained what has been done in this respect in this case; and I find, according to the following telegram from the Acting Collector of Customs at Falmouth, that—

> "Six hundred and thirteen passengers landed from the *Moselle.* First-class provided for at hotel, and steerage passengers accommodated at Sailors' Home, at hotels, and in warehouses at Falmouth Docks. Arrangements made by Fox and Co., German Consuls and agents for the Company. No complaints of either food or lodging have reached me."

THE CHANNEL TUNNEL SCHEME.

MR. O'SHEA asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether his attention has been called to a statement which appeared in an evening newspaper of the 10th instant to the effect that, during the last fortnight, the heading of the submarine gallery which is being driven in the neighbourhood of Dover has been advanced seventy yards; and, if this be correct, what steps he intends to take in order to bring to justice the person or persons guilty of this infraction of the Law?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: On the 8th instant I received a further Report from Colonel Yolland, giving the results of his re-inspection of the Channel Tunnel works on the 5th inst. From this Report it appears that since the 15th of July—the date of Colonel Yolland's previous inspection—the boring has been extended for a distance of about 70 yards, in spite of the orders of the Court and of the Board of Trade. I am now taking the necessary steps under legal advice to insure strict obedience to the order of the Court.

EGYPT (POLITICAL AFFAIRS)—THE EGYPTIAN BUDGET, &c.

MR. MOLLOY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he will state why the Political Correspondence on the affairs of Egypt, between the close of the year 1880 and the 9th September 1881, has not been published to Parliament, and whether he will cause the same to be laid upon the Table of the House; whether he is able to assure the House that, during the period in question, the Despatches from Egypt did not contain information as to the growing National discontent against the European control; and, whether, upon the pacification of Egypt, Her Majesty's Government will merely recommend the continued payment of £150,000, under the Law of Liquidation of 1880, or whether they will recognise in full the claims of the Egyptian cultivators in respect of the £17,000,000 advanced by them to the general Revenue, and applied in great part to payment of the bondholders' claims?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: The Correspondence previous to September, 1881, was not laid before Parliament because there was not sufficient public interest in the affairs of Egypt to call for its presentation at the time, and it was not included in the Papers laid at the beginning of this Session, as it then appeared to be out of date. From an examination of the Correspondence which has been made this morning, there do not appear to be any despatches containing the information suggested by the hon. Member; but further search will be made, and if any Reports on the subject that admit of being published are found, they will be given. In answer to the last part of the hon. Member's Question, I have to point out that the arrangements under the Law of Liquidation constitute an international engagement, and that it is not within the competence of Her Majesty's Government to alter them.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON asked, whether the hon. Baronet would lay on the Table Papers that showed these were international engagements?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE, in reply, said, that these Papers were already in possession of the House.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked if the hon. Baronet would mention any Paper on the Table of the House which showed that there were international engagements?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Will the hon. Member put the Question on the Paper?

EGYPT—THE CHAMBER OF NOTABLES —VOTING THE BUDGET.

Mr. MOLLOY asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If the action of Her Majesty's Government in Egypt is directed to prevent the Egyptian Chamber from exercising its right to vote its own Budget, as appears from Sir Edward Malet's prediction to that effect, in Despatch on page 52 of Blue Book, No. 3230, of 1882; and, whether he will take steps to ascertain from the de facto controlling powers in Egypt if they will not at once lay down their arms on being allowed the constitutional right referred to in preceding portion of this Question?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I observe that this is a prospective Question. Undoubtedly, there has been no action on the part of the Government directed towards preventing the Egyptian Chamber from exercising its right to vote its own Budget. Of course, I do not mean to say what precise amount of control over the Budget can be given to the Egyptian Chamber. That is a matter for future consideration, which it by no means depends upon us alone to settle. The hon. Member will recollect that international engagements having the sanction of a very large number of Powers are in question, and it is not in my power to say, even if I had the disposition to say it, that these international engagements ought to be left wholly at the discretion of the Egyptian authorities. But there is nothing to prevent the Egyptian Chamber exercising some control in reference to its finances.

EGYPT (POLITICAL AFFAIRS) — PROCLAMATION BY THE CONFERENCE OF ARABI AS A REBEL.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Conference at Constantinople has demanded of the Porte the proclamation of Arabi as a rebel; and, whether a Military Convention has been concluded between the British and Ottoman Governments; and, if so, what are its terms?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: I stated yesterday, in reply to the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold), that the whole of the Powers had concurred in asking the Porte to issue a Proclamation. I could not read it, as it was too long, but it supported the Khedive and declared Arabi by name to be a rebel against the Sultan. As regards the second part of the Question, I may state that no Military Convention has been concluded; but, as I stated yesterday, the Porte has declared its willingness to accede to such a Convention?

NAVY—DOCKYARD EMPLOYES.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether the petition of the hired labourers of Her Majesty's Dockyards has been considered by the Admiralty, and when an answer will be given to the prayer of that body?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN replied, that full inquiry would be made into the case in the course of the Recess.

FISHERY BOARD (SCOTLAND)—THE REPORT.

MR. R. N. FOWLER asked the Lord Advocate, Whether the Report of the Scotch Fishery Board will be presented before the House adjourns?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR), in reply, said, that the Report was already in print, and was before the Scotch Fishery Board. He had expressed to the Board a hope that it might be presented before the House adjourned.

MR. HEALY asked the right hon. and learned Gentleman if he still intended to bring in the Bill relating to the Scotch Fishery Board?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): I have not given up hope of doing so yet.

MR. HEALY: Oh, oh!

RAILWAYS—THIRD CLASS PASSENGER DUTY.

MR. BUXTON asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, With reference to a statement made by him, that—

> "The increase in the Duty on Third Class Passengers from £70,322 in 1873 to £333,032 in 1880, is largely due to an immense increase in the number of Third Class Passengers;"

and to a Return made by the Board of Trade on the 28th of last June (Parliamentary Paper, No. 254) stating that the amount of Third Class Passenger Fares increased from £11,238,283 in 1873 to £14,333,271 in 1880, while the Passenger Duty on Third Class Fares increased from £74,097 in 1873 to £339,025 in 1880; and, seeing that this increase in the amount of Third Class Fares accounts only for an increase of Passenger Duty from £74,097 in 1873 to £94,503 in 1880, being an increase of only £20,406, whether he will be so good as to explain to the House to what circumstances they are to attribute the further increase in the Duty on Third Class Fares of £244,522?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GLADSTONE): I believe that the apparent discrepancy between the augmentation in the railway duty as compared with the augmentation in the number of third class passengers is to be explained by two causes. In the first place, the Railway Companies have made great changes in their arrangements, by which a much larger number of persons are induced to travel in third class carriages in trains which do not comply altogether with the Cheap Trains Act, and which, therefore, do not obtain a remission of duty. The other cause is that there have been legal decisions obtained from time to time by the Board of Revenue since 1873, which establish a liability to pay duty in the case of trains which formerly claimed to be exempt.

PARLIAMENT—THE AUTUMN SITTING.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether it is still his intention to propose that the House shall shortly adjourn till some period in the Autumn; if so, when the proposal will be made, and whether it will be accompanied or preceded by any statement as to the business to be taken in the remaining part of the Session; and, whether it is intended to pass the Appropriation Act before the Adjournment?

MR. GLADSTONE: In answer to this Question, I have to say distinctly that it is still the intention of the Government to propose that the House shall shortly adjourn till some period in the Autumn. The day of the adjournment must depend upon the progress of necessary Business, and in necessary Business I include the passing of the Appropriation Act. If we are able to close our proceedings in Committee of Supply to-night, which I think is expected and desired on all hands, in that case we ought to be able to propose the adjournment on Friday next. It is intended to ask for an adjournment till some period in the Autumn, and on Monday I hope to be able to mention the day to which we shall ask the House to adjourn. I perhaps ought to remind hon. Members that an Adjournment, like a Prorogation, is liable to be interrupted in the case of need by the action of the Crown, under the advice of Ministers, upon short notice, so that it does not signify an absolute and necessary cessation of Business. As to the form of Adjournment, I presume that, in conformity with usual practice, a Motion will be made on the last day of the Sitting of the House that the House do at its rising adjourn to such a date as may be named.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: It would be convenient to hon. Members who are about to leave town if the right hon. Gentleman could state till when he expects the House to adjourn. I should also wish to know whether the right hon. Gentleman's proposal will be accompanied by a statement of the Business to be done in the Autumn?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have, Sir, I think, answered a similar Question on a former occasion. With regard to the work to be undertaken in the Autumn Sitting, our intention has, in fact, already been announced to the House, and it has undergone no change. We shall ask the House to devote itself to the consideration of the question of Procedure, and to give that question precedence on all days on which it may be set down for consideration. I certainly have no intention of asking the House, on the part of the Government, to transact any other Business whatever. But, of course, when I make that declaration, I except any case of necessity that may arise—such a case as no person can foresee. With regard to the time until when this House may adjourn, I think it will be probably the 24th or 26th of October. It would not be earlier, but I should be glad to reserve till Monday any statement in the nature of an absolute declaration.

MR. HEALY asked whether the right hon. Gentleman could give an assurance that no Government Bill which had already been brought in and dropped would be put down for the Autumn Sitting?

MR. GLADSTONE: As the Autumn Sitting will be part of the present Session, the Rules of the House would preclude the introduction of any Bill which the Government have abandoned.

MR. HEALY: Or take the subsequent stages?

MR. GLADSTONE: It is only fair to the House that it should be understood that we absolutely disclaim all intention of bringing on any Business except that relating to Procedure; but the reservation that I have made—namely, a case of public necessity arising out of great emergency—would, of course, not fall within the declaration that I have made.

MR. WARTON asked whether the right hon. Gentleman would use his influence to repress private legislation in October?

MR. GLADSTONE: We have no power to repress private legislation; but we shall have no disposition to encourage it; and if the House is pleased to concur with us in the view that the proper purpose of such a meeting as we propose will be simply to deal with Procedure, and if, moreover, the House provides that Procedure shall take precedence whenever set down upon the Paper, I think there will be ample means of preventing any legislation such as that referred to by the hon. and learned Member.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Will the Resolution giving precedence to Procedure be moved before we adjourn or in October?

MR. GLADSTONE: I will consider that question, and announce our decision on Monday.

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—ALLEGED DISCONTENT.

MR. TOTTENHAM asked the Prime Minister whether there was any truth in the report that the Government had conceded the demands of the Irish Constabulary?

MR. GLADSTONE said, he would not like to give an inaccurate or hasty answer to that Question, on which he had not got definite information. Perhaps the hon. Member would be kind enough to repeat his Question on some other occasion.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he had obtained by the ballot the first place on Tuesday for a Motion with regard to the Foreign Policy of the Government. He wished to ask the Prime Minister whether, in view of the fact that everything which last August he affirmed with regard to the Foreign Policy of the Government had come true, and everything which the right hon. Gentleman asserted had failed to come true—whether, in view of these facts, the right hon. Gentleman would give him an opportunity on Tuesday of impeaching the Foreign Policy of the Government?

MR. GLADSTONE: If the Rules of the House give the hon. Gentleman the opportunity, I have no doubt there would be no want of good disposition on his part to carry out the designs he has just announced. We should be prepared to stand the consequences, and meet them as we best may; but it is not in my power to give him any other opportunity.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Yes, Sir; it is within the power of the right hon. Gentleman to withdraw the precedence taken for Government Business.

MR. GLADSTONE: Now that the hon. Gentleman has disclosed the full extent of his intention, I must answer emphatically in the negative.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT—RE-ARREST OF MR. GEORGE.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN wished to ask the Chief Secretary for Ireland a Question; but, as he was not in his place, perhaps he might ask the Home Secretary to answer it. It appeared that Mr. George had been re-arrested, and that that had taken place because instructions were given to the police to arrest him. He wished to ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman whether, as these re-arrests caused great inconvenience, it would not be possible for the Irish Government to issue some kind of passport, so that strangers wishing to travel in Ireland might have an opportunity of doing so without having to risk the indignities to which Mr. George had been subjected?

MR. O'DONNELL asked whether the Government was aware that in similar cases passports had been issued by the late Government of Naples and by the present Government of Russia?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he had no information at all on the subject of Mr. George's re-arrest beyond that which he saw in the newspapers. His right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland had gone to Ireland, and that was the reason why he was not in the House.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN said, the right hon. and learned Gentleman seemed to treat the question with indifference; but could the Government give them some reasonable assurance that innocent persons travelling in Ireland would not be subjected to these indignities?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I can assure the hon. Member I did not wish to treat this question with indifference. I was only able to say that I had no information. I am certain that as soon as the Chief Secretary arrives in Ireland he will address himself to the subject, and will see that every precaution is taken to prevent inconvenience being occasioned.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR asked the Home Secretary whether his attention had been called to the fact that Michael O'Connor, a distinguished citizen of California, was arrested in Ireland a few weeks ago, when he was simply visiting his native place? He also asked whether it was not the case that, when the Prevention of Crime Bill was passing through the House, the right hon. Gentleman gave the assurance that the Government of Ireland would make every effort that this power of interfering with aliens should not be abused, so that persons visiting Ireland on pleasure or business should not be embarrassed; and whether the arrests of Mr. O'Connor and Mr. George were in accordance with that pledge?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he entirely recognized the undertaking which the Government gave as to arrests, and which they were bound to give. He was quite sure that the Government in Ireland would do all in their power to fulfil that undertaking. He could not answer, however, as to these particular arrests, because he had no information respecting them; but he was quite certain that if the Government of Ireland were of opinion that these arrests should not have been made and were owing to carelessness, they would take measures to prevent anything of the kind occurring in the future.

MR. HEALY asked if there would be any Representative of the Irish Government in the House to answer the Questions relating to Ireland during the remainder of the Sitting previous to the Adjournment?

MR. GLADSTONE said, that the absence of his right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General for Ireland was perfectly accidental. He would be in his place shortly; but, if not, some Member of the Government would be prepared to answer the Questions.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed. "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

WOOLMER FOREST—RECENT FIRES.

OBSERVATIONS.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH, who had given Notice that he would call attention to correspondence with the War Office respecting recent fires in Woolmer Forest; and to move—

> "That the management of Woolmer Forest by officials under the War Department has given just cause of dissatisfaction and alarm to the owners and occupiers of adjoining lands,"

said, that various fires had occurred in the Forest, doing more or less damage to adjoining lands; but on the 23rd of May a large and serious fire took place, by which damage to the extent of £2,000 was occasioned to the property of Mr. Smith, an adjoining landowner. An official inquiry was held under the direction of Major General Sir Henry Havelock-Allan; but the evidence on that occasion was restricted to the cause of the fire by which the damage complained of arose. Mr. Smith, the gentleman at whose instance he had brought this subject forward, was much dissatisfied with that inquiry, because he was not permitted to show that the same persons who had lighted the fires in the earlier part of the year were also the authors of that which caused his loss. It was reported to the General Commanding the Division, as the result of the inquiry, that it was not caused by War Office officials; but Sir Daniel Lysons recommended that, instead of being under the charge of a warder, these forests should in future be placed under the management of an officer of the Royal Engineers. Notwithstanding the inquiry that had been held, there was ample evidence that these fires in the Forest were lighted by the officials for purposes connected with the preservation of game. Lord Selborne, who was a resident in the district, introduced Mr. Smith to the Secretary of State, and wrote stating that his impression was that the fires were not accidental, but originated through the most dangerous system of clearing wild ground for the preservation of game by burning the heather. The numerous inhabitants in this district had a right to be informed that the attention of the Secretary of State had been personally directed to what, to them, was a most serious question — namely, that steps should be taken to prevent the recurrence of these fires.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, that a Committee of that House which sat many years ago unanimously resolved that Woolmer Forest should be sold; but that proposal had never been acted upon. Crown Forests were not saleable, except under Act of Parliament. If the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Sclater-Booth) thought proper to introduce a Bill authorizing the sale of Woolmer Forest, he (Mr. Arnold) would give it any support in his power.

MR. H. G. ALLEN, as a friend of Mr. Smith, whose complaint had been brought forward, could assure the House that whatever he said was thoroughly reliable. This mode of clearing wild land was very dangerous, and could be for no other purpose than that suggested by the Lord Chancellor, who was not very likely to have arrived at his conclusion with regard to the origin of these fires on insufficient evidence—namely, the preservation of game. He therefore trusted that until the suggestion of the hon. Member for Salford was acted upon, and the Forest sold, orders would be given from head-quarters for the discontinuance of so dangerous a method of clearance as that of burning the underwood.

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER said, no one connected with the War Department could complain of the calm and able statement made by the right hon. Gentleman in setting forth the grievances of those of his constituents who resided in the neighbourhood of Woolmer Forest. A Regulation had been framed which provided that the Chief Engineer at Aldershot should be specially charged with the duty of superintending this property, and looking after the warders. The right hon. Gentleman appeared to argue that because the fire of the 12th of March was lighted by the Government officials, therefore the subsequent fires were lighted by them. After the fire in May, Sir Daniel Lysons ordered a Court of Inquiry to be assembled. It was presided over by Sir Henry Havelock-Allan, and among its members was Colonel Harrison, one of the Chief Engineers at Aldershot. That Court was of opinion that the fire at Woolmer Forest on the 22nd of May was caused by some incendiary, and not by any Government official or servant. He confessed he thought it highly desirable that further precautions should be taken, especially in regard to the clearings. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman would be satisfied with the new Regulations, which provided, among other things, that an officer of the Royal Engineers should be present with a sufficient number of men to prevent the fires from spreading, and to extinguish them when necessary, and also that all residents in the neighbourhood should receive adequate notice before the fires were lighted.

Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

(1.) £14,941, to complete the sum for Temporary Commissions.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he must congratulate the Committee and the country upon the fact that the Royal Commission on Agriculture had now finished its labours. This was a fitting opportunity to notice that the three volumes which the Commission had produced had cost the country more than £10,000 each. The cost of the Commission had been extraordinary and extravagant. The Commission had produced volumes of evidence which were of great value, and which, for 20 years to come, would probably form the most useful text-books on agriculture in this country; but whilst he thought it was impossible to over-estimate the value of this work of the Commission, he must protest against the enormous expenditure, amounting in all to nearly £40,000, which the Commission had involved. He could not fail to compare it with another Commission in this list—he meant the Commission on Technical Instruction, which, though a travelling Commission, had spent the comparatively small sum of £1,000. He deeply regretted that the work of the Agricultural Commission had led to what he could not but regard as a very considerable waste of public money.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, as he was the only Member of the Agricultural Commission who was now present, he must ask the Committee to consider the inconsistent character of the hon. Gentleman's (Mr. Arthur Arnold's) statements. The hon. Gentleman told the Committee that the evidence collected was invaluable, but that the three volumes produced had cost £10,000 each, and that was too much. The question of cost ought to be taken in relation to the value of that which had been got; the question was not how much the Commission had cost, but whether the work could have been done for less money. In what way had there been this extravagance? Was it that the Commission had been paid? Nothing of the kind. The majority of the Commissioners had received nothing, but had paid money out of their own pockets. Farmers and professional gentlemen who came from different parts of the country to work on the Commission or to give evidence had been paid their travelling expenses, and, he thought, the very moderate sum of two or three guineas a-day. The great cost of the Commission arose from the employment of professional experts who had been to all parts of the world to make inquiries, and to obtain information of a thoroughly authentic and reliable character upon the very important and multifarious subjects referred to the Commission by Her Majesty. He believed that some portion of the labours of the Commission had not yet been placed before Parliament. Some of the Returns—and the Committee must recollect that the printing of the Returns and the employment for two or three years, in point of fact, of shorthand writers, was one of the principal causes of the great expenditure—had not yet been laid before the House. [MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD: No, no!] The hon. Member said "No, no!" as though he knew all about it. The hon. Member complained of what had been done. He could only say the hon. Member's (Mr. Arthur Arnold's) own evidence had cost the country a very large sum of money. At the request of the hon. Gentleman the Commission called him; he gave his evidence at great length, and it would be for those who read his evidence to judge of its value. At any rate, he would say there was no witness who was examined who cost the country so much as the hon. Member himself. Then the hon. Member compared the Agricultural Commission to the Commission on Technical Education, very much to the disadvantage of the Agricultural Commission. Why, the hon. Gentleman made a comparison without knowing anything about the subject! Would the hon. Gentleman say how the expenses of the Technical Education Commission were incurred? If he had gone into the matter properly, he would have ascertained that the Technical Education Commission paid its own expenses, a fact which was exceedingly discreditable to the country. The Gentlemen who were appointed upon that Commission received no pecuniary assistance from the Government, and that was a matter which it was not unlikely would be brought under the notice of Parliament on another occasion, because, without going into matters of a delicate nature, the Committee could easily understand that there might be even Members of that Commission who could not pay their own expenses. For the country to appoint a Commission and not to pay the Members of it was either to insure that only rich men should form the Commission, or to require persons of public spirit to put their hands in their own pockets and pay expenses which ought not to fall upon them. There was no kind of comparison to be drawn between the Agricultural Commission and the Technical Education Commission. Certainly the Technical Education Commission had done its labours admirably; and he thought, on the whole, the country would be of opinion that the Agricultural Commission, which had worked without pecuniary remuneration, so far as its Members were concerned, had also earned the good opinion of the country, and ought not to be criticized upon imperfect information in the perfunctory manner adopted by the hon. Member.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, that, notwithstanding the remarks of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mitchell Henry), he was still of opinion that the evidence given before the Commission might have been presented to the House for about £3,000, instead of £40,000.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY said, that for the hon. Gentleman to tell the Committee that work which had occupied three years, which required the sending to all parts of the world of highly-paid experts, could have been done for £3,000, was simply ludicrous. The Committee would know very well in what way to receive statements of that kind.

Vote *agreed to.*

(2.) £3,711, to complete the sum for Miscellaneous Expenses.

REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

(3.) £793,155, to complete the sum for Customs.

(4.) £1,557,822, to complete the sum for Inland Revenue.

(5.) £3,043,300, to complete the sum for Post Office.

(6.) £490,514, to complete the sum for Post Office Packet Service.

Mr. GRAY said, he desired to call the attention of the Committee to the Post Office contract for the transmission of the Irish mails between Holyhead and Dublin. This was a matter of very considerable importance, and one which excited a great deal of interest in Ireland. The period of the present contract had now expired, or was about to expire, and the Department had advertised for new tenders. He did not understand that notice had been given for the termination of the existing contract; but advertisements had been published and tenders had been received from new contractors. The various Chambers of Commerce throughout the country had taken an interest in the matter, and they had forwarded Memorials to the Postmaster General in reference to it. A good many questions would arise in connection with the policy which would actuate the Department in giving away this contract. In the first place, it was important the Committee should know whether the Department intended to deal with the entire mail service between England and Ireland in connection with the new contract for across Channel, or whether they only intended to deal with the carrying of the mails between Holyhead and Dublin. He hoped the Department would take into consideration the question of a general acceleration of the mail service. Enormous practical convenience could be secured by an acceleration of the service, and it could be effected without any additional cost. Another question of great practical importance, and on which he hoped the Postmaster General would be able to give the Committee some information, was as to whether he intended that the new service should be a service from Holyhead to Kingstown, as at present, or from Holyhead direct to the port of Dublin. Such were the questions on which he was anxious to get some information. He believed it was the practice of the Department not to state the terms of the tenders they had received in connection with these contracts until they had actually accepted them. Of course, he was aware they were then laid on the Table of the House; but that was a purely formal roceeding, and unless some powerful reason could be alleged, no contract was ever refused ratification by the House. He could not understand why the tenders should not be disclosed to the public before the Department took them into consideration. The tenders sent to other Departments of the State became public property immediately upon their reception. Why this exception in the case of the postal contracts he failed to comprehend. There was a very strong feeling in Ireland that it was quite possible that an Irish Company—the City of Dublin Steam Packet Company—which for the last 30 years had executed this contract, with satisfaction both to the Department and to the public, might be shunted on this occasion in favour of the London and North-Western Railway Company, who carried the mails, except across Channel, and who had recently become steam-ship proprietors, having a line of steamers running to the port of Dublin. He believed the London and North-Western Company had sent in a tender for the new contract in competition with the City of Dublin Company. The London and North-Western Company was, of course, a Company of enormous wealth. It was stated, with what truth he did not know, that it could more or less directly influence some 50 votes in this House. One of the members of the Board of Directors was a Member of the Government, another member of the Board was a Member of the late Irish Government, and, therefore, the Company had a very great amount of influence and power. He would be loth to even suggest in the remotest way that any of its power or influence would be exercised in anything but the most legitimate manner; but the fact of the Company being so directly represented in this House should induce the Government to disclose to the Irish public, who were so deeply interested in them, the terms of the tenders before they committed themselves to one or the other. It was easy to be conceived that a Company with enormous capital and revenue, like the London and North-Western, might find it to its interest to tender at an unremunerative rate — at a rate at which an independent Company merely carrying on the mail business could not compete with—with the full knowledge that if its tender were accepted the small rival Company would be destroyed, and at the termination of the period of the first contract, the larger Company would be the masters of the situation and able to dictate its own terms. He was sure the Postmaster General would not be inclined to lend himself to anything of the kind; but there was an apprehension, which he thought was well-founded, that what might be deemed to be somewhat unfair competition of that character might militate against the chance of the Irish Company; that, in fact, an old and most respectable Irish Company might be destroyed by competition with an enormous Corporation like the London and North-Western. Moreover, there was a very strong feeling, in which he shared, and in which anyone who had any knowledge of Dublin must share, that it would be most detrimental to the public service if the mails were carried direct to the port of Dublin instead of to Kingstown, as at present. He was quite aware that new steamers had been put on for the purpose of carrying passengers to the port of Dublin, and that it was alleged they could carry mails just as well. From his own personal experience, he could say, without fear of contradiction, that it was a physical impossibility to carry mails to the port of Dublin with anything like the regularity which must be first essential of the postal service, The fogs were sometimes so dense that vessels were delayed from entering the port of Dublin for seven, eight, nine, and ten hours. No expenditure of money could obviate that serious difficulty, which, however, did not exist with regard to Kingstown. Kingstown lay more in the open sea than did the port of Dublin. There was a sand-bank some miles outside Kingstown, on which was the Kisch Lightship and bell, and this could always be made by steamers coming from Holyhead, no matter how dense the fog might be. When this lightship was once reached, the harbour of Kingstown could be made by compass alone. It was impossible so to make the port of Dublin. Vessels were not infrequently delayed for hours outside the port, so it was absolutely impossible to secure a perfectly regular mail service to the port of Dublin. He imagined, however, the Post Office would have sent an Inspector to the spot to inquire into the whole subject. He saw no public purpose to be gained in Ireland by destroying healthy competition, and leaving a monopoly of the carrying service in the hands of a gigantic Corporation like the London and North-Western Railway Company. If it could be shown that a few thousand pounds could be saved by such a procedure, the saving would be dearly purchased, and would certainly be obnoxious to the Irish people. He hoped that nothing of the kind was contemplated. It would be altogether detrimental to the public interests, and be displaying ingratitude towards a poor Company, who had hitherto done the work satisfactorily, and who would ever be regarded as an historical Company. Indeed, the Irish Company was the Company which founded the Peninsular and Oriental Company. The right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General might not be aware of that fact, but it nevertheless was a fact. The Irish Company was the first Company that sent a steamer across the Atlantic; and the vessels they now had upon the Line would stand a comparison with any vessels afloat, both as regarded speed, regularity of service, and seaworthiness. And now he had a word or two to say upon the larger question of the acceleration of the mail service between England and Ireland. A large saving was to be effected in the renewal of the contract. He had no idea what the figures were; but he put it down that £20,000 would be saved by the competition between the Companies. The contract was £85,000 or £86,000, subject to some reduction owing to the excess of passenger traffic. Probably there might be a reduction of some £20,000; and what he desired was that the right hon. Gentleman should not put that 20,000 to the credit of the Post Office Department, and then to say, if the Irish people asked for a few thousands to be spent in the acceleration of the Irish mail service generally, "Where are the funds to come from?" If a saving were effected at all, it ought, in his opinion, to be devoted to the general acceleration of the service between London and Dublin, and between Dublin and the Irish Provincial towns. At the present moment the service, especially so far as the Provincial towns were concerned, was most unsatisfactory. Suppose a man posted a letter on Monday to Cork, Waterford, Kilkenny, or Limerick, he could not receive a reply to it until the Wednesday evening in London. Hon. Members would know that for all practical purposes that was the same as if no reply was received until Thursday morning—making three working days from the despatch of the letter until the receipt of the reply. He believed that it would be very easy indeed, at a comparatively small outlay, so to increase the speed of the service between Euston and Holyhead, and, secondly, between Holyhead and Kingstown, and, thirdly, between Kingstown and the Irish Provincial towns, as to secure that any man in the Irish Provincial towns he had mentioned should be able to receive a reply to his letters at the same time as a man living in Dublin, and that a reply to communications posted to Cork, Waterford, Kilkenny, Limerick, and other places, should be received in London on Wednesday morning, instead of Wednesday evening, which would secure a saving of a working day, a matter of enormous importance to all business men. Some of his friends had said to him, when they found that he was interesting himself in this question, that the result would be to promote English manufactures at the expense of Ireland, that he was only facilitating the introduction of English goods into Ireland, and hindering the Irish manufacturers to the same extent by depriving them of a portion of the trade they would otherwise have. He declined to take any responsibility, on that account, upon his own shoulders. He believed that the acceleration of the mail service would benefit both parties, and if it benefited English traders, it would benefit in a corresponding degree the customers in Ireland. The advantage would not merely be as between England and Ireland, but there would also be a considerable advantage secured between Dublin and the Irish Provincial towns, because, at the present moment, all the outgoing mails from Dublin depended upon the English mails. They did not leave Dublin until a comparatively late hour. Instead of leaving at 5 o'clock in the morning, as they ought to do, they did not, upon the average, leave until nearly 9 o'clock. If they could succeed in inducing Her Majesty's Government to accelerate the mail service to England from Dublin, all the outgoing mails from Dublin to the Provinces could easily be accelerated in the same proportion; and inasmuch as the passenger traffic from Dublin to the Provinces was dependent on the mail traffic for its time of leaving, there would be this convenience, that a man leaving Dublin in the morning for Cork or Limerick, could transact his business in those towns and return to Dublin in time for dinner, in the same way that a man could leave London now, go down to Liverpool or Manchester, get through all his business transactions there, and return to London in the course of the same day. If the Government consented to accelerate the Irish mail service—and there was no difficulty whatever in doing it—a man would be able to run down to Cork or to any Provincial town, and, having gone through his business, could return to Dublin on the same day. This was a question that was of enormous importance to the people of Ireland, because it meant, as between Dublin and the Irish Provincial towns, the gain of an entire day. He was most anxious that the right hon Gentleman the Postmaster General should consider the subject as a whole, and not merely in reference to the question of sending the mails from Holyhead to Dublin. It was a very large question, and now was the time for taking it up if it was to be taken up at all within the next 10 years. In consequence of there not being direct communication between Kingstown and all the other railways having a terminus in Dublin, he thought it was worthy of the consideration of the right hon. Gentleman whether, seeing that the notice had not yet been given of the termination of the contract, he would not suspend the notice for the present, in order to see whether pressure could not be brought to bear upon the Railway Companies in Dublin to provide that practical steps should be taken for securing a connection between the Kingstown Railway and the other railways having terminii in Dublin, so that in future the mails should be conveyed direct by the lines of railway going South, West, and North. The inconvenience of the existing arrangements was very much felt all over Ireland; indeed, so serious was the difficulty that he was strongly of opinion that the Department should hold its hand for a little while, and say—"We will do nothing for 12 months, in order that we may ascertain whether the Railway Companies will do anything for the benefit of the public." If that course were taken, he believed that something would be done; whereas if the Government completed the contract at once, nothing would be done, and all the inconveniences now experienced would continue to prevail for the next 10 years. He felt quite satisfied that the right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General would turn his attention to the subject, and that he would endeavour to arrive at the wisest possible conclusion. He hoped, when the right hon. Gentleman rose to reply, that he would be able to give to the country some information of a reassuring character.

Mr. BLAKE said, he cordially endorsed everything that had been so ably stated by his hon. Friend the Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray) on the important subject of the proposed postal contract. There was a very strong opinion in Ireland that there would be an effort, and it was feared that it might, perhaps, be a successful effort, on the part of the London and North-Western Railway Company to obtain the contract now enjoyed by the Irish Company for the conveyance of Her Majesty's mails between Holyhead and Kingstown. He certainly believed that it was not only the sentiment of the Irish Members generally, but of the Irish people as well, that the removal of the mail contract from the present Company would be viewed with considerable dissatisfaction unless it could be shown that there were the strongest reasons for it. The present Company had had the conveyance of the mails for upwards of 30 years, and that mail service was not only a credit to Ireland, but he believed it was admitted that for the distance travelled it was one of the first mail services in the world. At very considerable expense, and with very great support, the Company had carried out the service, both as regarded the mails and the passengers, in a highly superior manner, and very often at a very considerably increased outlay. His hon. Friend the Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray) had quite accurately pourtrayed what the feeling of Ireland was when he said so emphatically that any change to the detriment of the existing Company would be viewed with considerable dissatisfaction. Amongst the many advantages which the Company had conferred upon Ireland was not only the keeping up of the vessels for conducting the postal service between Dublin and Holyhead, but also the keeping up of another very important mercantile Company at Dublin. The enterprises of the Dublin Navigation Company were regarded in Ireland as a great National undertaking; and, in common with other Irish Members who would probably follow him, he appealed to the Postmaster General to pause very seriously before he proposed to alter the existing arrangements for the conveyance of the mails.

Mr. WARTON said, he had failed to observe that the Postmaster General was in his place when the Post Office Vote was taken, or he should have asked a question upon the matter. He wished, however, to ask a question upon the present Vote in reference to the price of registered letters. They were now 2¼*d.*, which was very often practically 2½*d.*; and he asked the right hon. Gentleman to consider whether it would not be much better to fix the price at 2*d.* for a registered letter, without making any charge for the envelope itself?

Mr. SEXTON said, he did not propose to add anything to the very able statement made by his hon. Friend the Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray) as to acceleration and improvement of the Irish mail service. He thought that his hon. Friend might be accepted, not only as the able, but as the trustworthy exponent of Irish feeling on that subject. He (Mr. Sexton) had lately asked a question of the Postmaster General about the post office at Ballyvourn, in the county of Roscommon, to which he should like to call attention.

The CHAIRMAN said, that the hon. Member might ask a question as a matter of convenience; but it was impossible to discuss the Post Office Vote now, as it had already been disposed of. The Committee were now considering the Vote for the Post Office Packet Service.

Mr. SEXTON said, he would reserve his observations for another occasion.

Mr. LEAMY said, he did not think it necessary to occupy the time of the Committee at any length after the exhaustive speech which had been made by his hon. Friend the Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray). He had risen merely for the purpose of asking the right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General whether he would consider a matter he (Mr. Leamy) had put to him to-day respecting the carriage of the mails on the Waterford and Lismore Railway? He was very sorry that he had not been able to give the right hon. Gentleman longer Notice of the Question, because, as he had only given Notice of it on Wednesday, it had been impossible for the right hon. Gentleman to make full inquiry into the case. He understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that, even if the railway in question were utilized for the carriage of the night mails between the towns he had mentioned, it would still be necessary to continue the present arrangements. He thought the right hon. Gentleman was labouring entirely under a mistake.

Colonel TAYLOR desired to say one or two words before the Vote was disposed of. For the last 20 or 30 years the mail service had been conducted between Dublin and Holyhead in the most satisfactory manner, and he believed that there was a general feeling in Ireland in favour of continuing the existing arrangements. The Dublin Navigation Company deserved the highest credit, not only for the manner in which they had conducted the service between Holyhead and Kingstown, but also the service at North Wall. He believed that the London and North-Western Railway Company were now applying for the contract, and, being well acquainted with the manner in which the service was at present conducted, he certainly did not believe that any improvement could be made upon the vessels which were now run between Holyhead and Kingstown.

MR. FAWCETT: I think I may undertake to say that the contract for the conveyance of the mails between Holyhead and Kingstown will not be decided directly after this Vote has been taken, because I am bound to say that I think the able and practical speech of the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray) deserves very careful consideration. I can assure him that, as far as I am concerned, his remarks shall be carefully considered, as well as the remarks made by other hon. Members in the course of this short debate. He and they are aware that the decision on this important question ultimately rests not with the Post Office, but with the Treasury. In regard to these contracts, they are supreme in the matter. But, at the same time, I believe I am perfectly justified in saying that the remarks which have been made this evening, and the other representations we have received, will be as carefully considered by the Treasury before any decision is ultimately arrived at as they have been by the Post Office. In receiving a very large and influential deputation of the Irish Members some time since, I conceded, I thought, to the full extent the importance of the subject demanded—the very great desirability, if it could be found practicable, of accelerating the mails between England and Ireland. There was one part of the speech of the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray) with which I most entirely concur, and it was this—that, regarding the subject as a question of postal acceleration, the acceleration of the mails in all the Provincial towns of Ireland is even of much more importance than their acceleration to Dublin, because if the mails arrive in Dublin at a sufficiently early hour to enable the letters to be delivered at breakfast-time—say, half-past 8 o'clock—Dublin would be sufficiently well served; but it is perfectly obvious that, as far as the mails are concerned that have to be sent on from Dublin to distant Provincial towns, every hour the mails can be accelerated, on their arrival in Dublin, at any rate, means the possibility of their arriving at some Provincial town an hour earlier in the day; and, of course, it may be of the utmost importance that the mail should arrive, say, in Cork, at 11 instead of 12 o'clock, because not only would men of business get their letters an hour earlier, but they would also have the advantage, on the other hand, of one or two hours longer for enabling them to reply to their correspondents. Therefore, I can assure the Irish Members that the question of accelerating the mails, not only to Dublin, but also as far as is practicable to the Provincial towns and the rural districts generally throughout Ireland, is fully recognized. I have already taken steps to have the subject thoroughly investigated by one of the ablest officials connected with the Post Office—the Inspector General of Mails. He has already visited Ireland, and has gone through all the minutiæ of the subject with the greatest possible care, and I can only say that he is anxious to provide all the acceleration that the state of the circumstances will allow. He has investigated the subject most exhaustively, and I believe there is not a single town in Ireland that has escaped his careful consideration, and there is not a town in Ireland which he has not considered with a view of the acceleration of the mails. With regard to the question of the contract, I believe I should be divulging no secret which it is important I should withhold when I say that we advertised for tenders, and have received two replies—one from the London and North-Western Railway Company, and the other from the existing Company—the Navigation Company. No decision has yet been arrived at in reference to the acceptance of either of these tenders. I can quite recognize the truth of what has been said by the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray), that we have to consider, in arriving at a decision, the questions of economy and efficiency. And I will go with him so far as to say that it is not a question of immediate economy only, but also a question of future economy; because you may purchase a small saving very dearly if there is reason to suppose that that small saving will be likely in the future to lead to a large expenditure. With regard to efficiency, that has also, of course, to be carefully considered. We must not look upon the matter simply from what we have done in the past, but we must consider what is likely to be done by the two competitors for the service in the future. I should be very sorry to be supposed to do any injustice to the Dublin Navigation Company. They have served—as has been well said by the right hon. and gallant Member for the County of Dublin (Colonel Taylor)—they have served the Post Office in the past remarkably well. They have done their work efficiently and with punctuality. I believe there has been scarcely a single casualty; but, in regard to the future, the necessity of obtaining the best possible service is a matter of such immense importance to the inhabitants of Ireland generally, that, of course, we must consider very carefully which of these two Companies is likely, at the most reasonable rate, to supply us with the best service in the end. With regard to the depôt at North Wall, when the deputation waited upon me, which included various Irish Members and gentlemen representing important Irish bodies, some of the deputation advocated the North Wall route; whereas others were of opinion that if we adopted the North Wall route we should lose all chance of having the mails conveyed with regularity. I have thought it desirable, considering the conflicting nature of the statements, to have the subject most exhaustively investigated; and after the deputation left, I immediately asked the gentleman connected with the Post Office to whom I have already referred—Mr. Baines—to visit Dublin and obtain all possible evidence upon the question. This he has done, and he has presented to the Post Office a full and elaborate Report. That Report will be carefully considered by the Post Office and the Treasury before any decision is arrived at. I hope I have now said sufficient to satisfy the Irish Members and others interested in the subject that we duly recognize the importance of the question. The only object we have in view is to adopt that arrangement and to conclude that contract which we believe to be the best possible for the service of Ireland.

Mr. GIBSON said, he must apologize for not having been present in his place when the discussion upon this Vote was brought on; but it had happened at the moment that he was attending a Committee upstairs. Anyone who knew the right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General would at once recognize that there never could have been any official connected with any Government who was more earnestly and zealously inclined to do what was just and fair. He was sure that anyone who had heard the statement of the right hon. Gentleman would place absolute faith and credence in it; but, at the same time, he did not think it reasonable or fair, considering his connection with Dublin—a city with which he had been associated all his life—if he allowed the discussion to close without saying something in reference to the matter. For a very considerable number of years he had been constantly travelling backwards and forwards between England and Ireland by the Dublin steam packet-boats, and he was able to bear testimony to the fact that a Company more civil and obliging, or one which more satisfactorily performed its duties, it was impossible to find. He trusted that every consideration would be given to the proposals of the Company for a renewal of their contract, and that some substantial balance, both in regard to efficiency and economy, should be necessary in order to turn the scale against a Company which had always in the past conducted the service efficiently and well.

Baron DE FERRIERES desired to say a word, before the Vote was agreed to in reference to the conveyance of the mails to the Cape Colony, upon a matter which he had already brought under the the notice of the right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General, who had promised to give it his consideration. There was, however, a point which materially concerned some of Her Majesty's officers who were stationed at St. Helena. The postage to St. Helena was 1*s*. for half-an-ounce, and he believed that this was an exceptional case in regard to the whole of Her Majesty's Colonies. In other cases the postage was 6*d*. an ounce, but at St. Helena it was 1*s*., and it fell very hard on the officers quartered there, and who were, in a great measure, shut out from the rest of the world. They had, as a matter of fact, sometimes to pay 3*s*. for a communication from England, because nearly all the packets of news sent out were bulky, and the postage often amounted to 2*s*. or 3*s*. He had mentioned this circumstance to the right hon. Gentleman, who had promised that it should be inquired into, and he thought the right hon. Gentleman would be astonished when he discovered what the real facts of the case were. It seemd that the actual postage was only 6*d.* per half-ounce, and that the other 6*d.* went to assist the ordinary revenue of St. Helena. He (Baron De Ferrieres) thought it was monstrous that for so paltry an addition to the revenue of the Island, Her Majesty's officers quartered there should be made to pay this overcharge. It was very doubtful whether there were 1,000 letters delivered in St. Helena in the course of the year, so that the addition to the revenue of the Island derived from them would not be more than £25 per annum; and, in his opinion, it was a great hardship that the officers quartered in the Island should be called upon to pay this charge in the shape of extra postage upon their letters. He thought the Post Office Department ought to meet the requirements of the case, and bring down the charge to 6*d.* per half-ounce, as it was in the rest of Her Majesty's Colonies.

MR. MAGNIAC said, he certainly thought Her Majesty's troops serving abroad ought to receive their letters at the lowest possible rate. They were performing an arduous duty for the sake of maintaining the prestige and honour of the country, and if they received their letters without charge at all, the loss to the Public Revenue would not be very considerable. He hoped that some arrangement would be made in this direction, and he trusted that the right hon. Gentleman, after giving the matter due consideration, would not be inclined to grudge even a slight loss to the Post Office.

MR. FAWCETT: In regard to the postage to St. Helena, I am inclined to think that there is some reduction made to soldiers serving there. It is, however, scarcely a question that concerns the Post Office so much as the Treasury and the War Office. With regard to St. Helena, I have already told my hon. Friend that there is a possibility of reducing the postage to St. Helena. It is not a question which affects officers serving in Her Majesty's Army only, but the highest rate of postage affects all persons residing there. The greatest reduction would be in adopting the rate charged in the case of other Colonies—the ordinary charge of 6*d.* per half-ounce upon each letter.

MR. GRAY begged to acknowledge the frank and friendly spirit in which the right hon. Gentleman had responded to his appeal, and would not prolong the discussion. He admitted that the necessity of providing the best means of communication between England and Ireland was a matter of such importance that it must be paramount to any interests connected with any private Company. At the same time, he wished to point out what he conceived to be the disadvantage in which the Irish Company would be placed in endeavouring to compete with so formidable an antagonist as the London and North-Western Railway Company. Whether it was a wise policy for Parliament to allow the Railway Company to become steam packet owners might be a matter upon which there would probably be a difference of opinion. A case of this kind might possibly arise. The London and North-Western Company might say this—"We will convey the mails between London and Dublin in so many hours, performing the service in a shorter time than that occupied at present;" and the right hon. Gentleman might consider it necessary, in the interests of the public generally, to accept a proposition of that kind, taking it as a whole. But when the right hon. Gentleman came carefully to investigate where the saving of time was effected, he would have two points to consider—namely, whether it ought to be effected in the service across the Channel, or in the railway service. If it was to be effected in the Channel service, then he (Mr. Gray) was prepared to contend and to allege, without fear of contradiction, that the Dublin Navigation Company could compete in the carriage of the mails across the sea with any mail steamers in existence, or that could be built in the present condition of naval science. But if the London and North-Western Railway Company were going to try and secure the cross-Channel service by some *quasi*-bribe to the Post Office Department, that they were prepared to accelerate the railway service, and an admission that the land service was not at the present moment done as efficiently as it ought to be, then he did not think that was a point which the right hon. Gentleman ought to take into consideration at all. On the contrary, he (Mr. Gray) contended that the London and North-Western Company ought to be induced or compelled to accelerate their service between London and Holyhead, irrespective of all conditions in regard to the conveyance of the mails between Holyhead and Dublin. Unfortunately for himself, scarcely a week passed that he was not compelled to travel over the London and North-Western Railway between Holyhead and Dublin, and he knew that a great many delays occurred which were altogether unnecessary. There was, for instance, a delay of 10 minutes or a quarter of an hour at Holyhead itself, which was quite unnecessary; and although it took place nominally for the collection of the tickets, it was in reality for the transaction of the business of the Railway Company. That delay of a quarter of an hour could easily be got rid of. He trusted that if any offer was made by the London and North-Western Company which would secure the saving of time, the right hon. Gentleman would carefully inquire where it was that the time would be saved—whether it was in the land journey between London and Holyhead, or in the carriage of the mails across the sea between Holyhead and Kingstown. He alleged, without fear of contradiction, that the Irish Company would be able to compete in their own particular business of carrying the mails by means of steam vessels as rapidly and as efficiently as any Company in existence which could be substituted for them, although he admitted that there were other vessels which might be as good in a calm sea, and even larger and more powerful vessels, yet he believed there were none which were nearly so effective in a heavy sea; and that was constantly the condition of things in crossing the Channel. He sincerely trusted that in the careful consideration which the right hon. Gentleman had promised to give to the matter, he would not lose sight of that aspect of the case. After what the right hon. Gentleman had said—and he acknowledged that the right hon. Gentleman and the Post Office Department had devoted a great deal of attention to the matter—he was content to leave the question in his hands.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND said, he should be glad to learn from the right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General, or from the Secretary to the Treasury, whether any decision had been arrived at as to the amount of the contribution to be paid by India towards the Eastern Packet Service? It appeared from the Vote that a very small amount indeed had been already received, and that there was a loss last year upon the service of some £7,000. He knew that the question had been in dispute for several years, and he wished to know whether there was any immediate prospect of an arrangement being come to between the Home Government and the Indian Government?

MR. COURTNEY was sorry to inform his hon. Friend that the matter was not yet settled. It was in reference to certain particular expenses that the difficulty had arisen between the Home Government and the Indian Government, and the delay which had occurred had been unavoidable. He entertained a hope that it would be settled shortly.

Vote *agreed to.*

(7.) £835,298, to complete the sum for Post Office Telegraphs.

MR. MAGNIAC said, he was about to make an appeal to his right hon. Friend the Postmaster General, which, he believed, would have the effect of somewhat strengthening his hands. Last year, when the Post Office Votes came on, the House had not received the Report of the Post Office. The right hon. Gentleman explained on that occasion that he had had the Report in his hands for some days, but that it had not been completed. Precisely the same thing had occurred this year. The Report of the Post Office was only received yesterday. The same thing had happened in regard to several other Departments. Last year the whole of the Vote for Science and Art was carried without a word of information on the subject of the Vote being in the hands of hon. Members. He thought, if Reports were to be presented at all, that they should be printed and published before the Votes came on for discussion. He was quite aware of the difficulties which existed; but he thought his right hon. Friend at the head of the Department ought to insist on its being submitted to the House at least a month before the Vote was brought on for discussion. It was utterly impossible to discuss the Votes in the absence of this information, and he thought his right hon. Friend would see that it was scarcely reasonable to expect them to do so. There was another point he was desirous of mentioning. He wanted to know if it was possible to alter the period at which the accounts were made up?

Mr. FAWCETT was understood to say that the accounts followed the ordinary rule, and were brought down to the month of April.

Mr. MAGNIAC said, that if they could be made up earlier more time might be afforded for their consideration and discussion. He thought it would be more convenient to bring down the whole of the accounts to the month of March only. Such an arrangement would give the House a more complete information in regard to the working of the telegraph service, and he confessed that at present he was unable to understand the accounts presented in regard to that service. The expenditure was put down at £1,444,000, while the receipts appeared to have been £1,634,000, showing apparently a surplus of nearly £200,000; but when they came to take into account the payment of the interest on the sum which the purchase of the telegraphs had cost, there appeared to have been a deficiency amounting to something like £300,000. That was a very large deficiency; and, having regard to the desire so frequently expressed, that the cost of telegraphing might be reduced, he hoped that some endeavour would be made, by practising economy within the Department, to bring the expenditure within such a compass that the Post Office would be able to deal with it and comply with the wish of the public. His right hon. Friend smiled. He (Mr. Magniac) had no doubt that endeavours were already made to secure economy in the working of the telegraphs, and he thought his right hon. Friend had already given proof that he was anxious to reduce the expenditure connected with his Department. All he wished was to impress on his right hon. Friend the propriety of neglecting no opportunity which might arise for reducing the cost of telegrams. He had no doubt that his hon. Friend (Mr. Courtney) was also anxious for economy; but the general public, in addition to economy, wished to see the telegraphs not only efficiently worked, but worked in such a manner as to secure the convenience of the public. He believed it would give an extraordinary impetus to the trade of the country if telegrams could be sent at a lower price than they were at present. With a deficiency of £270,000 it would be unreasonable, to ask the right hon. Gentleman to make any change this year; but he did hope that attention would be given to the subject. It was very satisfactory to observe the success which had attended the substitution of postage stamps for telegraph stamps. The latter had been found to be a very great convenience indeed, and in all probability a considerable increase in the Revenue would result from the increased facilities which had been afforded. Many persons would send telegrams who did not now use them, if they had an office at their doors and the means of writing a telegram. He therefore hoped the attention of his right hon. Friend would be turned in that direction. The expense of telegraphing in this country was much greater than it was in other countries, and he did not believe that a reduction of price would result in any permanent loss to the Revenue. The work done by the Department in reference to the telegraphs was not quite so obvious as it was in the Post Office; but, at the same time, he had very little doubt that it was quite as onerous. There was one other point upon which he wished to make an observation, and that was the Engineering Department. The charges for that Department amounted to a very heavy item. They all knew that the Government services in engineering matters were conducted on the best principles, and that the best principles were the most expensive. The tendency of all Government Departments which had the spending of money that was not their own was to spend more than they would otherwise do. It was certainly not desirable that the efficiency of the Department should in any way be reduced; but certain facts had come out which were known to the public, and he believed it was generally admitted that it was necessary to keep a strict eye upon the Department. He was of opinion that if that were done it would be found a considerable source of economy, and he therefore trusted that strict supervision would be brought to bear over all the telegraph arrangements in future.

Mr. HEALY wished to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General to a matter which might appear to be a very small matter, but which was one of considerable importance to some of the Irish people.

them to dispose of it, and that it would consequently entail a reduction rather than an increase of Revenue. But the Chief of the Department also added—"Only wait until we have the full appliances to do the work, and we shall be able to do it." He would now ask the Postmaster General if he seriously believed that the adoption of the system of 6*d*. prepaid reply telegrams not exceeding 10 words would be injurious to the Revenue? If not, it would most assuredly be a matter of great convenience to the country, and it ought to be carried out. It must be remembered that the use of telegrams was now becoming almost universal, and that advantage was now taken of them by many classes of the community, who, when the telegraphs were originally established, were never thought likely to use them.

Mr. FAWCETT: In the course of the discussion various suggestions have been made by the hon. Members who have taken part in it. First of all, there was a suggestion by the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) in regard to the use of the Irish time upon exclusively Irish telegrams. I must admit that I was not aware of the fact that the English time was used in marking the telegrams in Ireland; but I will make a note of what the hon. Member has said, and I will make inquiries and see if some alteration cannot be effected. With regard to the remarks which have been made by my hon. Friend the Member for Bedford (Mr. Magniac), I quite admit the truth of what he has said about the present thoroughly unsatisfactory condition of the telegraph arrangements. Indeed, the Telegraph Department seems to me to be the only financial Department of the Post Office which is not in a satisfactory state at the present moment. But, in saying that the revenues of the Telegraph Department are unsatisfactory at present, I think, in justice to the financial administration of that Department, that this fact should always be borne in mind—that we have to pay a dead weight of debt of at least £3,500,000. Owing to the carelessness of the Government of the day at the time the arrangements were made for the purchase of the telegraphs, and the inattention of hon. Members of this House, the country paid a sum of £3,500,000 more for the rights and property of the Telegraph Companies than they were worth. I may mention circumstances which happened in regard to the value of telegraph stock before the undertakings of the different Companies were purchased, and afterwards. The moment it was known that the Government contemplated the acquisition of the telegraphs, the price of stock went up enormously—in some instances the price was increased by no less than 300 per cent. Of course, in the end, the public had to pay for all that, and the Department is feeling the effect of the extravagant price given, even at the present moment. If the telegraphs had been bought at a proper price the sum paid for them would have been £7,000,000, instead of £10,500,000, and, in that case, even at the present time, we should not have been showing an unsatisfactory result, but we should have been making, after paying the interest on the capital expended, a small margin of profit, which we might have devoted to the improvement of the telegraph service itself. I hope that what has occurred in regard to the purchase of the telegraphs will be looked upon as a warning by the House of Commons in the future that if they are careless, or allow the Government to be careless, in their financial transactions with private Companies, the inevitable result will be that the public interests will suffer in the end. I can assure my hon. Friend that I fully appreciate the value of his business experience, and that I shall be delighted to receive from him any suggestions in regard to the observance of greater economy in connection with the management of the telegraphic business of the Post Office. My hon. Friend has referred to the Engineering Department, and I can assure him that if he will give us the advantage of his advice and assistance, any suggestions he may have to make will receive all the careful attention they deserve. With regard to giving greater facilities to the public, my hon. Friend the Member for Bedford (Mr. Magniac) has referred to the extent to which the telegraph business might be increased if the telegraphs were made more easily accessible to the public. Now, a change has lately been introduced, in reference to which the Committee will, perhaps, allow me to say a word, because I believe it is not sufficiently well known, but which, I believe, will greatly facilitate the action of the telegraphs. In November last we abolished the telegraph stamp, and telegraphic messages are now allowed to be paid by ordinary postage stamps. It is possible to send a telegram by post by putting 12 ordinary stamps upon an ordinary sheet of paper, and if anyone wishes to send a telegram late at night there is now a most easy way of getting that telegram sent off early in the morning by putting it in the nearest Post Office or pillar-box. For instance, suppose a man arrives at his house late at night, and wants to send a telegram to some Provincial town, he can write it on half a sheet of ordinary note paper without being required to use the regular telegraphic message form. That telegram is sent off at once to the general post office of the district. For instance, suppose it is intended to send the telegram from Oxford, the very moment the telegraph office opens in the city of Oxford, at 7 o'clock in the morning, that telegram is certain to be despatched, and in all probability it will be sent at least an hour sooner than if the person sending it were put to the trouble of getting up early in the morning to despatch it. It is only a small change, but it is one which I believe will be very much for the convenience of the general public. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) has made some remarks relative to a distinction in the relative remuneration of the men and women employed by the Post Office. I am sure he will believe me that I am as anxious as he can be to secure the employment of women, and that it should be extended as far as posible, and that all persons employed should receive a fair and just remuneration for their services. But it must be borne in mind that the Government is bound, in deciding what remuneration should be given to those they employ, to be guided by the same considerations which actuate private individuals, and the reason why we pay a man and a woman different rates for doing, perhaps, precisely analogous kind of work, is the same reason to draw a distinction in engaging a tutor for the education of his son and a young lady for the education of his daughter. Although the young lady may have distinguished herself quite as much in her examinations as the young man, such is the relative demand for the services of each that a higher rate of remuneration is obliged to be paid for the services of the male tutor than for those of the young lady. I may point out that there is also another reason besides the general condition of the labour market why women do not receive the same remuneration as male clerks—namely, that the whole of the night work, which is the most trying part of the duty performed, falls upon the male staff. There is only one other suggestion which has been made, which it is necessary I should refer to, and that is the suggestion of the hon. Member for the City of London (Mr. Alderman Lawrence) that a short reply telegram should be sent at a lower rate than the original telegraphic message to which it is an answer. I should not like to express any opinion upon that matter now; but I can give an assurance to my hon. Friend that I will consider whether his suggestion can be carried out without involving any serious loss to the Revenue.

Vote *agreed to.*

CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS.

(8.) £3,000, Supplementary sum for Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens.

MR. ALDERMAN W. LAWRENCE said, he believed that this Vote included the sum necessary to defray the cost of the proposed alterations at Hyde Park Corner. He should like to know from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Commissioner of Works whether he was right in that assumption?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: Yes, the hon. Member is perfectly correct.

MR. ALDERMAN W. LAWRENCE said, he hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would give the Committee some account of the improvements which were about to be undertaken at Hyde Park Corner. They had had a plan submitted to them which certainly was an improvement upon the existing state of things, but he thought it was capable of an alteration which would effect a still further improvement. Of course, he was prepared to admit that the difficulties of dealing with Hyde Park Corner were much increased by the large traffic north and south crossing that from east and west, and especially that part of it which came from the north to the Victoria Station and Westminster Bridge—namely, the number of cabs and other vehicles which, coming from Hyde Park Corner, turned down Grosvenor Place in order to reach the Victoria Station. There was also a considerable amount of traffic occasioned by cabs and other vehicles going in the other direction, up Grosvenor Place and turning eastward towards Knightsbridge. There was also a stream of carriages to and from the Park itself. The large amount of this traffic at Hyde Park Corner during a short season of the year made it difficult for the through traffic down this great western road to proceed, and it was only in consequence of the strenuous exertions of the police that it was enabled to be conducted in such a manner as to afford adequate protection to the lives of the public. Now, it appeared to him that a large portion of the traffic which went down Park Lane and Hamilton Place would, if they had a road continued on the other side of Piccadilly across the Green Park, running by the side of Constitution Hill to the front of Buckingham Palace, and there joining the road from Pall Mall to Buckingham Gate, go that way to Victoria Station and Westminster Bridge. He was of opinion that such a road would be of immense value in easing the traffic, because there could not be the slightest doubt that Grosvenor Place was not at all wide enough for it at present. There would also be this great advantage—that it would be the means of causing the traffic to circulate, which was now blocked in consequence of Constitution Hill being closed for general traffic, being a private road of Her Majesty's to Hyde Park. Constitution Hill was not at all wide enough to carry the whole of the traffic, and if the plan he suggested were carried out, it would leave Constitution Hill in the same position it was now, and would in no way interfere with the private rights of the Crown. He was sorry to say that it took a very long time indeed to effect improvements in the Metropolis. It was only in 1851, on account of extra traffic caused by the Great Exhibition, that they succeeded in opening the road from Pall Mall to Buckingham Gate. Before that date the traffic had to go round by Charing Cross, or by Storey's Gate. Since 1851 the traffic was permitted to pass by Pall Mall, and cabs were now able to take that route. In 1862, when there was another International Exhibition, after great pressure had been brought to bear upon the Commissioner of Works, the traffic was opened from the north of London through Hyde Park. Previously Hyde Park had been altogether closed to traffic except private carriages. In the Exhibition year, the pressure of the traffic was found to be so great, that a road was made for carriages on the bridge over the Serpentine, which opened up a communication through Hyde Park from north to south, cabs being permitted to drive across from Victoria Gate to Alexandra Gate, and had been of the utmost convenience to the public, and had lessened the traffic in Park Lane and Hyde Park Corner. Now they wanted a road from Piccadilly through St. James' Park, and some people suggested that Constitution Hill should be thrown open. He did not suggest that himself; but if a wide road were made in continuation of Park Lane, coming out at the large open space in front of Buckingham Palace, and enabling the traffic to find its way by that means to the Victoria Station, and going on in the other direction through Storey's Gate to Westminster Bridge, Grosvenor Place would be very much relieved. The present arrangement did not relieve Grosvenor Place at all, but only the mouth of it. He must say that the arrangement suggested by the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works would make the locality around Hyde Park Corner one of the most dangerous for foot passengers they would have in the Metropolis, because the wide mouth proposed to be made from Grosvenor Place to Hamilton Place would be, to persons walking up from Piccadilly, a most dangerous spot to cross. They would have to cross another place double the width of Hyde Park Corner, and the arrangement altogether would be most inconvenient for foot passengers. Nor would it accomplish the object desired so effectually as if a roadway were made across the Park to Park Lane. It would, further—which he regarded as a great misfortune—necessitate the removal of the Arch at Hyde Park Corner. It was proposed, under the plan of the Chief Commissioner of Works, to remove it from higher to lower ground, where it would not be seen, as it was now, from Hyde Park. He was quite aware of the controversy which had been carried on upon this subject, and the criticisms which had been passed upon the Arch and the Duke of Wellington's Statue. He remembered very well when the statue was first placed upon the Arch, and the strong feeling which was manifested against the erection of any monument there to the great warrior, whose memory it was intended to perpetuate. There were many who thought that, from an architectural point of view, it was a great mistake; and there were others who were opposed to the erection of the statue of a subject of Her Majesty, upon horse-back, because up to that time no statue of a subject had ever been placed on a horse. Persons who entertained that view, were all united against an equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington being placed on the Arch at Hyde Park Corner; but notwithstanding the objections that were urged at the time, and the criticisms that were passed, the statue was erected. It was now proposed to take down the statue of the Duke and to remove the Arch itself. He did not think that it would be any improvement to remove the Arch, and the site which it now occupied was far preferable to the site to which it was proposed to remove it to a lower elevation. In addition, as he had already pointed out, the plan of the Chief Commissioner of Works would make it exceedingly dangerous for passengers to cross at this point from Hyde Park, and the amount of relief to the traffic in Grosvenor Place which ought to be afforded would not be given. By far the best plan was to make a thoroughfare into the Park by means of a road from Piccadilly to Marlborough House. A road of that kind would be of immense advantage, and while carrying out the object really desired, it might be made at a small expense. If anything more were found to be requisite afterwards, it might easily be accomplished. Such a scheme would not involve the removal of the Arch, nor the making of a number of roads at a heavy expense, such as was involved in carrying out the plan proposed by the Chief Commissioner; and in the end he believed it would give more satisfaction. He threw out the suggestion for the consideration of the Chief Commissioner, whose own plan he certainly did not think would meet all the requirements of the case. Indeed, he did not believe that if it were carried out it would reflect much credit upon the taste of the Government and of the Metropolis.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: My hon. Friend began by asking me to describe at length the scheme I propose to the House. I think the best answer I can make to him is to refer him to the model which has been in the Tea Room of the House for many weeks, and which, I believe I may say confidently, has given general satisfaction. My hon. Friend then proceeded to describe a plan of his own, which is altogether different, and one which has no bearing upon the objects we have in view, and which, although there might be something to be said for it from other points of view, would not in any way remedy the evils proposed to be remedied by the plan we have ourselves submitted. My hon. Friend proposes that a road should be taken from the bottom of Park Lane across the Green Park to the front of Buckingham Palace, and he says that the traffic might be carried in that way to the Victoria Station. I am quite sure that my hon. Friend cannot have consulted the map and taken the distances, because, if he supposes that cabs or carriages would go down such a road for the purpose of going from the north to Victoria Station, he is very much mistaken. The route would be a great deal longer than the existing route. I will, therefore, say no more about the plan of my hon. Friend, which every hon. Member will see at once is impracticable for the object we have in view, and is, therefore, hopeless and out of the question. It might be that such a road would be convenient for carriages going to Grosvenor Square and down to the Houses of Parliament; but it would not get rid of the difficulty at Hyde Park Corner, nor relieve the pressure of the traffic. The only other point mentioned by my hon. Friend is his objection to the removal of the Arch. Now, the removal of the Arch is an essential feature of the scheme which I have laid before the House, and without that removal the scheme could not be carried out. It is necessary, for two reasons—First, because, without the removal of the Arch, we could not widen the road; and, secondly, if the plan is to be carried out in its main features, it would not be possible for the road between the two Parks—the Green Park and Hyde Park—to pass through the Arch, but it would be necessary to make a road by the side of the Arch, with an entrance to Hyde Park through one of the side gates; and in this way the dignity of the approach, which, it must be remembered, is a Royal approach to the Park, would be altogether destroyed, and a considerable portion of the improvement would be entirely lost. In point of fact, if an open space is to be made at that point, the removal of the Arch is an essential condition. It is proposed that the Arch should be placed at the end of Constitution Hill—from the entrance to Her Majesty's Park at the end of the Hill. I have only to add that I fully expect that it will be found possible to remove the Arch bodily on the American plan. Whether it can be removed with the Duke upon it, I do not know; but I believe that the Arch itself can be removed bodily on the American plan.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, that if it was found necessary to take the statue of the Duke down, it would be far better that it should not be put up again.

Mr. GLADSTONE: But when you get him down, what are you to do with him?

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, that he would leave both that question and the statue to Her Majesty's Government.

Vote *agreed to.*

(9.) £25,000, Supplementary sum for Natural History Museum.

(10.) £3,645, Supplementary sum for Public Buildings, Ireland.

(11.) £27,000, Royal University, Ireland, Buildings.

(12.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £6,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for Diplomatic and Consular Buildings, including Rents and Furniture, and for the maintenance of certain Cemeteries abroad."

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, he did not think, he should be able to sleep comfortably in his bed if he did not enter his protest against a job which was being perpetrated by means of this Vote. Of course, he knew perfectly well that as it was the dinner hour, he could do no more than enter a protest, unless he could convince the Prime Minister that it would be desirable to withdraw the Vote altogether. They were all, to a certain extent, guardians of the public purse; but the Prime Minister was the natural and official guardian, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would do him the honour to listen for a moment to an explanation of what the matter really was of which he desired to complain, because he thought he should be able to show the right hon. Gentleman that it was a job which ought not to be allowed by a Ministry who had come into Office on the ground that they were desirous of effecting considerable economies in the public expenditure. The question he was about to call attention to was a very old question—namely, the question of diplomatic residences. Personally, he thought it was a very great mistake ever to buy these residences. They certainly seemed to cost the country a very considerable sum in repairs. It would, he thought, be better to give the Minister a certain sum of money to pay for the hire of a house. In Rome it appeared to have been thought desirable to have a place for the English Ambassador. Therefore, Her Majesty's Government had purchased a plot of ground within the walls, but in a part of Rome where there was not much building going on. Attached to the house was a considerable garden. The plot was of an oblong form, and at one end, beyond the garden, was a wood. In this wood the members of the Embassy were accustomed to walk, and take their recreation. There was very little land in this direction which was built upon until recently, when, the town having spread, it became valuable as building land. The total value of the wood, which was of about the same size as the Ambassador's garden, was about £20,000, which would prove that the garden and ground on which the Embassy-house stood were also worth £20,000. He called particular attention to this fact, because the country was not only giving a large house to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Rome, but was also giving him that which cost, putting it at 5 per cent upon the actual value, the sum of £1,000 per annum. Most persons in that House had no garden at all. They had to accept the fact that when a person came to live in a town he must make up his mind to be without a garden. But certainly a person with a garden worth £1,000 a-year might be supposed to rest content without requiring more land to add to it at the expense of the State. But not so the Ambassador at Rome. The land, which was at present a wood, was proposed to be built over. Through the middle of it it was proposed to run a road, and on one side of that road to erect a number of houses. Well, the country was now asked by Her Majesty's Government to buy one-half of this wood—that was to say, the half of it which would bring the Ambassador's garden down to the proposed new road. The reason assigned for the purchase was actually stated in the Vote, "in order to maintain the privacy of the British Embassy grounds in Rome." That was to say, that the people of this country were to pay £6,000 in order that no house should be built in Rome which should look, not into the residence of the Ambassador, but into this large garden, which the State had already provided for him, and which was worth something like £1,000 a-year. Now, what would anybody in that House do if he had a garden and somebody proposed to build a house that might overlook it? If he were a man of common sense, would he dream of spending £6,000 to shut it out? Nobody, unless he was able to put his hand into the public till, would ever dream of any extravagance of the kind. He would build a wall or plant some trees, and shut out the obnoxious building by that means. This was the ground on which he appealed to the Prime Minister on the subject. He (Mr. Labouchere) knew that social influences had been at work in order to induce the Chief Commissioner of Works, not alone the right hon, Gentleman now upon the Treasury Bench (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), but others who had held the same position, to induce him to agree to these jobs; and he knew how difficult it was to resist them. But he would appeal to hon. Members on either side of the House whether he had not fairly made out his case, and whether it was not amply sufficient for Her Majesty's Ambassador at Rome to have given to him by the country, not only a house to live in, but a garden and land worth £1,000 per annum, without being called upon to dip their hands still deeper into the public purse, and hand over a further sum of £6,000 for the purchase of additional land, in order that our Representative might throw it into the existing garden and prevent the inhabitants of the houses which were being built in the neighbourhood from occasionally having a peep into his grounds. He asked if it was considered necessary that every diplomatist employed by the country should be able to surround himself with a species of secrecy even in his own garden? He (Mr. Labouchere) certainly could not understand why an Ambassador, more than any other person, was not to be looked at. He contended that the Government had no right to take the public money for any such purpose. Even the building of a wall was not necessary; but it would be quite sufficient to run up a few palings and plant a few trees. The houses might then be built up, and the Ambassador would be perfectly safe from vulgar intrusion. But he did protest most strongly against any Government Department being called upon to spend a large sum of the public money upon such a purpose. It was all very well to say that it was only £6,000; but when they had £6,000 spent here and £10,000 spent there, upon little jobs of this kind, the total soon mounted up to a very considerable sum per annum. Unless the consideration and discussion of the Estimates in that House was to be regarded as a perfect farce, they ought to resist a Vote of this kind; and he should therefore ask the Committee, unless the Prime Minister would withdraw the Vote and undertake to take the matter in hand, to divide upon the question. In any event, he should record his own vote against this wasteful expenditure.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he agreed generally with the remarks which had been made by his hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), but feared it was pretty certain that the Committee would not support the proposition of his hon. Friend and reject the Vote. He knew something about the particular locality referred to, and in regard to this and other instances he had observed the great pressure which was brought to bear upon Her Majesty's Government by our Representatives abroad. He remembered a case which occurred some time ago in which a little difficulty arose. It was a case in which a Minister lately representing Her Majesty in a distant part of the world had become so Oriental in his habits that when the Ambassador of the Porte thought proper to erect an Embassy at a distance of half-a-mile from the British Embassy in Teheran, he at once appealed against any such interference with the amenities of the English Embassy, and applied to the late Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to relieve him from the dreadful oppression and indignity he was likely to suffer in consequence of some objectionable Turks being able to look over his grounds from a distance of half-a-mile. He (Mr. Arthur Arnold) believed the matter was inquired into, and that the claim was rejected. He thought the House had become somewhat lax in regard to its acceptance of Supplementary Estimates. Members on both sides of the House were, perhaps, to blame for having been too ready to adopt the Estimates which had been presented, at all events without making a due investigation. He was of opinion that on this occasion they ought to unite in making a protest.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, he thought it was necessary that for the future expenditure of this nature should be looked into in the hope that some reduction might be effected. This was not the case of a very large expenditure; but he certainly thought it ought to be saved. He knew the locality well, and he could not conceive why, if the Minister wished to walk about in his garden, he did not put up a palisade. That was all that could be really necessary to secure privacy, and he could not help thinking that the proposed expenditure was throwing away the public money.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE said, he should like to know what was the size of the present garden, and how far the house of the Ambassador was removed from the piece of garden it was proposed to purchase?

Mr. R. N. FOWLER said, he was glad to hear from the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) that Her Majesty's Embassy in Rome was now suitably located. He remembered being in Rome at the time when Lord Derby was Foreign Secretary in 1874, and, having occasion to call upon Her Majesty's Representative, he had to go a long way round before he could find the Embassy; and then, after going up three pairs of stairs, to ring a bell for half-an-hour before it was answered; and it certainly struck him that it was not a place that accorded with the dignity of a British Minister, as he was not then Ambassador. Whatever the expenditure might be now, there must be a large credit to the Embassy of Rome for the penuriousness of former days.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: I must repudiate altogether the remark of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) that there has been any job in this matter. I am quite sure that, on reflection, the hon. Member will say that the word was not used in the ordinary sense of the term, and that, in the observations he has felt it necessary to make, he had no real intention of accusing Her Majesty's Government of having perpetrated a "job." I can assure my hon. Friend that it was with great hesitation that the Government consented to this expenditure. For my own part, I may say that when I came into Office I found that an agreement had already been arrived at by the Government, authorizing the expenditure of even a larger sum of money, for the purchase of a larger piece of ground than it is now proposed to purchase. The plot of ground it was originally intended to obtain would have cost £10,000, and that expenditure was agreed to by my Predecessor, on the application of the Foreign Office, and with the concurrence of the noble Lord the Head of the Treasury (Lord Beaconsfield.) I found the negotiations in that state; but they fell through, and then it was suggested that a smaller piece of land, that would cost £6,000, should be purchased. The state of the case is this. As my hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) has pointed out, the site of the Embassy was bought for £80,000; and I think it is hardly fair to speak of it as a garden, because it is the site of the Embassy, including the house.

Mr. LABOUCHERE: But it is a garden.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: No doubt part of the site consists of a garden. Beyond the garden is a piece of ground which has been used by the Embassy; but recently the owner determined to lay it out as building ground, and then came the question whether a portion of it should be bought as an addition to the garden of the Embassy. The argument which weighed with the Government was this—that the addition of this piece of ground to the garden of the Embassy would considerably add to the value of the Embassy as a property. On the other hand, if it were not added to the Embassy, and were allowed to be built upon, the property of the Embassy would be very seriously depreciated in value. My hon. Friend has alluded to the fact of its being possible to build a wall at the end of the garden. That is quite true. The Government is under an obligation to the owner of the adjoining land to build a wall; and I am told that a wall sufficient to keep out of view the houses on the adjoining land will be erected, and will probably cost no less than £1,500. Therefore the whole of the £6,000 would not be devoted to the purchase of additional land, and the sum asked for is reduced accordingly to £4,500. Her Majesty's Ambassador at Rome has protested in the strongest possible terms against the building of houses—and houses, too, of an inferior class, which will be built very high, in accordance with the custom of Rome, and which will look into the gardens of the Embassy. He states that they would be of great detriment to the property, that the drainage from them will possibly flow through the Embassy gardens, that people will hang out their dirty linen within sight of the residence of the Ambassador, and that the amenities of the place will be so destroyed that it will be impossible to enjoy the garden in future. I may also mention another fact—that when houses are built in Rome, there is a municipal regulation that they should not be inhabited for a year; and this would also have a deteriorating effect upon the property of the Embassy. It has, therefore, been proposed to make an addition to the land already acquired, and which has cost a sum of £82,000. The land proposed to be purchased will add very materially to the value of the existing property; and, if not purchased, the value of that property will be seriously depreciated. The amount is not a large one as compared with the cost at Paris and other places. I think no one can doubt that, had it been foreseen that these building operations would have taken place so close to the land belonging to the Embassy, the Government of the day would have sanctioned a much larger purchase. The Government have entered upon the present transaction with great circumspection, and not until the most pressing representations had reached them as to the desirability of making this addition to the grounds of the Embassy.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE said, he judged, from the figures which had been stated in the course of the discussion, that the size of the Embassy garden must be a very large one. He thought it was unreasonable that the country should be called upon to pay this additional sum of money for the Embassy at Rome.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, as they were about to divide, it was only right that the Committee should understand what they were going to divide on. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Commissioner of Works had stated what were the reasons why they were to vote the money now asked for. In the first place, he said it would be an exceedingly good speculation to invest £6,000 in land in order to increase the value of the residence of the Ambassador at Rome; and, secondly, that representations had been made that it was very desirable to make this addition to the grounds of the Embassy. He called it a job when an Ambassador suggested that his garden ought to be enlarged, and a Chief Commissioner of Works assented without any reason to the proposition that the garden ought to be enlarged. However, when the amenities of a garden were before the Committee, he was most unwilling to say anything contrary to the amenities of debate.

Mr. Alderman W. LAWRENCE said, that the Government were only doing what any prudent owner of a mansion and garden would do whose property was situated as the Embassy at Rome was situated—namely, take advantage of the opportunity of purchasing adjoining ground, which would enhance the value of the property, and prevent a nuisance being created which would deteriorate it. That being so, he thought there should be no hesitation on the part of the Committee to grant the money asked for.

Question put.

The Committee *divided* :—Ayes 49; Noes 25: Majority 24.—(Div. List, No. 328.)

(13.) £250,000, Disturnpiked Roads.

Mr. DODSON said, it would be in the recollection of hon. Members that in the month of February last the hon. Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. E. W. Harcourt) called attention to this subject, and gave Notice of an Amendment on going into Committee of Supply, which was accepted by the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government. That Amendment was in the form of a Resolution to the effect that, in the opinion of the House, some relief ought to be afforded to the body of ratepayers from the incidence of rates for the maintenance of disturnpiked and main roads in England; and his right hon. Friend stated at the time, or a little while afterwards, that his intention was that Scotland should be dealt with in a corresponding manner. Now, that pledge of his right hon. Friend on behalf of Her Majesty's Government was made conditional on the Government being unable to carry out what they intended to do—namely, to deal with county government, and to endeavour to place grants in aid on a better footing. That, as the House was aware, they had not been able to effect; and they were, therefore, called upon to redeem the pledge given by the right hon. Gentleman on the occasion referred to. He would briefly state how it was proposed to distribute this grant in aid of disturnpiked and main roads, and then explain the reasons for that mode of dealing with them. The Vote was taken by way of a contribution to be paid in the course of the financial year ending on the 31st of March, 1883, in aid of payments by local authorities for the maintenance of the disturnpiked and main roads in the preceding year ended at Lady Day in England and Whitsuntide in Scotland. Now, the proposal with regard to England and North Wales was to give for roads in respect of which repayment had been made during the year ending March 25, 1882, by the county to the road authority of a moiety of the cost of maintenance according to the Highways and Locomotives (Amendment) Act, 1878, to the extent of one-fourth of the cost of such maintenance for the preceding year. In the case of roads in the Metropolis and Quarter Sessions boroughs, one-fourth of the estimated annual cost of the maintenance — understanding by maintenance, materials and labour—of the roads disturnpiked since 1870; and in the case of Scotland for the roads disturnpiked since 1860 one-fourth of the cost of maintenance — that was, of materials and labour—during the local financial year ending at or before Whitsuntide, 1882. He now came to the case of main roads in South Wales, and to these, following as far as the nature of the case would allow the precedent adopted in respect of the roads in England and North Wales, Her Majesty's Government proposed to give assistance at the rate of half the average amount which each county had been required to pay towards the maintenance of such roads since the year 1870. As the House was well aware, the cause of the complaint in respect of disturnpiked roads in England was the abolition of the tolls by which they were supported. It was complained that the maintenance of roads which were not merely local roads, but great highways of communication through the counties, and which were formerly paid for by the public by means of tolls, had been, by the abolition of tolls, thrown exclusively on the rates of the parishes or districts in which they happened to lie. The Act of 1878 recognized that there was a grievance on the part of the districts and parishes through which these roads ran, and charged half the cost of the maintenance of the roads disturnpiked since 1870 upon the county rate; it also gave discretion to the county authorities to relieve the local rates in the same manner in respect of those roads which had been disturnpiked before 1870, and in respect of highways which, from the general character of the traffic carried upon them, the county authorities might consider entitled to relief—those roads being called in the Act "main or disturnpiked roads." Thus the claims of roads disturnpiked since 1870 had been expressly recognized and compulsorily provided for by Parliament; and of the 15,000 miles of "main or disturnpiked roads," under the Act of 1878, in England and North Wales, upwards of 12,000 miles represented roads within that category. Well, in redemption of the pledge given by his right hon. Friend at the head of the Government that some further help should be given to the parishes and districts on which the burden of maintaining these roads had been thrown, they proposed, as he had already stated, to give half the amount received from the county rate—that was to say, an amount equal to one-fourth of the total cost of their maintenance, the word maintenance being understood in the sense in which it was used in the Act of 1878. The effect of that would be that the parishes and districts through which "disturnpiked or main" roads passed would be assisted, on the whole, to the extent of three-fourths of their maintenance — half of that assistance proceeding from the county rate, and one-fourth from the subvention now proposed. He ought to have stated to the Committee at first that his proposal was essentially and distinctly provisional, and that it was made in redemption of the promise of the Prime Minister given in regard to this financial year only. With reference to the Metropolis and Quarter Sessions boroughs, they would, as he had stated, receive in respect of their disturnpiked roads aid to the extent of one-fourth of the estimated annual cost of maintenance of those roads which had been disturnpiked since 1870. He believed that in Scotland the process of abolition of tolls had been going on since 1863, by means of local Acts in the first place; and, secondly, by the operation of the Roads and Bridges Bill passed in 1878, certain counties having adopted the powers given under the Act for the abolition of tolls, in anticipation of their compulsory extinction. Where Scotch counties had taken upon themselves the consequences of the abolition of tolls, the Scotch rates had a similar claim to assistance as the rates in England and Wales; and it was accordingly proposed to give them assistance to the extent of one-fourth of the cost of the material and labour for the maintenance of the roads. It now remained for him to speak of the case of the six counties of South Wales, which, as compared with others, was the most peculiar. Those counties had been since 1844, or at least for a long series of years, placed under an exceptional form of legislation. The roads in these counties were formerly maintained by tolls alone, the ratepayers being at no cost for their maintenance. But some years ago Parliament compulsorily reduced the tolls, and might thus be said to have disturnpiked the roads to a certain extent, and it expressly imposed on each of the six counties the burden of making good the deficiency which resulted. That deficiency having been created by Parliament, Her Majesty's Government thought it right that the rates in the six counties of South Wales should be likewise assisted, and accordingly they proposed to assist the county rates to the extent of half of the average annual deficiency which had occurred since 1870. The reason why they took, instead of the deficiency of last year, the average annual deficiency since 1870, was because the deficiency in respect of the various counties oscillated from year to year; and, therefore, to take the deficiency of a single year as a basis in calculating the assistance to be given would not effect the equitable distribution which they desired to carry out. Taking, however, the average deficiency since 1870, they arrived at what they believed to be a fair distribution over the different counties. He hoped he had made to the Committee an intelligible statement upon a subject which it was, perhaps, not easy to make clear in a short space of time, owing to the circumstance that the position of the various portions of the Kingdom, in respect of the roads to be maintained, was in each case different. The Government had endeavoured to apportion the assistance they had to give fairly and equitably to the circumstances of the different localities; and in that sense, he believed, he might commend that proposal to the Committee. He again reminded the Committee that the arrangement was provisional, and for one year only, because they still retained the hope of being able to carry out the intention they wanted to have fulfilled this year of placing main roads and grants in aid upon a more satisfactory footing. The Government had not proposed legislation on this subject; they simply asked for a sum of money for the purpose he had described, which he trusted the Committee would grant; and it would then rest with the Local Government Board to take upon itself the labour of distributing to each road authority its proportion of the grant.

Sir BALDWYN LEIGHTON said, that there were some points in the statement of the right hon. Gentleman which he did not quite understand. Putting aside the case of South Wales and the more complicated points raised by the proposal of the Government, he understood the right hon. Gentleman to say with regard to the English counties that one-quarter of the cost of maintaining the roads would be refunded by the Treasury. Did the right hon. Gentleman mean, in the case of roads costing £40 a-mile, of which £20 was paid by the county, that £10 of the latter sum would be refunded to the repairing authority —the Highway Board or parish?

Mr. DODSON said, that was not intended. Supposing the cost of maintenance, as defined by the Act of 1878, to be £40 a-mile, £20 of this would be paid by the county as hitherto; but the parish rates would be relieved to the extent of an additional £10 out of the grant.

Sir BALDWYN LEIGHTON said, in that case the cost of surveying and similar charges would have to be borne by the parishes; it would have to be deducted from the relief given.

Mr. DODSON said, for the purpose of illustration, he assumed that the materials and labour required for the maintenance of the roads was £40 a-mile. The counties, as the hon. Baronet was aware, repaid one-half of the cost of labour and materials. The Government would pay a sum equal to one-half of that paid by the counties; and the parishes would, therefore, be relieved to the extent of three-fourths of the whole cost of labour and materials required for the maintenance of the roads.

Sir BALDWYN LEIGHTON said, it was then quite clear that when the roads were damaged one-quarter of the cost of repairing them would be repaid out of this grant to the ratepayers. There was another point as to which he was in some doubt. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to treat the disturnpiked roads and the main roads as the same. There was, however, a large number of roads that were not main roads, but which had been disturnpiked —some 4,000 miles of them according to the figures of the right hon. Gentleman—and he was anxious to know how they would stand with reference to the grant.

Mr. DODSON said, he thought he had explained that point. The Government would pay half of whatever the county paid under the Act for maintenance of roads, whether they were main roads disturnpiked since 1870, and expressly charged on the county rate since 1878, or whether they were those roads which were dealt with by the county authorities under the enabling powers of the Act.

Sir BALDWYN LEIGHTON said, the subject was a very complicated one, and he had no doubt that, on the whole, no better proposal than that put forward by the right hon. Gentleman could be made as regarded the mode of payment, especially as it was provisional; but he must protest altogether against the inadequacy of the amount. The right hon. Gentleman had mentioned that there were 12,000 miles of main road to be dealt with.

Mr. DODSON said, he had mentioned that, roundly, the total number of miles of main road was 15,000; of these 12,000 miles had been disturnpiked since 1870, and came compulsorily under the Act of 1878; but the grant applied to the whole 15,000 miles of road.

Sir BALDWYN LEIGHTON said, he was not aware that the number of miles of road was so large; the right hon. Gentleman's information, however, was probably better than his own.

Mr. DODSON said, the 15,000 miles of road he had mentioned represented the main roads under the Act of 1878. Of those 15,000 miles upwards of 12,000 represented roads disturnpiked since 1870; of the remainder the larger proportion represented roads disturnpiked before 1870, of which the counties felt they ought to assume the responsibility; and the smaller proportion, or about 700 miles, represented highways over which there was a great deal of traffic and which the counties also had taken upon their own shoulders.

Sir BALDWYN LEIGHTON said, that, having regard to the future rather than the present, the proposed contribution was disproportionate to the amount of relief required; and not only disproportionate to the equitable amount required, but inadequate as regarded the Vote. It would not exhaust or represent the amount of the Vote. The right hon. Gentleman had given them no figures and no calculation as to cost per mile, or as to the cost that had been unjustly thrown upon the ratepayers, and especially the farmer. He found on inquiry amongst the farmers in his own county that before the present arrangements existed, the cost to them for the use of the roads was about 1*s.* a-week on the average; whereas they had now to pay three times as much, or £7 10*s.* instead of the 50*s.* a-year paid formerly. His own opinion, based on the figures and facts that could be demonstrated, was that a subvention of at least one-half of the cost was necessary to afford effectual relief. He believed that the proper basis for the calculation of the right hon. Gentleman would be a mileage rate.

MR. LYULPH STANLEY said, he could not agree with the hon. Baronet that the Vote was insufficient for the relief of the localities. It should be remembered that the rural parishes, which, through their Highway Boards, complained most, had already had a subvention of very nearly half the whole cost of maintaining the roads by that proportion being thrown upon the counties at large. The effect of the Act of 1878 was to throw a considerable proportion of the cost of disturnpiked roads on a class of property which was peculiarly free from the obligation of paying for turnpike roads, because that property was situated in districts where there were very few turnpikes. It seemed to him very inconvenient that they should, at that moment, be invited to discuss a subject surrounded with technicalities, the details of which it was impossible to examine without full consideration. He could not help thinking that something in the nature of an official intimation of the Government intentions ought to have been given a week or 10 days ago, so that hon. Members might have had ample time to examine the details of the question, and, in case of need, bring forward an alternative plan before the Government proposal came forward in Committee. The proposal of the Government to increase the tax on carriages had, at any rate, a relation to the persons who used the roads; but their proposal to put the burden of relieving the rural parishes upon the shoulders of the Income Tax-payer appeared to him to have more of the character of simplicity than justice. He regarded the proposal as unfair, inasmuch as, in his opinion, if there were to be any subvention at all of the one-fourth of the whole cost of maintaining the disturnpiked roads, it ought to be given to the county rate, and not the local Highway Boards. Hon. Members who were interested in the latter would, of course, dissent from this view. It was notorious that when subventions of this kind were made from the Treasury there was a general rush and scramble to get as much as possible. He repeated his belief that the local Highway Boards had already had their share of relief, and that it would be more just if the urban authorities had been relieved in respect of their present contribution, instead of having to contribute further to the relief of the rural parishes. There had been a great deal said that would not bear examination as to the character of the disturnpiked roads, which, before the railway system was introduced, were main roads, but which, since the introduction of that system, had notoriously been reconverted into local roads only. There were, however, a few of these roads which had not lost their local character, amongst which he might instance the road between Manchester and Bury; but the general effect of the introduction of the railway system had been such as he had indicated, and, therefore, he contended that the cost of maintaining the roads in question should properly fall on the localities. There was another great injustice done to towns to which he would refer. In the case of London, they had not had such a thing as a turnpike gate within it since 1870; and he should very much doubt whether the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board could point to one that had existed beyond the year 1870. The gates had been a nuisance, and a hindrance to the traffic, and were always being complained of. He should like to know how much of the £250,000 would go to London—the rateable value of which was more than one-sixth of the whole of the country. London, they must bear in mind, paid more than one-sixth of the whole of the Income Tax of England, and yet nothing like one-sixth of the £250,000 would go to the people of the Metropolis in relief of their rates. In the large towns of England, in the same way, there would be no relief to the rates. What relief, for instance, would Manchester or Liverpool get from this new Vote, although, of course, these towns would have to contribute their share to the Income Tax? They knew that the main roads were not only disturnpiked roads, but also such as were declared by the local authorities to be main roads. What guarantee was there as to the roads, which the magistrates in Quarter Sessions might declare to be main roads, that this apparently tentative and annual Vote would not slide into a thing as perpetual as the Mutiny Act, which was passed annually? What were they doing but giving power to magistrates in Quarter Sessions, by declaring a road to be a main road, to obtain this Vote from time to time? This Vote would make a precedent, and it was well known that there was nothing more attractive for the purpose of being made into a precedent than an arrangement which gave public money in aid of local rates. If they went into counties where there was a conflict between manufacturing and agricultural communities, they would find it a constant complaint that the magistrates and the Quarter Sessions were always doing something for the rural portion, whilst they did nothing to relieve the community in the large mining or industrial districts. It was useless to try to oppose the passage of this Vote he knew; but, at the same time, he could not help expressing an opinion that it was objectionable, and violated all principles of equity.

Mr. T. C. BARING said, the hon. Member for Oldham (Mr. Lyulph Stanley) was evidently talking about what he did not understand when he said that the rural districts would benefit disproportionately by this arrangement. It was not the main roads in rural districts which would derive the greatest advantage. But he would like to know to what roads this grant would apply? He presumed it would only apply to roads which had been declared main roads at or before the Easter Quarter Sessions. But he would like a specific answer. Was it intended to include roads declared main at the Midsummer Sessions, or not?

Mr. DODSON said, he had stated that the Easter Sessions was the date intended.

Mr. WARTON said, the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dodson) was beautifully clear as to the number of miles of road in England—as to the 15,000, the 12,000, the 700, and the 2,000; but there was one thing which was not at all clear from the right hon. Gentleman, and it was this—there was nothing whatever in what the right hon. Gentleman had said to lead one to know, or to lead one to imagine, what the cost per mile of these main roads would be. They were told that the counties of England and North Wales were to have a quarter each, and that South Wales was to have a half; and what he complained of was that the right hon. Gentleman did not put before them a single estimate of the cost of a single mile, whether rural or urban. If they had a simple multiplication sum put before them, both figures could be easily ascertained in the result. There was a result put before them; but he was at a loss to know how it was arrived at. No one could be more clear than the right hon. Gentleman when he liked. He was clear enough as to the number of miles, but was delightfully obscure as to the expense per mile. He (Mr. Warton) wished to make a practical suggestion arising out of what had been said by the hon. Member for South Shropshire (Sir Baldwyn Leighton); he would suggest to the right hon. Gentleman whether it would not be better, if the amount in aid was to be £250,000, to divide it according to the mileage, which would give about £15 or £16 per mile? Was that sum of £250,000—that net round sum—an estimate, or was it not merely a guess in the dark? Was it a limited sum that could not be exceeded, or was it an estimate on the basis of paying a quarter in one place and a half in another? He wished to know on what principle the right hon. Gentleman was acting? The right hon. Gentleman did or did not know what the cost was to be. If he did not know, he ought to know, and if he did know, he ought to tell the Committee. The only object of the right hon. Gentleman now seemed to be to slur over the business as quickly as possible, and to give them no details for their judgment. They had a lump sum thrown at them just as they had in the case of the Post Office Vote, which was put before them in the absence of the Postmaster General. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dodson) was above the matter of detail; but he (Mr. Warton) would ask him point blank, had he the slightest idea of what the counties had paid last year?

Mr. DODSON said, that, first of all, the hon. and learned Member had asked him why they did not pay so much per mile, instead of paying on the actual cost, and his answer to that must be that mileage was no test. One mile of road might have a great deal more traffic upon it than another. Then, again, the material for repairing one mile of road might be much more expensive than that for repairing another mile. Moreover, the mileage of a road took no account of the width of that road, and that was a very important point. The system adopted secured the best possible test. Local Government auditors were now auditing the accounts of every highway district and parish in the Kingdom. The calculation was based on the actual cost incurred in the latest year for which they had Returns.

Sir BALDWYN LEIGHTON said, he should be glad if the right hon. Gentleman could give them the average cost per mile, or, at least, the full amount on which his calculation was based.

Mr. DODSON said, the county treasurer's Returns would give the amount paid per mile. The Government found that the county treasurer's accounts were below the amount they would have to pay; and what sum would be asked for over and above the amount stated by the county authorities he could not tell until further Returns were received. According to the accounts, what the Government would have to pay would be £145,000, which was half the amount paid by the counties; but the accounts were incomplete, and considerable margin must be allowed to represent the amount they might have to pay over and above the £145,000.

Sir BALDWYN LEIGHTON said, there was no separate account kept of the maintenance of turnpike roads in boroughs. How would they arrive at that?

Mr. WARTON said, he rose for the purpose of putting himself right with the Committee, because no one had a right to take up the time of the Committee without an object. The Committee would see that, by his having occupied their time, he had extracted one figure from the right hon. Gentleman. He had given them £145,000 as the half that the Government would have to pay. If he (Mr. Warton) had not been pertinacious, they would not have got that amount.

Vote *agreed to.*

Class V.—Foreign and Colonial Services.

(14.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That a sum, not exceeding £90,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, as a Grant in Aid of the Revenue of the Island of Cyprus."

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he intended not only to oppose this Vote, but also to take a division against it; and he must crave the attention of the Committee for a few minutes with regard to it, as the subject was one of considerable importance. Shortly after the Island was taken over, the then Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke) made an official statement to the effect that the Island would probably pay its own expenses, or, at all events, to use the right hon. Member's own words—

> "It would leave an inappreciable portion of the charge to be borne by the taxpayers of this country."

Well, last year the charge amounted to £78,000—that was the amount of the Vote which Her Majesty's Government then asked for. This year the Government made a claim for £90,000, showing an increase of £12,000 in a single year. That was the burden which the taxpayers of this country were asked to bear in respect of the Island of Cyprus; and he imagined, and in a few words would endeavour to show, that that was the average burden which the people of this country might expect to bear in regard to this Island, so long as it remained in its present political condition. With regard to the policy under which the Island was taken over, it was proclaimed at the time that the object of taking possession of Cyprus was to prevent the Russians from passing through the mountains of Asia Minor and Persia to India. That was a most preposterous suggestion; but it was made on the highest official authority. There was another plea put forward upon equal authority, and it was first heard of in the Guildhall of the City of London. It was said that the Convention we had entered into with Turkey was valuable, inasmuch as, before long, the City of Erzeroum would be the most powerful fortress in that part of Asia. From that day to this not a brick and not a stone had been put upon another in that fortress. If Russia were inclined to seize upon the City of Erzeroum, it was not the Convention that would prevent it; but our best assurance would be in the Concert of Europe, which Her Majesty's Government had done their best to build up and maintain. When he brought the subject before the Committee last year, and moved the rejection of the Vote of £78,000, they had another Under Secretary of State in Office; and it seemed to be the policy of Her Majesty's Government to provide them with a new Under Secretary of State for the Colonies every year. This placed those who stood in his (Mr. Arthur Arnold's) position under some difficulty. They could not find it in their hearts to attack the present Under Secretary, as they believed him to be as blameless as a baby in respect of this Vote. When he was addressing his hon. Friend the Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) last year, he was obliged to make the same statement, and to say that he could not blame the hon. Gentleman, because he had only been in Office a month. But while he, for himself, repudiated altogether the policy of the Anglo-Turkish Convention, and desired from his heart that it had never been made, he did not take upon himself last year, and he had no intention of taking upon himself this year, to advocate that this Convention should be annulled and abandoned. He should not object to see such a policy adopted; but he did not last year, and he did not intend now, to press any argument on this part of the question. Last year he had ventured to lay before Her Majesty's Government and the Secretary of State, if he could reach so far, an alternative line of policy which, it appeared to him, might be adopted with advantage to the public purse. He had said that it was not for him to suggest the course which Her Majesty's Government ought to pursue with regard to Cypus, but that there were two courses left open to them, one of which was to compound with the Turkish Government for the tribute of about £85,000 a-year, and so end the most unfortunate agreement which had been entered into by the clever Grand Vizier of the Sultan; and, further, that Her Majesty's Government might lessen the terrible expense of carrying on the administration of the Island by assimilating the Government in some degree to that of the Ionian Islands belonging to Greece. The Government of the Ionian Islands was a liberal Government, the people were happy, prosperous, progressive, and the charge upon the Home Government was totally insignificant compared with the magnificent, but futile, and worse than futile, scale on which Cyprus had been administered. And what was the reply he received on that occasion? Why, Mr. Courtney stated that the Colonial Office had been endeavouring to carry out one of the suggestions made, and were setting their minds to the accomplishment of the other. Well, he must say that the mind of the Colonial Office moved very slowly indeed, because, not only were they without any shred of information as to what they were going to do with either one of these suggestions, but—and he thought the Committee had a right to find some fault with the Colonial Office for the fact—they were now bringing forward a Vote of £90,000 before the Report of the High Commissioner of 1881 had been presented to Parliament. That Report was not yet in the hands of Members; and, further, the Report of the gentleman from the Colonial Office who had visited Cyprus 12 months ago had not made its appearance. He must add that the statement made by Lord Kimberley on the subject of Cyprus had not by any means reassured him. The Prime Minister, in his Budget speech, had led them to hope that the charge for Cyprus in future would be £40,000 instead of £90,000 in one year. Now, the Prime Minister might do him the honour to correct him if he was wrong in supposing that the meaning of that statement was, that in future, by some arrangement made between the Treasury and the Foreign Office, in conjunction with the Porte, the payment of the interest which this country was under an obligation to pay in regard to her half-share of the guaranteed interest of the loan raised by Turkey during the Crimean War would be charged against the tribute which we had to pay for Cyprus. He should contend that was not a reduction of the charge. [Mr. GLADSTONE: It is not.] But Lord Kimberley had made another statement which, under the bellicose circumstances of the present time, had caused him some apprehension. Not long ago, in the House of Lords, the noble Earl stated that Famagousta might, at no great expense, be made available for the reception of a certain number of large vessels of war, but that it would be very necessary to construct protecting fortifications. Now, he would venture to predict—[Mr. WARTON: Don't.]—yes; in spite of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport, he would venture to predict that if this Harbour of Famagousta remained in the hands of the British Government, and particularly if it remained in the hands of some other Ministry than the present, and actuated by the motives which seemed to influence Her Majesty's late Advisers, they would shortly see a repetition of the great failure of fortifications which they had seen in the Island of Alderney. If, in spite of their experience in the Island of Alderney, they should risk a similar failure in Cyprus, the cost of the Island of Cyprus to this country would be increased, and that was another reason why they should reject this Vote. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, he hoped, would permit some subordinate Member of his Government to inform the House how, and by what means, it was that the Earl of Kimberley proposed to reduce the charge for Cyprus from £90,000 to £40,000 a-year. If it was not done by subtracting the interest on the Guaranteed Loans to Turkey, it would have a more satisfactory appearance; but it would not remove his feeling as to the utter want of economy in the manner in which the Island of Cyprus was governed. The scale of Government was monstrous. The proportion which the salaries of the Governor, the Chief Secretary, and the whole official Staff of the Island bore to the Revenue was simply ridiculous. When he read in the last Report that "the sanitation" of the towns was receiving considerable attention, those words struck him as being remarkably significant. In matters of sanitation, money went out with great rapidity. Scientific sanitation was nowhere inexpensive, and nowhere could it be less inexpensive than in an island where there were more goats than people. When Lord Salisbury most wisely abandoned, in his far greater knowledge of geography, the proposition his Leader had made as to the reason why the Government had taken over that Island, he stated that the great advantage to this country of the possession of Cyprus would be in connection with Egypt; and, no doubt, in time to come, they would hear a great deal about the immense benefit Cyprus had rendered to Her Majesty's Government during the present Egyptian campaign. Well, having the Island in their hands, if the Government did not make use of it he should censure such neglect, and the fact of their making use of it did not condone for one moment the means by which the Island was taken into our possession. And let him say that no single operation within the memory of any Member of that House, probably, had ever been conducted in the East of Europe without free use being made of adjacent territory for occupation by the belligerent of the West. There would have been no difficulty experienced by the English Government, if engaged in hostile operations in Egypt, as they were now, in obtaining standing ground which they could have used for hospital or other purposes, even if we had not had possession of Cyprus. That was the case in the Crimean War and in Greece. The vassalage by which we held the Island of Cyprus was of no advantage whatever. He had carefully noticed what had been done of late. He might be officially corrected; but he was under the impression that no British troops had made anything like a permanent landing or occupation of Cyprus in connection with the Egyptian Expedition. There had only been a rendezvous of British vessels such as took place at Suda. He hoped, therefore, the great mistake would not be made of supposing that the possession of Cyprus had been one of the advantageous incidents of the operations against Egypt. He doubted—more than doubted—the policy which had led to the occupation of the Island, and he felt very much dissatisfied at the absence of successful negotiations with the Porte for compounding the tribute, and at the absence of successful operations in Cyprus for bringing down the expenditure of the Government to a very much lower level. For these reasons, and because now and at all times he denied that the policy of the Anglo-Turkish Convention had been, or ever could be, beneficial to this country, he asked the Committee to reject the Vote.

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY said, that, though the hon. Member had imputed such designs to the Government, and had said that they changed the Under Secretaries of State for the Colonies so frequently because, having such a bad case, they thought it desirable, from time to time, to present a new cover, he presented himself to reply to two or three points the hon. Member had raised. It was not his policy, nor would he follow the hon. Member into the larger questions of the policy of retaining the Island, or of its utility. The hon. Member found fault with the Government for not having attempted to compound with the Porte for the payment of the tribute. The House had been informed last year that proposals had been made with that view. But, surely, the act of compounding was not so desirable a thing in itself that they should pay more than the thing was worth. The reason they had not compounded with the Porte was because the Porte had asked for a composition which was thought far above the proper price. When the Porte showed itself more reasonable, then, he had no doubt, the Colonial Office would entertain the question again. At the same time, while, to a large extent, the tribute money was being used for the payment of the Guaranteed Loan, it would be a losing game on our part to pay down a lump sum. Then it was asked why they did not assimilate the Government of Cyprus to that of the Ionian Islands. He (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) could not say of his own knowledge what the Government of the Ionian Islands might be; but this he would say—that Her Majesty's Government had thought it not only right, but absolutely necessary, to provide a Government for Cyprus that was infinitely superior to a Turkish Administration. He could only say that if his hon. Friend (Mr. Courtney) did last Session give what was called a pledge that the Colonial Office would march in that direction and attempt to improve the administration in the way of expense, the Colonial Office had amply carried out that pledge. The admirable Report by Mr. Fairfield would, he hoped—indeed he was sure—be the starting-point of a considerable reduction in the expenditure of the Island. The Government owed an apology to the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) for not laying that Report upon the Table before now. If it had been possible, the Report would have been laid on the Table before this discussion to-day; but they had been unable to do so in consequence of their not having received Sir Robert Biddulph's observations upon it. That brought him (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, in introducing the Budget, when he said he believed that the payment for Cyprus would only amount to £40,000 a-year. If the hon. Member would follow the Estimate for the ensuing year, he would find that the payment would only be £27,000. The Revenue was estimated at £76,000, and if they added the tribute to that it would make up a total of £219,500. The deficit for the coming year would be about £43,000; but he was happy to say that if the proposal suggested to them by Mr. Fairfield in his Report, which the hon. Member would have an opportunity of considering during the Recess, were carried out, the expenditure, including the tribute, would be reduced to something like £205,000, which would then cause their payment, in respect of Cyprus, to reach only the amount of £27,000 or £28,000. The payment they were asking the Committee to sanction to-day was a payment on account of the deficits of past years. He would only give his hon. Friend round figures; but since they had occupied Cyprus the total receipts had been £612,823, and the payments had been £426,709, leaving an excess of receipts over expenditure of £186,114. Therefore, he would point out to his hon. Friend that if there was no tribute in the matter these figures would represent a very handsome balance, and would show that the administration of the Island had not been one that could be found fault with. But now came the tribute of £92,440 a-year, which, added up for the period they had been in possession of Cyprus, made a total of nearly £280,000. When they deducted from that the £186,000, it left a deficit for which the Committee was now asked to-day to vote £90,000. Now, he would only just remark as to the point his hon. Friend the Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) had touched on about the expenses of administration. He did not know whether the hon. Member was aware that for the future the salary of the Governor was, at his own request, to be only £4,000 a-year. This, he ventured to say, was a very reasonable salary, and they owed their thanks to Sir Robert Biddulph for having consented to such a reduction. Without going into the question of the policy of the annexation of Cyprus, he would just remind the Committee that there had recently been some very bad harvests in the Island, which would account for the Revenue not coming up to the Estimate. When the hon. Member read the Report of Mr. Fairfield, he (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) trusted that he would take the same sanguine view that he did. A prosperous year in the cultivation of the vine, which was double the importance of any other cereal in the Island, would benefit the whole condition of the country. He could assure his hon. Friend that the Colonial Office was not neglecting the subject, and that they felt that this £90,000 was very much too large a sum to ask the House to vote for Cyprus. He believed that was the last occasion on which so large a sum would be asked for.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken had made too good a defence—he had proved too much. He had shown that they could not get rid of the Vote while they held the Island. He (Sir George Campbell) was afraid that the sanguine estimate they had heard described could not be carried out to the advantage of the Island while it was burdened with this enormous tribute to the Turk. This payment was one from which the Island received no benefit whatever — not a single penny of it was available for the purposes of Cyprus; and as long as we held the Island we were bound, in justice, to pay this tribute to Turkey ourselves for our possession of this place of arms, or whatever they might like to call it. The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies seemed to think that, by improved administration, we might manage to get a surplus out of the Revenue. Well, he (Sir George Campbell) had not paid much attention to the administration of Cyprus; but he had paid some attention to the administration of our other Colonies, and he found that some of them did not pay their own expenses. It was true that some did pay their own expenses; but his opinion of Cyprus was that, if it did so, it would be a very singular Colony indeed. He very much doubted whether we could manage to extract sufficient money from the Island to pay its expenses with justice to the inhabitants. Cyprus was not a very fruitful or a very productive Island, and if we managed to make it pay its expenses we should have reached a very satisfactory point. The Island was a kind of Old Man of the Sea. We could not hand it over to the Turks, for it would not be fair to the people; and whilst we retained it he was afraid we must lose money. He, therefore, earnestly hoped that Her Majesty's Government would get rid of it when they found someone who would take it, and in whose hands it would not suffer. Until they did do so, he thought they ought to be content to pay this money.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, that whenever they got within a measurable distance of the end of the Estimates the House got impatient. Under the circumstances, the hon. Member (Mr. Arthur Arnold) must be thanked for having made a speech on the matter. He (Mr. Labouchere) trusted this Vote might never be allowed to pass without a protest from the Radical Benches, in order that the memory might be kept green of the monstrous and absurd policy that led to the acquisition of Cyprus. They were told that the Revenue was likely to increase; but that was stated last year. It was then said that it was too bad to protest or vote against this proposal, because the expenditure had already been incurred. That was precisely the answer that the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) gave last year, so that although the Under Secretaries of State for the Colonies changed their arguments did not change. It appeared to him that they never would have an opportunity of entering a protest against this Vote if they were to accept that stereotyped argument of the Colonial Secretary for the time being. He had no doubt if his hon. Friend the present Under Secretary of State for the Colonies rose to some higher Office by next year, the new Under Secretary who took his place would say the same thing. His hon. Friend (Mr. Arthur Arnold) had said that greater economy should be practised in Cyprus, and that by such means they would be able to avoid some portion of this enormous payment the Committee was now called upon to make. He did not agree with his hon. Friend in that statement. We had no right to raise taxes beyond the sum that Turkey had raised in the Island by taxation, and if any reduction were made in the expenditure let the Cypriotes have the benefit of it. As to the tribute, we might, he thought, make a bargain with the Turks with regard to it. The tribute was £90,000 a-year; but of that £50,000 a-year went against the guaranteed loans of 1855. There remained, therefore, about £40,000 a-year, and his belief was, looking at the impecuniosity of Turkey, that if Lord Dufferin were allowed to offer him £300,000 or £400,000 in ready money, Turkey would give up its right to the tribute in a moment. He believed that all the more because, if he could believe the newspapers, he saw that this impecunious person, the Turk, was now borrowing money at 50 or 60 per cent, which was the price he usually paid for it. But he (Mr. Labouchere) was not sorry we had to pay this £90,000 a-year, because he believed that in the end it would save us a great deal more money, for the reason that it would be a standing monument as to the folly of having Conservatives in power. Hon. Members who supported the present Government would every year be able to say to their constituents—"You, gentlemen, have to pay a portion of this £90,000 a-year, which was involved in putting the Conservatives in power; therefore, never put them in power again, but elect us." He thought the argument was a good one, and he really thought, in the long run, the possession of Cyprus would save the country a great deal of money. It would do so if the constituencies only took this advice, because he had not the slightest doubt that if the Conservatives were again in power they would not have to pay £90,000 a-year, but £999,000 a-year for some other folly of that sort. Therefore, let this Cyprus Vote remain on record, let them every year protest against the Vote and renew this discussion, and every year let it go forth to the people that they were paying £90,000 a-year for a wretched, miserable, pestiferous Island, bought by the Conservatives when they boasted "that they had come back to England with peace with honour."

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, he could not help taking notice of part of the speech of the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, and that was the part in which he had suggested that we should acquire the Island of Cyprus. He was inclined at one time to say that it was of no use at all to us; but now he had suggested that we should buy it.

Mr. LABOUCHERE: I want to buy this £90,000 a-year, and not Cyprus. I do not think Cyprus is worth 90,000 pence.

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, the hon. Member's desire appeared to be to buy up the tribute and then abandon Cyprus.

Mr. LABOUCHERE: Yes; to the Greeks.

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, he did not think the present was a good opportunity of going back to the question as to what should be done with Cyprus. He thought that when the whole matter was brought up, there were some choice cuttings from the speeches of the Home Secretary which could be used. The Island of Cyprus was just now being very largely used by Her Majesty's Forces. ["No, no!"] Well, it was being used, and he (Mr. E. Stanhope) certainly did not wish to prevent its being used when required by Her Majesty's Forces by any discussion in that House, which would raise up a desire amongst hon. Gentlemen opposite to renew the discussions that took place two years ago. He should say that Cyprus was a very convenient basis for the operations that were going on in Egypt—[No, no!"] Well, that was a matter of opinion—["Certainly!"]—but if it should appear that Her Majesty's Government required a sanitorium and a place where reserves could be accumulated, Cyprus would be found of great convenience. He hoped it would not be required as a sanitorium during this campaign; but the experience of the campaign might possibly justify some further remarks upon the subject.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he did not think there was anything before the Committee at the present time which would warrant any expression of opinion as to whether Cyprus was of any appreciable value or not to Her Majesty's Forces in regard to the military operations in Egypt. The Government were certainly not prepared to admit that up to the present time anything had occurred which would lead, so far as he knew, any of those who sat on the

Treasury Bench to retract what they said in former years in regard to Cyprus. He was really anxious that should be understood without, at the same time, saying anything which was likely to raise debate or unnecessarily stir up the embers of the old controversy, which might not be dead, but which need not be revived at this moment. It might with greater advantage be revived after the Committee had seen what the experience of the next few months produced. He could not find fault with those hon. Members below the Gangway who had used this Vote as an occasion for protest, because they felt themselves in a position of great security, which the Government did not share. They had an immense advantage over the Government, because the Government were responsible for the fulfilment of the engagements of the country, and amongst the engagements of the country was certainly that of the reasonably good government of Cyprus. If it be true that the government of Cyprus was extravagantly carried on, the Government would welcome the help of all Members of the House in cutting down the expenditure; but he must observe that the position of hon. Members who had objected to this Vote was peculiarly felicitous, because they were able to enjoy the satisfaction of repudiating what they deemed a mischievous Vote, at the same time knowing they were not running the slightest risk of involving the Government in that breach of faith which would occur if the Vote were not agreed to.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK said, he hoped his hon. Friends would be satisfied with having raised this discussion. He felt it would be impossible to go into the Lobby with his hon. Friend (Mr. Arthur Arnold), although he felt strongly the force of the observations he had made. Upon a thorough examination he thought it would be found that Cyprus really cost not far short £150,000 a-year. The government of Cyprus was being carried on to the extent of about one-half by the taxes paid by the people of Cyprus, while the other half was paid by this country. The Committee was bound in justice to support the Government; but if these large Votes were to come up year after year, a decided stand would have to be taken and a reconsideration made of the whole question.

MR. WARTON said, it was always to him a matter of great gratification to listen to the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold), because he never forgot himself. The hon. Member told the Committee he did not wish to annul the Convention, as though it was a matter of any importance whether the hon. Member for Salford wished to annul the Convention or not. It was not of the slightest importance, because the hon. Member's repudiation of the Convention would not have the smallest effect on the Committee. The hon. Member actually read his own speech of a year ago, as, on the last occasion this Vote was before the Committee, he referred to his speech of the year before. He (Mr. Warton) rose to follow up, to a certain extent, what the Premier said with regard to the impropriety of raising this question at the present time. The hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) had said Cyprus had suffered from bad seasons; but the hon. Gentleman did not mention one of the most important products of the Island—namely, the olive. The greatest plagues were the locusts; but, through the efforts of the Governor in offering rewards for their destruction, they were fast disappearing.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:* — Ayes 59; Noes 21: Majority 38.—(Div. List, No. 329.)

THE CHAIRMAN: This being the last Vote in Supply, the Question is that I report these Resolutions to the House.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

ANCIENT MONUMENTS BILL [*Lords.*]

(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

[BILL 263.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

MR. WARTON said, he rose to move the rejection of the Bill. The Chief Commissioner of Works had rashly committed himself to the strange assertion that no one except the right hon. Member for Whitehaven (Mr. Bentinck) objected to the Bill. He objected to the

Bill on two grounds—first, for the slipshod way in which it was drawn. It was difficult to know what the House was asked to read a second time. It was a parti-coloured Bill, the black ink portion being the original, and the red ink the improved draft; yet the black ink part, in some cases, explained the red ink; and definitions of terms were given, the terms themselves not being found in the Bill. Secondly, he protested against the invasion of the rights of property which was to be carried out under the Bill in order to gratify the antiquarian tastes of a few at the public expense.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

[The Amendment, finding no Seconder, could not be put.]

Mr. HEALY said, he regretted that Ireland was not included in the Bill, as there were many monuments of great antiquity and interest in that country. The Round Towers and other remains were fully worthy of preservation. Although it was too late in the Session to attempt to move Amendments, he hoped that the measure would, on a future occasion, be extended to Ireland. He should support the Bill.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE wished to state that they would accept an Amendment of the hon. Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock), which would have the effect of enabling other monuments to be brought under the Bill by an Order in Council. If, therefore, in the opinion of the hon. Member, any monuments were omitted which ought to be included, they might still be brought within the scope of the Bill. The Bill did not go quite so far as that which the hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of London had for so many years moved. It was not thought desirable to extend it to compulsory purchase. The Bill simply enabled the Government to appoint a person to report upon the condition of ancient monuments, and also enabled the owners of such erections to place them under the protection of the State, with option of purchase by agreement. He believed that the Bill, when passed, would be found to work very satisfactorily.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK said, he desired to thank the right hon. Gentleman for the care and attention he had devoted to the subject. As regards the present Bill, while it was, no doubt, a step in the right direction, especially in providing for the appointment of an Inspector, he could not himself hope that it would prove altogether effectual. It was natural he should prefer the Bill which had been before the House in previous Sessions. At the same time, he knew that his right hon. Friend's desires and intentions were the same as his own, and he relied on the Government to introduce a stronger Bill hereafter, if the present measure failed to secure its object. When the Bill got into Committee, he would ask the House to consider some few Amendments, though he did not propose to suggest any which would affect the essential character of the measure. The right hon. Gentleman had adopted the Schedule which he had himself proposed in previous years, and which had been prepared by very high authorities. But, though the list had been carefully drawn up, and was of a thoroughly typical character, it had no pretensions to completeness. In the previous Bill adopted by the House, there was a clause enabling other monuments to be added, and he trusted the right hon. Gentleman would propose or agree to some Amendment of that character. He was also anxious that the Inspector should have some more definite status than was indicated in the Bill, because he thought it would materially assist him in his efforts. He congratulated the right hon. Gentleman on the prospect of carrying the Bill, and trusted the Inspector would be carefully selected, and that the Government would appoint someone whose heart would be in the work. Whatever the Bill might be, much would depend on the spirit in which it was worked; and he felt sure that his right hon. Friend would be anxious to make the Bill as effective as possible, and one which would really preserve these interesting monuments, which were the unwritten records of our early history, and some of the grandest and most interesting in the world.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

CORRUPT PRACTICES (SUSPENSION OF ELECTIONS) BILL.—[BILL 265.]

(*Mr. Attorney General, Secretary Sir William Harcourt.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

MR. MONK said, he wished to call attention to the unsatisfactory character of the Bill that had been withdrawn by the Government this Session. He held that Gloucester had been treated with exceptional severity. The Election Commissioners in the case of that borough made most exhaustive Reports, whereas in other places they performed their investigations most perfunctorily. In the case of Oxford the Commissioners stated their belief that 2,000 electors either received bribes or had been subjected to corrupt practices; but in the end only 55 voters were scheduled, as the Commissioners did not consider it a part of their duty to waste time in investigating the individual cases of corruption.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) rose to Order. The hon. Gentleman was not speaking on the Bill then before the House.

MR. MONK challenged his hon. and learned Friend to contradict his statements. The result was that in the case of Gloucester all the corrupt element would be eliminated by the disqualification of scheduled voters, and a perfectly pure constituency would remain; but how?—without any Representatives; while in the cases of Oxford, Chester, and Boston, the great majority of bribees would escape, and after this Parliament those unpurified boroughs would be in a position to return their Members as heretofore. He commended those considerations to the attention of Her Majesty's Government, and hoped the Bill which would be brought in next Session would mete out equal justice to all.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Suspension of elections in certain cities and boroughs).

BARON DE FERRIERES moved to leave out all after "of," in line 23, page 1, and insert "the present Parliament." The Bill, as it now stood, proposed to suspend elections in the scheduled towns until seven days after the meeting of Parliament in the coming year. There was now no probability of a Dissolution, so that an objection to the Bill was that it would be open to any hon. Member, after seven days, to move for a writ to issue in regard to any one of the boroughs. The result would be that the boroughs would be kept in a state of uncertainty, and they would be obliged to keep all their election machinery at work. The object of his Amendment was that the scheduled boroughs should have no Member until the end of the present Parliament. By the adoption of the Amendment the Committee would not be dealing more harshly with these boroughs than the hon. and learned Attorney General proposed to do in the Corrupt Practices (Disfranchisement) Bill.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 23, leave out all after "of," and insert "the present Parliament."—(*Baron De Ferrieres.*)

Question proposed, "That the word "of" stand part of the Clause."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he was obliged to his hon. Friend for the good intentions with which he had introduced his Amendment. It was quite true it would relieve him (the Attorney General), personally, and the House from the trouble of next Session considering the matter. But the Committee would see this was a suspensionary Bill, and if they were to adopt the present Amendment they would really pass sentence on the boroughs, and that ought not to be the case within the limits of a suspensionary Bill. He would also remind his hon. Friend that the Committee would still have to consider the Corrupt Practices (Disfranchisement) Bill.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. WARTON proposed to add, at end of line 25—

> "Provided, That in the event of another Parliament being summoned before the first day of February, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-three, writs shall issue for the election of Members for the cities of Canterbury, Oxford, and Chester, and the borough of Boston."

He admitted that some few days ago, when he put the Amendment on the Paper, there seemed more probability of a Dissolution than at present; but, even now, such was the condition of the political atmosphere at home and abroad, that it was quite possible, when the House re-assembled in October, Ministers might have some singular announcement to make. His Amendment would do no harm, and it carried out the very wish of the Attorney General himself, as far as related to the four boroughs named in the Amendment. He was only carrying out the wishes of the Government, by providing for a contingency which might happen. If the Attorney General could, with that prophetic foresight of his, say that a Dissolution would not take place, well and good. He, however, thought the Government would show their consistency by adopting his Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 25, at end, add,—"Provided, That in the event of another Parliament being summoned before the first day of February, one thousand eight hundred and eighty three, writs shall issue for the election of Members for the cities of Canterbury, Oxford, and Chester, and the borough of Boston."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. R. N. FOWLER said, one reason amongst others why he should not support the Amendment was that it included the borough of Boston. It was not now the proper time to consider the iniquities of that borough; but, still, the Committee would like to hear why that very corrupt borough was to be spared.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, there were two practical reasons why this Amendment could not be accepted. The first was the reason he had given before—namely, that this was a suspensionary Bill, and the second was that it would grant to the corrupt portion of these constituencies, in case of an election, more power than was given to the purer part.

Amendment *negatived.*

Bill *reported,* without Amendment; read the third time, and *passed.*

MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY BILL
[*Lords*].—[Bill 191.]

(*Mr. Osborne Morgan.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Osborne Morgan.*)

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (who, on rising, was met with cries of "Oh, oh!") said, that hon. Members who said "Oh, oh!" might leave the House. He certainly had not the smallest intention of letting this Bill pass without a reasonable discussion. It was a Bill of enormous importance. He might say that it was as important as all the other Bills that had passed the House since this Parliament began. [*A laugh.*] Hon. Members might laugh; but that was his opinion. The Bill might be right or might be wrong; but it created a social revolution that affected almost every family in this country, and was being passed through the House without one man or woman in a million having any idea of what was being done. ["No, no!"] Well, that was his opinion. The Bill came down from the House of Lords, was put on the Paper the same day, and passed its first stage at 2 o'clock one morning without challenge or discussion, and now the second stage came on at a time when Members were impatient of everything, and when the Bill could not receive the discussion it required. Although it was useless to attempt to discuss it, he wished to say a word or two about it. He was quite willing to admit that the Bill was, to a certain extent, a reverting to old lines. It reverted, he might say, to the form of marriage which existed a few thousand years ago. There was a time when marriage took the form of capture, and after that it took the form of contract, which this Bill now proposed to give it. There was a good deal to be said on both sides of the question; but he thought that there were considerable difficulties about this "chumming" arrangement. In his opinion, take it all in all, the Christian form of marriage, under which there was complete community between the married parties for life, was the best form of marriage. But he was free to confess the current was running the other way—that the "women righters" had been exceedingly energetic, whilst the friends of the poor married man were indolent, so that the case of the poor married man was hopeless. He felt that he was only wasting the time of the House; but he had made an attempt to obtain a small measure of justice for the poor, unfortunate married man. Those who proposed this Bill desired that the woman should have all the privileges of the man, the control of her own property, and none of the man's liabilities. He had an Amendment on the Paper which he hoped the House would adopt. It was none of his own devising, but was deliberately drawn and put in the Scotch Bill that passed this House last year by the Select Committee who dealt with the subject, and it was only in the House of Lords that it was thrown out. That Amendment would impose on a married woman who possessed all the privileges of a man, and who retained all her property, the same liabilities as her husband. If his right hon. and learned Friend in charge of the Bill would accept that Amendment, he would withdraw his opposition to the measure. Meanwhile, by way of protest, although he did not expect to carry the Amendment, he would formally move that the House should resolve itself into Committee on the Bill on that day three months.

Amendment proposed, to leave out from the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House will, upon this day three months, resolve itself into the said Committee,"—(*Sir George Campbell,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, he must protest against the remarks of the hon. Member—that the Bill had not been heard of before, because it had passed through two Select Committees in successive Sessions, and would have become law before now but for the state of Public Business. If the House looked at the Bill they would see that it did not deserve the character given to it. It was just that a woman who inherited or acquired a small property should have the same protection which the rich could secure by means of marriage settlements and trustees. The people of Scotland last year obtained this protection; and he would put it to the hon. Member whether it was fair that he, a Scotchman, should interpose to prevent the English women having what the Scotch women got last year? It would be one of the most useful law reforms which had been carried for many years.

MR. WARTON said, he thought the measure one of the utmost importance, which required much fuller consideration than it could receive at so late a period of the Session. The 3rd clause of the Bill would, in effect, act in restraint of marriage. No man would marry a woman with property, knowing that she could set him at defiance so long as the marriage continued. It would change the position of the sexes, and make the woman, instead of a kind and loving wife, a domestic tyrant. Scripture was opposed to the Bill——

MR. THOROLD ROGERS: I beg to ask you, Sir, whether this conversation on the part of the hon. and learned Member is relevant to the Question before the House?

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. and learned Member's speech is certainly very discursive, and I must invite him to address himself to the Question.

MR. WARTON said, in that case he would only add that the fact that the Bill had been hurried through the House of Lords was not in its favour; and he would, therefore, beg the House to pause before sanctioning a social revolution.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN said, it had been complained that this Bill came on at this late period of the Session. Whose fault was that? The Bill came down from the House of Lords as early as the 3rd of June, and it was immediately blocked by the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell), who represented a constituency which had no interest whatever in this Bill, and which, moreover, already enjoyed the benefits proposed to be conferred by the Bill on English women. It was also blocked by the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton), who blocked every Bill, good, bad, or indifferent. It was not the case that the question had not been discussed—indeed, few questions had been more often debated. The Bill had been considered by two Select Committees—one of the House of Lords and one of the House of Commons, and had been approved both by the Lord Chancellor and by Lord Cairns. In such circumstances, it would be a positive scandal if it did not now pass.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS wished to say that he had never, in the whole of his Parliamentary experience, heard a more distinctly obstructive speech than that of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Married woman to be capable of holding property and of contracting as a feme sole).

Mr. WARTON said, he wished to insert, in line 11, after the word "woman," the words, "married after the passing of this Act." He urged that if there was to be a social revolution, it should be with regard to those who were going to be married, because those who were married had entered into marriage with their eyes open as to the state of the law. If they could not protect those who went before them, at any rate let them protect themselves; and he would call the attention of the Attorney General, or of the Judge Advocate General, who was in charge of the Bill, to the 1st clause, which said—"Every woman who marries after the commencement of this Act." Why should they go back to those who were already married under the existing law? That would be *ex post facto* legislation. He quite saw what the feeling of the House was, and he would not press a point which the House was clearly opposed to when he had had a clear statement from the right hon. and learned Gentleman. Hitherto, there had only been indiscriminate probation of the Bill; but when the Bill was considered step by step, it would be seen how far the House really approved of it. He would urge the hon. and learned Gentleman to withdraw the limitation in the clause, and to accept his suggestion.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 11, after the word "woman," to insert "who marries after the commencement of this Act."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN said, he could not accept the Amendment, as it would destroy the Bill. The hon. and learned Member misunderstood the clause. It only declared, in general terms, the capacity of a married woman to hold property without the intervention of a trustee. The subsequent clauses defined the extent of this right in the several cases of a woman married before and after the Act.

Mr. WARTON said, it was easy for a Minister to get up and say an Amendment would destroy the Bill; but would the right hon. and learned Gentleman say why persons who were already married should have the benefit of this Act? The right hon. and learned Gentleman's reply was a stock phrase, and would apply to every clause; and, therefore, he must press for an explanation.

Mr. WHITLEY said, he thought the Bill was all right as it stood. Suppose a married woman to-morrow received a sum of money which had been left to her, it was quite right that she should have the same protection as an unmarried woman.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Mr. WARTON moved, in line 12, after the word "married," to insert "and hereafter acquired." This Amendment, he thought, would meet the case of the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Whitley). He quite saw the hon. Gentleman's point, and perhaps this Amendment might compromise the matter. It was quite right that a married woman should have protection for property put in her hands.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 12, after the word "married," insert "and hereafter acquired."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *negatived.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 2 and 3 *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Execution of general power).

Mr. WARTON asked the right hon. and learned Gentleman in charge of the Bill whether he restricted this power by will, or whether he would not make it by deed? Powers were often conveyed by will; but why should a man be restricted to that form?

Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN said, this clause only applied to deceased persons. It dealt with the administration of the assets of a deceased person; and, therefore, the hon. and learned Member's point did not arise.

Mr. WARTON said, the clause said nothing about deceased persons.

Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN said, that before the clause could apply the person must have died.

Mr. WARTON asked why the case had been overlooked of a married man, who, as might often happen, wished to give something to his wife by deed or will; and why there was no power for conveying by deed?

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 5 *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (As to stock, &c. to which a married woman is entitled).

On the Motion of Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN, Amendments made, in page 2, line 38, after "commissioners," by inserting "for the reduction;" and in page 3, line 2, after "the," by inserting "sole."

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 3, after "any," insert "Municipal Corporation in the United Kingdom."—(*Mr. Osborne Morgan.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. H. G. ALLEN said, he thought some alteration of the wording of this clause was required—"interest in the securities of a Corporation" seemed to be what was intended rather than "interest in any Corporation."

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN said, if the hon. Member would look a little further on in the Bill, he would see that this point was met.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

On the Motion of Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN, Amendments made, in page 3, line 13, after "woman," by leaving out "without the name of her husband;" in page 3, line 15, after "empower her," by inserting "to receive or transfer the same, and;" in page 3, line 16, after "thereof," by leaving out from "and" to "same" inclusive, in line 17.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 7 (As to stock, &c. to be transferred, &c. to a married woman).

On the Motion of Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN, Amendments made, in page 3, line 28, after "any," by inserting "such Municipal Corporation as aforesaid or in any;" in page 3, line 31, after "the," by inserting "sole;" and in page 3, line 42, after "bye-law," by inserting "Articles of Association."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 8 (Investments in joint names of married women and others).

On the Motion of Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN, Amendments made, in page 4, line 3, after "Commissioners," by inserting "for the reduction;" in page 4, line 7, after "any," by inserting "such Municipal Corporation as aforesaid or in any;" in page 4, line 10, after "the," by inserting "sole;" and in page 4, line 12, after "the," by inserting "sole."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 9 (As to stock, &c. standing in the joint names of a married woman and others).

On the Motion of Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN, Amendment made in page 4, line 27, after "standing in the," by inserting "sole."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 10 (Fraudulent investments with money of husband).

On the Motion of Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN, Amendment made, in page 4, line 33, after "any," by inserting "such Muncipal Corporation as aforesaid or in any."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 11 (Moneys payable under policy of assurance not to form part of estate of the insurer).

On the Motion of Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN, Amendment made, in page 5, line 17, after "not," by inserting "so long as any object of the trust remains unreformed."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clauses 12 to 23, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 24 (Interpretation of terms).

On the Motion of Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN, Amendment made, in page 10, line 13, at end of Clause, by adding "The word 'property' in this Act includes a thing in action."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 25 (Commencement of Act).

MR. WARTON proposed to substitute "one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five" for "one thousand eight hundred and eighty-three," in order to give people who were contemplating matrimony time to change their minds when they found the law altered. If a man found the law constantly altered he might make a good plea to that effect, although, of course, everybody was supposed to know the law.

Amendment proposed,

In page 10, line 15, to leave out "one thousand eight hundred and eighty-three," and insert "one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question, "That 'one thousand eight hundred and eighty-three' stand part of the Clause," put, and *agreed to.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 26 and 27 *agreed to.*

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he proposed to insert a new clause which, after having been accepted by this House, was thrown out by the House of Lords. Some time ago, this House had learned that they could disagree with the House of Lords with success, and he should be glad to do so on this occasion. The clause would be thoroughly understood by anyone who knew his own language, and really spoke for itself. It proposed to make the estates of husband and wife jointly and severally liable for maintaining the spouses and family; and in all cases where a wife was legally entitled to order goods to be supplied or services to be rendered to the husband, or any member of his family, the creditor should have a claim against both the estates, whether the goods or services were ordered by the husband or wife, but reserving to the one from whose estate payment might be recovered the right to rateable contributions from the estate of the other, provided that such claims should suffer prescription after the lapse of three years from the date of payment. He hoped this clause would be accepted, for, although Clause 22 went a considerable way to meet the object he had in view, this new clause much more distinctly removed all doubt, and made quite clear what the liabilities of the parties were, and put the parties on a footing of equality.

Amendment proposed,

After Clause 21, to insert the following Clause:—"The estates of husband and wife shall be jointly and severally liable for the maintenance of the spouses and family, and in all cases where a wife is by law entitled to order goods to be supplied or services to be rendered to the husband, or any member of his family, at his cost, the creditor shall (whether the order were actually given by the husband or by the wife) have a joint and several claim against the estates of both for such goods and services, reserving to the spouse from whose estate payment may be recovered his or her right to rateable contributions from the estate of the other, provided that such claims of contribution shall suffer prescription after the lapse of three years from the date of payment."

New Clause—(*Sir George Campbell,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be now read a second time."

Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN said, it was quite impossible to accept this clause. It would introduce the most serious complications into a subject in which simplicity was of paramount importance.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Preamble *agreed to.*

Bill *reported*, with Amendments; as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE (IRELAND) BILL [*Lords*].—[Bill 250.]

(*Mr. Herbert Gladstone.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Clause 1 stand part of the Bill."

Mr. HEALY asked for a few words in explanation of the objects of the Bill.

Mr. HERBERT GLADSTONE said, this was a Bill to enable the Court in Ireland to carry out the purposes of the Supreme Court of Judicature Act. That Act contained a clause enabling the Supreme Court to reorganize its staff within two years, and to consider what officers should be removed within two years of the commencement of the Act. It had now become necessary to make further alterations in the constitution of the staff; but the Law Officers were of opinion that they could not carry out those changes under the present Act, and this Bill was brought in to enable them to do so.

Mr. HEALY asked whether the proposed changes would involve an extra charge on the Consolidated Fund or the Estimates?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter): No, Sir.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *reported*, without Amendment; read the third time, and *passed*, without Amendment.

FISHERY BOARD (SCOTLAND) BILL.

(*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland, Mr. Robert Duff.*)

[BILL 240.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, in moving the second reading of this Bill, he desired to say a few words in explaining the objects of the Bill, because there had been some misunderstanding in various quarters on the subject. The object of the Bill, as it would appear from its terms, was to establish a Fishery Board for Scotland, directly to deal, not only with the subject of the herring fisheries, but also with deep-sea and coast fisheries, and also with the salmon fisheries. These objects, he was sure, would commend themselves to the House as desirable to be carried out. He ought to say, by way of explanation of the principal reasons which led to the Bill being introduced, that there had been, for a great many years, a Fishery Board in Scotland. That Board, however, had had cognizance, almost exclusively, until the year 1868, of the herring fisheries; but since then it had had, in a certain degree, cognizance of the deep-sea and coast fisheries, but never had anything to do with salmon fisheries. It was a very large Board, too large for sedulous attendance and active work. It consisted of 18 or 20 members. The retirement of the most efficient secretary, who had so long and so well fulfilled the duties of his office, was thought by many persons, and, amongst others, by the Scottish Members in this House, a fitting occasion to place on a more satisfactory footing a Board intended to deal with fishery matters in Scotland. The result had been the introduction of this Bill. He must also say that there was in the Report of the Herring Brand Committee, presented in June last, a recommendation that it would be an advantage to the fisheries in Scotland if the functions of the Board in Edinburgh were extended, so as to take cognizance of the coast and deep-sea fisheries; so that it was not only in pursuance of a very prevalent desire on the part of the Scottish Members and the Scottish people that this Bill had been introduced, but also in terms of the direct recommendation of a Select Committee sitting a year ago. He did not think that, as regarded that part of the Bill, he needed to say anything more. The Bill was not intended to alter, in any respect, the law of herring fishery, or the deep-sea fishery, or of salmon fishery. It was merely to set up an administrative body, which should have cognizance and supervision of these fisheries. The particular manner in which those duties would be performed were intimated in the Bill itself. There was one point on which he desired to say a few words, because it was one in which there had been most misapprehension—that was the question of salmon fisheries. He knew there had been a considerable prevalence of the idea that in some respect the law of salmon fishing was to be altered by the Bill. That was not the case. Salmon fishing had always been regarded in Scotland as a matter of national concern. It had not been left to be dealt with entirely by the owners of the rivers or sea coasts; but for centuries there had been many regulations, by enactments and otherwise, directed to secure the free access of the fish to the upper waters, and to secure the propagation of the breed, and its preservation as an article of food. But, while that had been the case, there had not hitherto been any Board in Scotland which had cognizance of the salmon fishing. This was thought a fitting occasion to place under the care of the Board the supervision of these fisheries as well. It was not the purpose of the Bill to supersede the District Boards, which had the direct administration of the affairs of the different rivers in Scotland. As far as salmon was concerned, it was to supervise the manner of fishing and the methods adopted in the different rivers, to see that the law was obeyed, and to collect information and to make suggestions, with a view to the amendment of the law. On this point, also, it was no purpose of this Bill to charge the Board with the duty of watching the rivers. The Bill had been criticized in the idea that the duty of watching was to be performed in some way by the Fishery Board, and that, in consequence, it would become a charge on the fund. That, also, was an entire misapprehension; so he did not think he need say anything more on that point. Of course, it might be necessary, and, indeed, would be proper, to amend the Bill in various particulars in Committee, so as to take away any grounds for the misapprehensions which had arisen in regard to it; and any Amendments which might be suggested from private Members would be carefully considered. The proposal was to constitute a Board—not of eight members, as stated erroneously in the Bill, but of nine members. The constitution of the Board was indicated, although not worked out in detail, in the Bill. As the Bill was introduced, it was made applicable to the Tweed; but it was found there was a prevalent objection to that by those interested in the salmon fisheries of that great river. It had to be kept in view that the Tweed had always been under separate legislation, and not under the general law of Scotland, in regard to salmon matters; and, having regard to that fact, and to the prevalent objection which appeared to exist, the Government were willing to exempt the Tweed from the operation of the Bill. He begged to move the second reading.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*The Lord Advocate.*)

MR. MARJORIBANKS said, he did not think it was at all clear that the Tweed Commissioners wished to be exempted. He knew the Chairman and Vice Chairman both very much wished that the Tweed should be in the Bill; and he hoped, if the Bill was not passed this year, that next Session they would again find the Tweed in the Bill.

COLONEL ALEXANDER said, he had an Amendment to the Bill, but it was not that he objected to the Bill. He approved of it, and he only wished it could be properly discussed. What he would like to hear from the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Lord Advocate was whether the Commissioners would have power to inspect the sea fisheries inshore as well as river fisheries? He explained the other night, on the Fishery Board Vote, that his constituents were anxious to stop beam-trawling; and he would like to know whether the new Fishery Board would have power to recommend, in proper cases, the abolition of beam-trawling inshore?

MR. A. ELLIOT said, he had to express his thanks to the Lord Advocate for having intimated that when they got into Committee he would exempt the Tweed and its tributaries from the operations of the Bill. He put a block against the Bill, but removed it when he heard that the Tweed was to be exempted. The feeling was intensely strong against dealing in this way with the Tweed Fisheries Acts, which had already given considerable dissatisfaction. If these Acts were to be taken up, it was hoped they would be dealt with much more thoroughly than was now proposed.

MR. ANDERSON said, the Lord Advocate had acted wisely in agreeing to throw out the Tweed Fisheries from the purview of the Bill; but he sincerely hoped that if an attempt was made, here or "elsewhere," to throw out all the salmon fisheries of Scotland, that attempt would be strongly resisted. It would make the Board weak and useless, and the same amount of good would not be done if the salmon fisheries of Scotland were exempted from the operation of the Bill.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, there was a great want of some general authority to regulate the salmon fisheries of Scotland. He was connected with a river which could be made a good salmon river if only a proper authority were constituted to look after it. With regard to deep-sea fisheries, he entirely agreed with what had been said by the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Colonel Alexander), that it was most desirable some authority should have the power to look into the question. At present, there was no question which was more obscure or difficult, and he hoped the Bill would give the new Board the power needed in this matter.

MR. R. W. DUFF said, that, in reply to his hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Alexander), he had to say that the matter of inshore-trawling was more or less regulated by an Act which was passed last Session, under which, if a trawler was found within three miles of the shore, the local authority had power to apply to have certain restrictions placed upon trawling in the district. In this Bill there were no provisions directly interfering with trawling; but, at the same time, it was perfectly competent for the new Board to suggest regulations. He presumed these regulations would be subject to the conditions of the Act of last year, and also to the approval of the House. With regard to the exemption of the Tweed, the Government had been pressed not to include the Tweed in this Bill. He believed that the Bill had been generally approved throughout Scotland, subject, of course, to the exemption of the Tweed.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow.*

CITATION AMENDMENT (SCOTLAND) BILL [*Lords*].—[Bill 267.]

(*The Lord Advocate.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Short title).

Colonel **ALEXANDER** asked, in reference to what was said last night by the Lord Advocate, whether it was intended to provide compensation for the messengers-at-arms, who would, by the Bill, be deprived of a considerable portion of their income?

The **LORD ADVOCATE** (Mr. J. B. Balfour) said, he was afraid it would not be in the power of the Government to give any compensation to that very meritorious class of persons, whose gains would be undoubtedly diminished by the Bill. It was, unhappily, one of the results of beneficent legislation that it did, in many cases, to some extent take away from the emoluments of certain classes of persons. That was certainly one of the results of the change now proposed; but he was afraid the Bill could not be abandoned on that account. It must be kept in view that under the terms of the Bill a messenger-at-arms could be employed, if it was thought fit to do so.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 2 *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Citation may be by registered letter.)

On the Motion of The Lord Advocate, Amendments, made in page 1, line 13, by leaving out "a court of justice," and inserting—

> "Any court or before any person or body of persons having by Law power to cite parties or witnesses;"

in line 15, after "witness," by inserting "or warrant of service or judicial intimation;" and in line 15, by leaving out "court," and inserting—

> "The court from which such summons, warrant, or judicial intimation was issued, or other officer who, according to the present Law and practice, might lawfully execute the same."

Mr. **WARTON** (for Mr. Biggar) moved to leave out, in lines 15 and 16, "or a law agent." He did not think the House was sufficiently careful of vested interests. These messengers-at-arms had now certain gains; but through no fault of theirs they were to be deprived of them, or the major part of them. He hoped men of all Parties would see the cruel injustice of depriving people of rights that they had hitherto enjoyed.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, lines 15 and 16, to leave out "or a law agent." —(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Mr. **DICK-PEDDIE** asked the Lord Advocate if it was not possible to put words in the Bill which would preserve the rights of messengers-at-arms in districts where they existed.

The **SOLICITOR GENERAL for SCOTLAND** (Mr. Asher) said, the Government could not accept the Amendment, or even make such alterations as had been suggested by his hon. Friend (Mr. Dick-Peddie). The principle of the Bill was to substitute notices by registered letter for the former execution by messengers-at-arms. If that was a sound principle it would be inexpedient to frustrate it by requiring the intervention of a messenger-at-arms for the purpose of posting a letter. If a notice by a letter posted and registered was a sufficient method for giving notice of citation, surely the act of posting and registering the letter could be accomplished as well by a law agent as by a messenger-at-arms. One of the advantages of the proposed change was that the new procedure would be much less expensive than hitherto. Provision was made against an abuse of the alternative power by limiting the rate of charge to that of the less expensive method, even although the more expensive method might be adopted.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 49; Noes 14: Majority 35.—(Div. List, No. 330.)

Mr. STUART-WORTLEY said, the Bill proposed to use means for the delivery of writs which could only be described as somewhat risky. He thought that provision should be made for sending the writ through the post enclosed in a registered letter. The right hon. and learned Gentleman must be aware that great delay arose from both trains and steamers stopping, apparently without any reason, at unusual places in Scotland. He moved the omission of all the words from line 27 to the end of the sub-section.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 27, to leave out all the words to the end of the sub-section.—(*Mr. Stuart-Wortley.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) said, he opposed the Amendment on the ground that they had already agreed to allow a margin of 24 hours to be introduced into the Bill. Although exceptional delay sometimes occurred in reaching the remoter parts of Scotland, he thought the period named was, on the whole, a very fair one, and trusted the hon. Member opposite would, on reconsideration, not press his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

On the Motion of The Lord Advocate, the following Amendments made:—In page 1, line 15, leave out "a," and insert "by an enrolled;" line 17, leave out "such person," and insert "the person upon whom such summons, warrant, or judicial intimation is to be served;" line 18, after "citation," insert—

"Or to the office of the Keeper of Edictal Citations, where the summons, warrant, or judicial intimation is required to be sent to that office;"

line 19, leave out "citation or;" line 20, leave out "or notice;" line 21, after "served," insert—

"With the proper citation or notice subjoined thereto, or containing such other citation or notice as may be required in the circumstances;"

and in line 23, after "business," insert—

"Or at his last known address, if it continues to be his legal domicile, or other place of citation."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Execution).

On the Motion of The Lord Advocate, the following Amendments made:—In page 1, line 26, after "copy," insert "or other citation or notice required in the circumstances;" line 28, after "appear," insert "or lodge answers or other pleadings;" line 29, after "appearance," insert "or lodging answers or other pleadings;" page 2, line 1, after "from," insert "twenty-four hours after;" line 6, leave out "of court," and insert, in new line, "The execution may be in the form contained in the First Schedule hereto;" line 10, leave out "summons or;" after "to," insert, "or intimation from;" line 12, after "and," insert "office or;" line 14, leave out "cannot;" after "be," insert "not;" line 18, after "refused," insert—

"Or because the address is not within a postal delivery district and the letter is not called for within twenty-four hours after its receipt at the post office of the place to which it is addressed;"

line 22, leave out "who applied for," and insert "at whose instance;" leave out "or;" after "warrant," insert "or intimation was issued or obtained;" after "shall," insert "where the order for service was made by a judge or magistrate;" line 24, leave out "or;" after "warrant," insert "or intimation;" and in line 35, after "the," insert "second."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Fees).

On the Motion of The Lord Advocate, the following Amendment made:—In page 2, line 38, after "citation," insert "and warrants of service judicial intimations."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

On the Motion of The Lord Advocate, the following Clause inserted after Clause 5:—

"(Definition.)

"The word 'person' shall include corporation, company, firm, or other body requiring to be cited or to receive intimation."

On the Motion of The LORD ADVOCATE, the following Amendments made:—In Schedule, page 3, line 4, before "Schedule," insert "Second;" after line 12, insert in new line—

"(3.) Post Office charge for registration and postage of letter;"

line 26, after "and," leave out "debt," and insert "debts;" and after line 33, insert in new line—

"(3.) Post Office charge for registration and postage of letter."

On the Motion of The LORD ADVOCATE, the following Schedule was also inserted:—

"First Schedule.

"This summons, or warrant of citation, or note of suspension, or petition, or other writ or citation executed [or intimated] by me [insert name] messenger at arms [or other officer or law agent] against [or to] [insert name or names] defender [or defenders, or respondent or respondents, or witness or witnesses, or haver or havers, or otherwise as the case may be], by posting on   last, between the hours of   and   , at the post office of   , a copy of the same to him [or them], with citation [or notice] subjoined, [or citation or notice where no copy is sent], in a registered letter [or registered letters], addressed as follows, viz.:

"Signature of officer or agent."

Bill *reported,* with Amendments; as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

MERCHANT SHIPPING (COLONIAL INQUIRIES) BILL [*Lords*].—[BILL 235.]

(*Mr. Evelyn Ashley.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 and 2 *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Colonial courts or tribunals to have jurisdiction to make inquiry into charges of misconduct or incompetency and shipping casualties in certain cases occurring outside the limits of the colony).

Amendment proposed, at the end of Sub-section (vi.) add "and who are competent witnesses."—(*Mr. Whitley.*)

Question, "That those words be there added," put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Remaining clauses *agreed to.*

On the Motion of Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY, Amendment made, after Clause 5, by inserting the following Clause:—

(Appeal from Colonial Courts.)

"Whenever any inquiry authorised by or in pursuance of this Act has been held, a rehearing of the case may be ordered, and if an application for such rehearing has not been made or has been refused, an appeal shall lie from any order or finding of the court or tribunal holding such inquiry to the following court, namely, the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division of Her Majesty's High Court of Justice in England.

"Provided always, That no appeal shall lie from any order or finding in an inquiry into a casualty affecting a ship registered in a British possession, or from any decision respecting the suspension or cancellation of the certificate of a master, mate, or engineer, unless such certificate has been granted under the authority of 'The Merchant Shipping Act, 1854,' or any Act amending the same, or of 'The Merchant Shipping Colonial Act, 1869.'

"Any such appeal shall be subject to and conducted in accordance with such conditions and regulations as may from time to time be prescribed by general rules made under section thirty of 'The Merchant Shipping Act, 1876.'"

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill, as amended, be reported to the House."

MR. WHITLEY said, that, on behalf of shipowners and other persons connected with the Mercantile Marine of the country, he sincerely thanked the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) for his successful endeavour to pass this useful piece of legislation through the House.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *reported,* with Amendments; as amended, to be considered on *Monday* next.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (CORNWALL) BILL.

(*Mr. Pendarves Vivian, Sir John St. Aubyn, Mr. Agar-Robartes, Mr. Borlase.*)

[BILL 95.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow."—(*Mr. Pendarves Vivian.*)

MR. WARTON said, he rose for the purpose of moving that this Bill be taken on Monday next. His objection to its being taken on Saturday was that the day had been always reserved for Government Business. He admitted that the rule had not been observed very strictly this Session; but his objection to taking Private Business on Saturday remained, and he should take the sense of the House on the Motion of the hon. Member for West Cornwall.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "To-morrow," in order to insert the words "upon Monday next,"—(*Mr. Warton,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the word 'To-morrow' stand part of the Question."

Mr. R. N. FOWLER said, he hoped the hon. and learned Member for Bridport would not press his Amendment, particularly as this was the last Saturday of the Session, when it was always usual for the House to sit, and afforded the only chance the hon. Member would have of getting the Bill through the House. He believed the measure was very much desired by the majority of the people of Cornwall, and by hon. Members connected with that district.

Question put.

The House *divided:* — Ayes 44; Noes 8: Majority 36.—(Div. List, No. 331.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill to be read a second time *To-morrow.*

CRUELTY TO ANIMALS BILL.

(*Mr. Anderson, Mr. Samuel Morley, Mr Jacob Bright, Mr. Passmore Edwards, Mr. Buchanan.*)

[BILL 206.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be read a second time time To-morrow."—(*Mr. Anderson.*)

Mr. WARTON said, he rose to move that the Bill be read a second time on Monday, and he did so for the purpose of remarking that the Government had distinctly stated that nothing but Government Business would be taken on Saturdays. He had this year introduced a little Bill, which was read a second time; but he moved the discharge of the Order, because he was too honourable to bring it forward on Saturday.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "To-morrow," in order to insert the words "upon Monday next,"—(*Mr. Warton,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the word 'To-morrow' stand part of the Question."

Mr. T. C. BARING said, during an experience of eight years he never remembered a Private Bill of a contentious character being brought in on a Saturday. There was good reason why Private Bills should not be taken on Saturday, and that was that Saturday Sittings were only taken under pressure of Government, and nominally, at least, for Government Business.

Mr. ANDERSON said, the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Baring) was entirely mistaken. In olden times it was the practice of private Members to put down the Bills on any day the House sat. He had passed Bills repeatedly on Saturday, and it was an innovation to say that a Saturday or any other day should be confined strictly to Government Business.

Mr. WHITLEY said, the Prime Minister certainly stated that when the Government asked for a Saturday Sitting it ought to be for Government Business.

Mr. STUART-WORTLEY said, if it was an innovation to say that nothing but Government Business should be taken on Saturday, it was a very wholesome one.

Mr. COURTNEY said, hon. Members must remember that the Irish Sunday Closing Bill occupied a great deal of a Saturday Sitting last year. There had been no breach of faith on the part of the Government, for the declaration of the Prime Minister referred to a particular Saturday.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill to be read a second time *To-morrow.*

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) BILL.

CONSIDERATION OF LORDS AMENDMENTS TO COMMONS AMENDMENTS.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter) moved that the Lords Amendments to this Bill be now considered. He had communicated with the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy), and he had no objection to the course now proposed.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Lords Amendments to the Commons Amendments to the Amendments made by the Lords to the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill be considered forthwith."—(*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)

Mr. HEALY said, he had intended to move an Amendment to the Bill to the effect that the suspended rent for seven years should not exceed the amount of judicial rent, if the judicial rent be declared on the holding. He understood it could not be moved, and, of course, there was no use his objecting to the Bill being taken now.

Mr. WARTON wished to enter a most earnest and deliberate protest against this very improper way of doing Business. The Business of the House ought to be done in a way in which Members might know what was going on, which was certainly not now the case. It was also most objectionable that the Government should make arrangements with private Members as to the progress of a particular Bill.

Motion *agreed to.*

Amendments *considered*, and *agreed to.*

WAYS AND MEANS.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, the sum of £34,357,774 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow.*

INDIA (HOME CHARGES ARREARS) BILL.

Resolution [August 10] *reported*, and *agreed to:* —Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Courtney and The Marquess of Hartington.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 272.]

EAST INDIA REVENUE ACCOUNTS.

Ordered, That the several Accounts and Papers which have been presented to the House in this Session of Parliament relating to the Revenues of India be referred to the Consideration of a Committee of the whole House.

Committee thereupon upon *Monday* next.—(*The Marquess of Hartington.*)

House adjourned at a quarter before Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Saturday, 12th August, 1882.

The House met at Twelve of the clock.

MINUTES.]—Supply—*considered in Committee —Resolutions* [August 11] *reported.*

Ways and Means—*considered in Committee—Resolution* [August 11] *reported.*

Public Bills—*Ordered—First Reading*—Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) *.

Second Reading—India (Home Charges Arrears) [272]; Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall) [95]; Cruelty to Animals [206] [House counted out].

Committee — Fishery Board (Scotland) [240]—R.P.

Third Reading—Public Works Loans * [269], and *passed.*

QUESTIONS.

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—ALLEGED DISCONTENT.

Mr. TOTTENHAM asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether it is true, as reported in the morning papers of 11th instant, that the Government are prepared to concede the demands of the men of the Royal Irish Constabulary; and, if this is incorrectly stated, whether he will state the present position between the men and the constituted authorities?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter): I have to state that on August 6 His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant instructed the Inspector General of Constabulary to communicate to the Force His Excellency's serious displeasure at the agitation then going on, and to inform the members of the Force that, as long as that agitation continued, the Government refused to entertain any representations that might be made. A Circular to that effect was issued on Monday, and on Tuesday the agitation ceased at Limerick, where it first began. On Wednesday and Thursday Reports in answer to the Circular were received from all stations, showing that the movement ceased to exist. On Thursday a Circular was sent expressing His Excellency's satisfaction at this result, and his opinion that the conduct of the Force in this respect was worthy of its high reputation. His Excellency added that the prompt cessation of the agitation not only relieved him from the necessity of taking measures to stop it, but also enabled him at once to take into consideration the representations he had received. Those representations embraced so many points lying beyond the scope of the Committee recently appointed to consider the question of allowances that His Excellency had determined to appoint another Committee to inquire into and to take evidence upon the whole subject. When that Committee reported, His Excellency's decision must be taken as final.

Mr. TOTTENHAM: Did the men withdraw their demands unconditionally?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter): Unconditionally.

ANCIENT MONUMENTS BILL.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK asked the Chief Commissioner of Works, Whether he could state the precise nature of the Amendments affecting the principle of this Bill to which the Government would agree; and, if further powers were to be given to the Department of Public Works, whether any schemes sanctioned by them would be laid on the Table of the House?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE, in reply, said, that the House would certainly have an opportunity of expressing an opinion on every such scheme. The hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) had given Notice of an Amendment empowering the Government to take the control, by Order in Council, of other monuments besides those mentioned in the Schedule of the Bill, and Orders in Council were, of course, laid upon both Houses of Parliament. The Committee on the Bill would be taken on Monday.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Resolutions [11th August] *reported.*

Resolutions 1 to 4, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Resolution 5.

"That a sum, not exceeding £3,043,300, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Post Office Services, the Expenses of Post Office Savings Banks, and Government Annuities and Insurances, and the Collection of the Post Office Revenue."

Mr. SCHREIBER: Having come down to this House at 7 o'clock last evening, as I supposed, to dine, and to watch the Post Office Vote into the small hours of the morning, I was not a little surprised on my arrival to find that it had already been taken—taken without discussion, and taken—if I am not misinformed—in the absence of the Postmaster General; and as I believe, Sir, that it would cause much disappointment out-of-doors if so important a Vote should be allowed to pass in silence, I now ask the indulgence of the House while I make a few observations which, under other circumstances, I should have wished to make in Committee. Now, Sir, as we all know, it is not a very gracious act to "look a gift horse in the mouth;" and that, I fear, is what I have to do. Hon. Members, then, will be aware, from what has passed in this House, if in no other way, that some 15 months ago the letter carriers of the United Kingdom forwarded Memorials to the Postmaster General alleging sundry grievances and asking for redress. Those Memorials remained without an answer, and (unless I am misinformed) without acknowledgment, till the middle of last month, when a public meeting was on the very point of being held to protest against the delay. Then, and not before, the right hon. Gentleman "capitulated," and the Financial Secretary swearing "He would ne'er consent, consented." Between that date and this, Sir, the answer of the Postmaster General has been under the consideration of the men; and, so far as it is understood, I am bound to say that it has been received with a perfect chorus of dissatisfaction and disappointment. And for this the right hon. Gentleman has, to a large extent, himself to blame. For what has been his constant answer to my Questions in this House? Why, that the matter was a large one, and that it required time. This answer, so often repeated, coupled with the known ability of the right hon. Gentleman, led the men to expect from him a comprehensive scheme dealing with the whole case as presented in their Memorials. Instead of that—to take an example—his answer to the Metropolitan letter carriers deals with one point, and one point only, the increase of their pay. Not one word, Sir, on the burning question of "overtime;" not one word about a re-arrangement of their duties and their hours; not one word about an increase in the number of good conduct stripes; not one word on the subject of open promotion; not one word about emoluments being reckoned for pensions; and not one word about receiving a deputation of the Memorialists. It was the delay, Sir, of the Postmaster General which led the men to think that the official "mountain" was "in labour" upon all these points, and he should be the last to complain if they are disappointed at the "ridiculous mouse" of a scheme, which only makes a small increase in their salaries. And that is not all. In the matter of salaries the letter carriers fail to see why they are to be less liberally treated than the "sorters," for whom in the month of March the Postmaster General brought in a Supplementary Estimate for £80,000, increasing their wages by 2*s.* a-week at one end of the scale, by 5*s.* a-week at the other, and paying them "back money" to the 1st of April, 1881. Now, I do not stand here, Sir, to disparage the claims of the "sorters," who, no doubt, deserve all that they have got, and more. *Non equidem invideo; miror magis.* But the Postmaster General must not be surprised if the letter carriers claim to be treated with corresponding liberality. The right hon. Gentleman will say—"How am I to get the money?" I will tell him. From the net earnings of the Post Office, which was never intended to be a source of revenue, till the interest and the convenience of the public had been first consulted. What, then, is the interest of the public in this matter of the letter carriers? That their letters should come to them by the hands of men, whose pay has some relation to the laborious and responsible duties which they perform, and whose circumstances shall be such as to place them above the temptations connected with the discharge of those duties. I do not see the Financial Secretary in his place; if I did, I should like to read to him an extract from the evidence of Sir Rowland Hill, stating his view of what he called "the principle of the Post Office." It may be desirable, however, to place the Postmaster General in possession of the passage, so that he may bear it in mind when next he finds any difficulty with the Treasury. This was the motto on the title page of Sir Rowland Hill's pamphlet of 1837—

> "The principle of the Post Office at its establishment, as is distinctly laid down in the 12 *Charles II.*, was to afford advantage to trade and commerce. The direct revenue to be derived from the Post Office was not the primary consideration."

Again, when Sir Rowland—then Mr. Hill—was under examination before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Postage, in the year 1843, Mr. Hawes asked him—

> "Did you adopt the penny rate with the object of ultimately producing a larger amount of net revenue than could be, in your opinion, expected from a higher rate?"

Answer—

> "No; my object was not to obtain the greatest possible amount of money profit from the Post Office, but to give the greatest amount of convenience to the public which could be obtained without any great permanent sacrifice of revenue as it then stood. It has been thought by Lord Ashburton, Lord Sandon, and Mr. J. S. Lloyd, whose authority on such subjects is entitled to great respect, that the Post Office cannot be legitimately made a source of revenue at all; and I have Lord Lowther's authority for saying that, in the original institution of the Post Office, revenue scarcely formed any part of the object in view."

With the public there will be no difficulty in the matter. Nothing is more certain than that the public wishes to see these men well paid—witness the large gratuities with which—at Christmas—it already ekes out their insufficient pay. When, therefore, the inevitable Supplementary Estimate is brought in, I hope it will be for an adequate amount. Above all, do not let these claims be trifled with because they have been urged with moderation. During the recent long trial of their patience, the conduct of the letter carriers has been above all praise, and has established for them a new claim on the respect and sympathy of the public. It would be fatal they should think that at the present day not to be disorderly is not to get redress. Dangerous examples, under the present Government, dangerous examples surround these men on every side; and, knowing how much they have been tried, I would urge the right hon. Gentleman in dealing with their claims, not only to be wise, but to be wise in time.

Mr. WARTON remarked that, not only had the Post Office Vote been passed hurriedly, without discussion, and in the absence of the Postmaster General, but the Vote for the Packet Service would have been passed in a similar manner if the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray) had not rushed to his place, and caught the Chairman's eye before the Vote could be put. It was not till then that the other Members of the Government who were in attendance conceived it their duty to send for the Postmaster General. There was one question which he desired to put to the right hon. Gentleman upon the question of registered letters, in reference to which a pledge had been given to him last year. In redemption of that pledge the charge for registration had been reduced from 4*d.* to 3*d.*, and it was now nominally 2¼*d.*, including the cost of the stamped envelope; but practically the cost was 2½*d.* He appealed to the Government to sacrifice the additional 1*d.*, and to give for 2*d.* the envelope which would carry a registered letter.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, he was disposed generally to agree with the remarks of the hon. Member (Mr. Schreiber) as to the hurried manner in which the Government disposed of Supply, and, indeed, carried on the general Business of the country. He would not, however, pursue that subject; but he wished to put a question to the Postmaster General in regard to a matter concerning the convenience of the public—namely, whether an arrangement could not be made for the purpose of facilitating the postage of letters, not only at the principal, but at the smaller railway stations, in accordance with the plan universally followed in all other civilized countries, and especially in France, Italy, and Germany. In France, in all the railway stations there were letter boxes, in which persons up to the last moment of the departure of the trains could post letters. A few years ago, when the noble Lord the present Secretary of State for India (the Marquess of Hartington) was Postmaster General, he (Mr. Bentinck) had raised this question, because there was not at that time even the means of posting a letter in the Post Office van. The noble Marquess made the concession asked for, and for some years letters were allowed to be posted in the travelling vans under certain circumstances by the payment of a considerable extra fee; but no notice was given to the public, so that they were not able to avail themselves generally of the privilege. The privilege itself was extended when his noble Friend the Member for North Leicestershire (Lord John Manners) was at the head of the Post Office, and to some extent it existed still. At the present moment the plan adopted was to place a pillar post or letter box at the principal railway stations; but the arrangements for the collection of letters were simply idiotic. The letters themselves were collected at the stations and sent to the Post Office, which might be half-a-mile distant, and sorted there, instead of being sorted at once in the travelling van. He hoped the Postmaster General would consider the subject, and adopt some more satisfactory system. It seemed to him that what could be done in France, Italy, and Germany, could also be done in England; and as there was a progressive Government the people ought to have the advantage of their enterprize.

Sir EARDLEY WILMOT said, he wished to bear his testimony to the excellent manner in which the Postmaster General had discharged the duties of his Office—a manner he was justified in saying that had won golden opinions all over the country. It was well known to all Members of the House of Commons that various Members in the House had in their gift various small appointments in the Post Office in the Provinces, and he wished to say that he had the greatest difficulty in getting people to accept these appointments on account of the small pay. The pay of such work was so low that those who accepted the appointments were mostly very old men, who did not do credit to the Postal Service. In this way the whole Postal Service of the country was made to suffer, and he would be very pleased if his right hon. Friend could induce the Treasury to increase the pay of these men.

Mr. FAWCETT denied that there was any intention on the part of the Government to hurry the Post Office Votes through the Committee. They had come on in the ordinary course, and on two of them there had been considerable discussion. As to the suggestion of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport

(Mr. Warton), he would make inquiry and see whether or not that suggestion could be carried out. In regard to the suggestion of the right hon. Member for Whitehaven (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck), he was glad to be able to tell him that he had already given instructions which he hoped would meet his views. The Post Office was going, as an experiment, to have a letter-box attached to certain mail trains, in which letters could be posted while the train was *en route* at any station. A small extra fee would be charged, because it would be necessary to discourage the posting of letters in these boxes as far as possible. The reason was this—that if a great number of letters were posted in this way it would be impossible to have them properly sorted; but he believed the arrangements they were now carrying out would meet the views of the right hon. Gentleman, and if the experiment was successful they would extend it. There was one observation made by the hon. Member for Poole (Mr. Schreiber) towards the close of his remarks that he thought would have a very prejudicial effect all over the country on the Public Service. The hon. Member said that, in the face of a public meeting announced to be held by the letter carriers, the Treasury and the Post Office suddenly capitulated. If there was any meaning in the expression "suddenly capitulated," it must mean that they yielded to intimidation. Unless the hon. Member had some very clear evidence to substantiate that statement, it was a very grave charge, that ought not lightly to have been brought against a Public Department. He could assure the hon. Member, so far from capitulating, the only thing he regretted about that public meeting was that language might be held which would render it more difficult than it would otherwise be for the Government to do what they intended to do in behalf of the letter carriers. He would put a case before the hon. Member and the House. Suppose he was a large employer of labour, and his workmen presented him with a memorial; suppose he said the memorial they presented raised questions which were difficult and delicate, and they would take a little time to be fully and carefully investigated; suppose, having given them that assurance, they suddenly announced that unless that decision was given within a certain time they would call in the force of a public agitation. In such a case, would not any large employer of labour do as the Government had done? There was no capitulation on the part of the Government, and the whole cause of delay was that the subject was a large, complicated, and difficult one. He knew of no question that was more difficult and delicate than what was the just remuneration to be given for a particular class of labour, and personally he was extremely anxious that the letter carriers, and everyone else employed in the Post Office, should receive the remuneration to which they were justly entitled; but, as he had had occasion often to remark before, the money was not his money—it was not the money of the Government—but the money of the taxpayers, and as trustee for the taxpayers he was bound to look after their interests. The hon. Member for Poole (Mr. Schreiber) seemed to think that very little had been done for the Post Office *employés*. He had formerly stated that the new scheme would involve on the Public Exchequer a charge of at least £60,000 a-year, and that represented the interest on a capital sum of no less than £2,000,000. He put it to the House whether anyone would be justified in taking a capital sum of £2,000,000 from the general body of the taxpayers, in order to benefit a particular class of Government *employés*, until he felt certain that this large expenditure of public money was required by the circumstances of the case? It must be remembered that there were two sides of this picture. No doubt the letter carriers were anxious to have good wages; but not long ago he received a very indignant letter from a working man in London—not the only one he had received, he might tell the House. This working man was evidently, from the style of his letter, a man of considerable education, and he said he found it impossible to earn as much as a letter carrier. He said his work was casual; he had no sick pay and no pension. He pointed out that the letter carrier had certainty of employment, sick pay, and pension, and said, comparing their lot with his own, he altogether objected to additional taxation being imposed on him for the benefit of a class who were better off than he was himself by the exercise of all his energies. Therefore, it was important that the subject should be looked at from two points of view. The hon. Member for Poole had said that what the Government were going to give the letter carriers was inadequate; but he had brought forward no facts in proof of that statement. On the other hand, he could tell the hon. Member that during the last 12 months he had investigated the subject, and having made a most fair and impartial comparison between the remuneration received by the letter carriers and the remuneration obtained by artizans and other *employés* in the various industries of the country, he believed the letter carriers, at the present time and under the new scheme, received remuneration which was just. The hon. Member for Poole also asked what had been the cause of the long delay. If he understood fully the whole nature and the complexity of the problem the Government had to solve, he would know at once that nothing could be more unwise and more unjust to the taxpayers of the country than to speak of the delay? He had, first of all, to apply to the various classes of employers throughout the country, so as to know the rate of wages, and then he had to make a comparison between such *employés* and the letter carriers of England, Ireland, and Scotland, and he could say that he had arrived at his decision with the least possible delay. The hon. Member for Poole said also that he (Mr. Fawcett) had only partially investigated the charges made in the Memorial presented by the postmen. In answer to that he had to say that he had investigated many allegations made in the Memorial, and in due time the complaints made would receive answers. Where concession could be made it would be made, and he would be glad to make it; where he thought the demands made ought to be refused, he hoped the House, in the interests of the public, would support him in his refusal. The hon. Member for Poole had started a very extraordinary theory, and one which he had seen stated in other places, and he would, therefore, say a word or two upon it. The hon. Member for Poole seemed to think that the Revenue raised from the Post Office should be distributed among the *employés* of the Post Office. The hon. Member might just as well say that the Revenue yielded by the Excise ought to be distributed among the *employés* of the Excise. The Revenue raised by the Post Office did not belong any more to the *employés* of the Post Office than the Revenue of the Excise to the *employés* of the Excise. It really belonged to the public; and suppose the House of Commons decided that the Post Office was not to be used as a Department of Revenue, the sacrifice of Revenue should not be used in paying Post Office *employés* more than the market rate of wages, but in giving to the public more postal facilities, and reducing various charges. There were many ways in which the Revenue might be applied. For instance, he had had applications to reduce the price of telegrams, and, no doubt, it would be a great boon to the public. If any reduction of Post Office Revenue was to be sanctioned this reduction in the price of telegrams was, to his mind, one of the first things to be considered. Then, again, there were great districts in England, Scotland, and Ireland in which the postal communication required to be improved, especially in the rural districts, by having more frequent deliveries of letters. If Revenue could be spared from the Post Office, that seemed to him one of the ways in which it ought to be spent; and he could not help thinking that nothing but mischief could result from encouraging the idea that the Revenue from the Post Office belonged not to the public, from whom it was obtained, but to the *employés* of the Post Office. The hon. Member for Bedford (Mr. Magniac) made a complaint on the previous night that the annual Report of the Post Office was published a very short time before the Estimates came to be discussed. In reply to that he could only say that he had done everything possible in order to get the Report out as soon as it could be published, and he regretted that it was so late in getting into the hands of hon. Members. With reference to the Telephone Companies, as there had been in the City a considerable amount of speculation on the chance that the Government would take over those Companies, and as some people seemed to suppose that what took place with regard to the Telegraphs would be repeated with reference to the telephone Companies, he thought it would be well to take that opportunity of making a few remarks with the object of removing all doubts and misapprehensions on the subject. From the policy which had recently been adopted with regard to telephone enterprize, he did not think there was the smallest chance that the Government would ever have to purchase any Telephone Company's undertaking; and he thought that the investors who had speculated in them with the idea that some day they would get favourable terms from the Government should at once know the truth. The Department were going to allow free competition—competition not only among the Telephone Companies themselves, but between the Companies and the Post Office. When that competition had gone on for some time the public would be able to judge who did the telephone business best. If it were done better by the Private Companies than by the Post Office, the Department would be delighted to have the whole telephone business of the country conducted by private enterprize. If, on the other hand, it was proved that the business was better done by the Government than by the private Companies, the Government would have beaten the Companies in the fair open field of competition, and they could occupy the ground without any question of purchase or compensation arising. He trusted the House would excuse him for having entered into the question at such length; but he thought it was important that investors should at once know the intentions of the Government.

Resolution *agreed to.*

Resolutions 6 and 7 *agreed to.*

Resolution 8.

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £3,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens."

Lord ELCHO said, that, as he was not in his place when the Vote came on for consideration last night, he wished now to make a few observations with reference to it. He believed he was right in saying that the Vote was practically for the removal of the underground reservoir now in existence near Piccadilly, in the neighbourhood of Hyde Park Corner, and which supplied certain Government office with water. The question was where the reservoir was now to be placed; and until the House knew that, it would be sanctioning a Vote of which it did not know the meaning. He believed it was intended to place it in Hyde Park, where, for a long time to come, until it was covered by trees, it would necessarily be a most unsightly object.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE stated that the actual spot to which the reservoir was to be removed was not quite decided; but the new site would be in Hyde Park, on higher ground, somewhere north of the Serpentine.

Lord ELCHO: That was exactly the fault that he found with the proceedings of the Government. The whole plan should have been settled and explained to the House before the Vote was asked for; but, as things were, the House was called upon to sanction a plan without an opportunity of considering it. As far as he could judge, the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman would fail to diminish the plethora of traffic at Hyde Park Corner, would disfigure, rather than embellish, that part of the Metropolis, and, if it did not succeed, would do irremediable damage. The stoppages in the traffic were at Hamilton Terrace and at Hyde Park Corner. The plan of the First Commissioner left the width of Piccadilly from Park Lane to the Corner the same as now, therefore the congestion would not be relieved at all. But after he had gone to the expense of a model and of plans, and had got the promise of £20,000 from the Metropolitan Board of Works, and of £3,000 from the Duke of Westminster, he amended his plan. When he had done all, he did not meet the block that had to be dealt with. He had to go to the Board of Works to ask them to widen his plan, thus confessing an oversight on the most important point. The Council of the Royal Institute of British Architects had considered the First Commissioner's model and plan, and they pointed out that there was no indication of an increase of width at Hamilton Place. Although he had since proposed to widen Piccadilly, the extra width would only be that of a footpath, and this was quite inadequate. But even his amended plan would not meet the difficulty. This might be illustrated by the case of a man with a contracted mouth and a stricture in the gullet. The right hon. Gentleman's remedy was equivalent to cutting the mouth from ear to ear and leaving the gullet untouched. Upon the æsthetic aspect of the scheme the Royal Institute of British Architects had expressed a very strong opinion, and behind that superior opinion he took shelter. The architects stated in their Report that the contemplated removal of the Arch from its present position would destroy a well-balanced architectural group, involving, moreover, an expenditure which they considered had little or nothing to recommend it. A line drawn through the Arch, as contemplated, would lead to nowhere and to nothing. It simply opened into an awkward place. If the Arch were removed, St. George's Hospital would be the main feature of the thoroughfare; whereas it was at present almost entirely hidden from view. It was said that the First Commissioner of Works had some wide scheme in hand for getting rid of the Hospital altogether, and having some central station erected on the site.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he had no such intention as the noble Lord attributed to him.

Lord ELCHO said, that, at all events, such a plan had been talked of. He had adduced sufficient reasons why the House ought to pause before it compelled the Iron Duke to do what he never did in the flesh, to retire from a position which he occupied in strength into a lower one in which he would not look well. He had ventured to call the attention of Members to what he denominated a rival revival of earlier plans; and, as the right hon. Gentleman would not allow it to be exhibited along with his own, he had obtained permission to place it in the Cloak Room, where lithographed copies might be obtained. This combination of plans was to be found in the Office of the First Commissioner. If it were tried and failed, there was nothing in it to prevent the ultimate adoption of the right hon. Gentleman's plan. It divided itself into two parts. On the north of Piccadilly there would be a new road in the Park from Stanhope Gate to the Corner; and the present road, with a new opening into Park Lane, would be made a street outside the Park. South of Piccadilly, from Hamilton Place, a new road would be made to Grosvenor Place, and at the intersection of Constitution Hill there would be a bridge. A temporary bridge might be constructed for a trial, and the permanent structure might be made as ornamental as possible. This plan would leave the reservoir and the Arch untouched, and it would relieve both Hamilton Place and Hyde Park Corner, giving a continuous route to traffic from the north to Victoria Station and the east. The plan he recommended would be an ornamental one, and would greatly facilitate traffic. By it the Duke of Wellington's Arch would remain untouched, and the Hospital would not be interfered with. He had the authority of the Council of the Institute of Architects that the plan of the right hon. Gentleman would not be nearly so ornamental or so convenient as that which he advocated. At all events, he wished it to be clearly understood that, in putting forward this proposal, he and others who supported it were merely animated by a friendly feeling of rivalry as to who should do most in improving the Metropolis. He did not think that the requirements of the case could be met by the plan of the right hon. Gentleman; and he should like to know who were the eminent authorities on whose support the right hon. Gentleman relied. He thought that in all the circumstances he was entitled to ask the right hon. Gentleman either to give his plan a trial, or else to postpone his decision on the matter until Parliament had had an opportunity of discussing the question. He had been told that if the matter came to a vote the Prime Minister would not be found in the same Lobby as the right hon. Gentleman.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the noble Lord was quite correct in the statement that he made at the commencement of his speech, that the £3,000 which had been asked for was merely for the purposes of the removal of the reservoir. He had pointed out when he first explained the scheme that that was so. The reservoir supplied the Public Offices with water, and certainly was not such as it might be. It would, therefore, be desirable that the reservoir should be removed to a higher spot, so that the pressure for the supply of water might be greater. It was proposed under the scheme of the Government to remove the reservoir to a higher point in Hyde

Park, but the exact spot had not yet been determined upon; anyhow, it would probably be the highest point in the Park, and most probably it would be placed in the north of the grounds. The removal of the reservoir would be no disfigurement whatever, and would not involve the cutting down of any trees. It would be covered in for the greater part of its length. He wished to point out to the House that the question of the Hyde Park difficulty had exercised the minds of successive Commissioners and of the House for many years past, and it had been generally agreed that the serious block that occurred at Hyde Park Corner was extremely inconvenient and dangerous. A great many schemes had been proposed; but, for some reason or other, they had all been found deficient. In 1875, the noble Lord the Member for Chichester (Lord Henry Lennox), then Chief Commissioner, submitted a plan for making a road from Hamilton Place to Halkin Street, tunnelling under Constitution Hill, almost identical with one part of the noble Lord's plan, and the House voted £5,000 towards it; but in the following Session the noble Lord came down to the House, and was obliged to admit that insuperable difficulties had occurred, and that he was obliged to abandon his scheme. He then proposed another plan, in which, by altering the direction of Constitution Hill, his road would cross it at the level. This he was also compelled to abandon from not being able to obtain the necessary consents. In the following year the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Rutlandshire (Mr. Gerard Noel), who succeeded him, stated to the House that he had a comprehensive plan which did not differ materially from that which he had presented, dealing with the subject, but that he did not see his way to obtaining the money for it. When it became his duty to deal with it, he had carefully considered all three plans, and he had come to the conclusion that that which he proposed was at once the boldest and the most certain to afford a remedy, and the most likely to obtain the various consents. He need hardly point out to the House and to the noble Lord that the essential feature of that plan was the cutting off the corner of the Green Park in a line from Hamilton Place to Halkin Street, and the promotion of an open *place* in which as many roads could be made as would properly distribute the traffic and remove the block. It was one condition of the plan that the Wellington Arch should be removed from its present position to the point at which Constitution Hill in future would meet the open *place*, about 100 yards to the south of its present situation, where it would form the Royal entrance to the Green Park. It was said by some that the general features of the scheme could be carried out without the removal of the Arch. That was not so—first, because if the Arch were left where it was, it would not be possible to widen the upper part of Grosvenor Place, and without this widening the block could not be removed; and, secondly, because, if left in its present position, the gradients or other conditions would require that the road between the two Parks should not pass under the Arch, but round one side of it, and through one of the side gates into Hyde Park, and thus all the dignity of the approach and the meaning of the Arch would be lost. The noble Lord had objected that the Arch in its new position would not be square with the gateway to Hyde Park and to other buildings. This was true; it would be at right angles to Constitution Hill, but would not be parallel or at right angles to other buildings. This might be a serious defect if it were at all near to other buildings; but it would be at a considerable distance, and would no longer be a part of the group of arches at the entrance of Hyde Park. As to his authorities for the advantages of his scheme, all he could say was that they were of the highest eminence; amongst others he had consulted Mr. Street. ["Oh!" *and* "Law Courts," from Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK.] Well, he ventured to say that those who had seen the Law Courts recognized in them ability of the highest merit. The word "askew" was a formidable one, but there was no canon of Art against buildings being askew to one another; on the contrary, the greatest artists in architecture the world had known—namely, the Greeks—were of an opposite opinion; they rather avoided placing buildings at right angles or parallel to one another; and in the Acropolis he need hardly remind hon. Members that the group of buildings, the most celebrated in the world, were purposely not placed at right angles or parallel to one another. It was absolutely necessary, if the scheme in its general features was to be carried out, that the Arch should be removed. The noble Lord had not, however, contented himself with criticizing the scheme put forward by the Government, but had proposed an alternative scheme, and that enabled him (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) to put himself in the position of a critic. He would venture to say, having given to the matter a very careful consideration, and without any prejudice whatever, that the scheme which the noble Lord proposed was not one that had given satisfaction to those who had gone into it; and he (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) was quite sure of this—that if his scheme were out of the way, there would not be the remotest chance of that of the noble Lord being accepted. The noble Lord objected to moving one arch; but his plan proposed to move three arches, the beautiful erection of Mr. Burton, the present position of which could not be improved. The noble Lord also proposed that the entrance to Hyde Park should be removed from its present position and placed at right angles to where it now was; and he also proposed not only to cut off the corner of the Green Park, but also the corner of Hyde Park. The general effect of the noble Lord's scheme would be to take no less than three acres of land from the Park and give it up for the purpose of making roads; whereas the Government scheme only took something like one acre. He further ventured to say that, if the noble Lord's scheme were accepted, it would not remove the block or the congestion of traffic, for the real block was at Hyde Park Corner, and not at Hamilton Place; while the scheme of the noble Lord seemed only to deal with the block at Hamilton Place.

Lord ELCHO said, he had contended that there were two blocks — one at Hamilton Place and one at Hyde Park Corner.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that, if that were so, the noble Lord made no provision whatever for widening the top of Grosvenor Place, and thus relieving the traffic at Hyde Park Corner. All he could say was that, while this scheme of the noble Lord involved the maximum of alteration, it ended in the minimum of accommodation to the public, and would not at all deal with the difficulty of the block at Hyde Park Corner. He was confident it could not be carried out. The noble Lord had called to his aid the Institute of Architects, and had claimed that they had condemned the official plan. It was true that some days ago the Council of that Institute came as a deputation to him and presented to him an alternative plan prepared by their Secretary. They told him, however, that they were not united on the subject; and he had no difficulty in proving to them that there were more serious objections to the plan of their Secretary, and they left him under the impression that the majority of them were convinced. They subsequently sent a deputation to the Metropolitan Board with another plan; but this, again, was open to other objections, and the Board unanimously declined to adopt it. The noble Lord seemed to think it a serious matter that the Institute of Architects should express an opinion. He could not, however, accept their Council as an arbiter in such matters. Till the present time the Institute had never undertaken to advise the Government or the public in such questions. Their present President was a gentleman to whom the public of London was indebted for the monument known as the Griffin. When, last year, he endeavoured to disestablish the creature, and so remove the obstruction which it caused to traffic in front of the new Law Courts, he received no assistance from the Institute of Architects. But, though he had not consulted the Institute of Architects in its collective capacity, he did not adopt this scheme without taking advice from a great number of persons well qualified to give opinion. He did not hesitate to say that it had been approved of by the great bulk of persons who were qualified—by such men as the late Mr. Street, Mr. Waterhouse, Mr. Fergusson, the well-known writer on architecture, Mr. Holford, and numerous others. It had been laid before both Houses of Parliament, and had been received with favour on both sides. It had received the approval of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, who had been graciously pleased to give up a small part of the garden of Buckingham Palace for the public wants; and the Board of Works had almost unanimously adopted the plan, and had voted £20,000 towards its being carried out. The scheme, having been some months before the public, had been almost unanimously approved by the Press. He therefore ventured to hope the House would not support the noble Lord in his desire to postpone the scheme. It was his conviction that if this plan were postponed no other alternative would be more fortunate or more acceptable, and the only result would be that the difficulty would remain for an indefinite period unsolved and without a remedy.

Mr. CRAIG was of opinion that the plan proposed by the Chief Commissioner of Works would produce a much better effect than that proposed by the noble Lord. It was a position of great prominence, and it should be made as beautiful as possible. He considered the plan of the Chief Commissioner of Works would combine utility with beauty in an essential degree.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE said, he had given a good deal of attention to this question, and had carefully considered the plans; and the result he had arrived at was that, so far as relieving the congestion of the traffic was concerned, the plan of the noble Lord (Lord Elcho) was the better of the two. His chief objection to the Chief Commissioner's plan was that the *place* which it would create would be cut up into too many small plots and gardens. The plan, however, might, by some modifications, be made much more acceptable.

Mr. J. G. HUBBARD said, he had watched Hyde Park Corner for some years, and he felt greatly relieved when the plan for improving it was placed in the Tea Room. With regard to the statue of our great Commander, which was at present at the Corner, if it could not stay where it was, he saw no reason why it should not be placed on a suitable pedestal in front of Apsley House, where it could be seen by the people of England. The plan of the Chief Commissioner seemed to combine every requisite with boldness of conception and completeness in treatment; and, therefore, he gave it his hearty and grateful support.

Sir EDWARD REED expressed the satisfaction he felt when he heard the plan which the Chief Commissioner had decided upon. He had, under a previous Chief Commissioner, carefully examined plans put forward for an improvement; but the objection to every plan was that it involved the retention of the Arch. The problem had now been solved in the only way in which a solution could be arrived at by the bodily removal of the Arch. Anyone who had observed the traffic on the spot must admit that the plan would afford relief where it was most required, at Hyde Park Corner and Hamilton Place. As to the æsthetic view of the question, he was at a loss to know how anyone could contend that the Arch was in a satisfactory position. Standing in the road, and looking through the Arch, one would find it led to nothing, but was a monstrous object placed in a false position. The plan of the Chief Commissioner would take the Arch to a position removed from other architectural features, and leave it free to the observer under the best circumstances. At the end of a straightened Constitution Hill it would afford the fitting approach to a Royal Palace. From every point of view the change would be a vast improvement, and he hoped the Chief Commissioner would set about the work without hesitation and delay.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK agreed in the main with the remarks of his noble Friend (Lord Elcho), and on the question of convenience certainly thought he had the best of the argument. But what he had been unable to gather was what objections there really were to the scheme proposed by the Institute of British Architects. In the matter of gradients there certainly was no objection. As to the artistic or æsthetic point of view, he differed altogether from those who thought any advantage would be gained from placing the Arch askew. He did not pretend to be a man of taste himself, and he thought that taste was matter of opinion not to be referred to any abstract idea. But they could learn from observation of the works of great architects of the Greco and Roman era, from the great Italian masters of the 16th century, and from the works of their own architects, Sir Christopher Wren, Inigo Jones, and others of the 17th century, and their taste might be accepted as standards of comparison. Uniformity was the great feature of ancient architecture, and hence it was that the Institute of British Architects objected to the proposed scheme, as it would destroy a well-balanced architectural group. At present the Ionic screen and the Arch formed that well-balanced group, and that it was proposed to destroy. The authority of Mr. Street had been put forward in support of the Chief Commissioner's scheme. Now, he was not disposed to accept the authority of the late Mr. Street, and anyone who had read the books of Mr. Street—for instance, his *North of Italy*—knew that if ever there was an enemy to architectural uniformity it was Mr. Street. Mr. Street, at the time of his death, was President of the Institute of British Architects, and the opinion of the Institute and its present President was known. The new President was Mr. Horace Jones. True, he designed the "Griffin" Memorial, and it must be admitted he failed there; but still the Griffin was better than many monuments in London, and, indeed, there were persons who thought it the finest thing in the Metropolis. But the Institute of which he was President had on several occasions been consulted in proposed alterations, and had done good service in preventing such monstrous acts as the destruction of the Portico of St. Martin's Church, and their opinion was worth consideration. Imagine a proposal to pull down the Arc de Triomphe, at Paris, and set it askew. Why, all Paris would rise in semi-revolution against such a proposal. From the point of view of convenience, as well as æstheticism, the scheme of his noble Friend was preferable to that of the Chief Commissioner.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON observed, that very much had been said about relieving the traffic; but he hoped that Constitution Hill would be opened to the public.

Mr. WARTON expressed his objection to the proposed plan, and disputed the authority of Mr. Street, condemning his new Law Courts as an incongruous mixture of ideas without convenience, and which had not a Court in the building equal to the old Court of Exchequer. He appealed to the Chief Commissioner to let a little more time pass before commencing the work.

Resolution *agreed to.*

Remaining Resolutions *agreed to.*

WAYS AND MEANS.

CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

Resolution [August 11] *reported.*

Ordered, That leave be given to bring in a Bill to apply a sum out of the Consolidated Fund to the Service of the year ending on the 31st day of March, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-three, and to appropriate the Supplies granted in this Session of Parliament; and that Mr. Playfair, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Courtney do prepare and bring it in.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time.

FISHERY BOARD (SCOTLAND) BILL.

(*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland, Mr. Robert Duff.*)

[BILL 240.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*The Lord Advocate.*)

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR expressed the obligations which the people of Scotland were under to the Lord Advocate in bringing in this Bill to improve the Fishery Board. It was a question that had long occupied the minds of the Scottish people, and especially of the fishing part of the population. He would, however, submit to his right hon. and learned Friend whether it would not be wiser, having got so far with the Bill, to allow the present Fishery Board to go on for a few months longer. The gentleman who was at its head was well qualified to carry on the business, which was of such a character as would render its operation for a few months more a matter of perfect ease, and no inconvenience would be suffered. Considering the opposition which might arise, particularly on the money part of the question, he would advise the Lord Advocate not to go on with the Bill. The delay would be useful by allowing time for improving the clauses relating to the duties of this improved Fishery Board. To leave these duties to be defined by the experience of the past would be to make these duties depend on a half-dead body, which performed the functions relating to the fisheries in a very unsatisfactory manner. The fisheries off the Coast of Scotland were capable of being made into a vast industry; but to effect this the rules defining the Board's duties must be set forth in the Act. Another reason for putting off the Bill was this — that the present Bill had excited some alarm in the minds of the proprietors of certain salmon rivers in Scotland, and time should be given to enable proprietors of salmon fisheries to come to an understanding with the Lord Advocate. He further thought it would be desirable to have a digest of all the laws relating to the salmon fisheries made, and an amending Bill brought in next Session. He therefore urged the Lord Advocate to suspend proceeding further with the Bill till Monday.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): Certainly; I only wish to go into Committee *pro formâ*.

LORD ELCHO said, he thought power should be given to the Commissioners so that fisheries should be encouraged both in the sea and inland rivers. In particular, he suggested that they should have power to recommend to the Treasury a further grant in aid to harbours. He hoped something of that kind would be done, at any rate where persons interested in those harbours had themselves come forward and asked for a grant in aid from the Treasury.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Short title) *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

INDIA (HOME CHARGES ARREARS) BILL.—[BILL 272.]

(*Mr. Courtney, The Marquess of Hartington.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Courtney.*)

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR protested against the Bill being proceeded with then. It dealt with old arrears spread over a number of years prior to 1878, a settlement of which was agreed to in 1879, so that the Government in power since then had allowed the passing of an Act to legalize the transaction to remain outstanding since 1878; and he contended that some time should be given for the House to acquaint itself with the details.

MR. COURTNEY observed, that the present Government could be only responsible for two years of the delay.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (CORNWALL) BILL.

(*Mr. Pendarves Vivian, Sir John St. Aubyn, Mr. Agar-Robartes, Mr. Borlase.*)

[BILL 95.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. A. P. VIVIAN, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said; I may state that I have presented a Petition from the county of Cornwall in support of this Bill, signed by about 100,000 of the inhabitants; and considering that the whole population is about 320,000, and that the Petition is signed only by persons over 16 years of age, it represents a very large majority of the adult population. Among those who signed the Petition, the working classes, whom the Bill will affect more than any other, were largely represented; and in proof of the feeling of the working classes on this subject, I may mention that of 549 workmen engaged at a large foundry and engine works at Hayle 477 signed in favour of the Bill; 44 expressed themselves against it, and 28 were neutral; so that, putting these figures into percentage, we have 87 per cent in favour of the Bill, 8 per cent against it, and 5 per cent neutral. These are the men employed in one of the largest manufacturing establishments in Cornwall. Without doubt, this matter has been taken up by every class throughout the county, without distinction of politics or religion. We have at the head of our Association the Lord Lieutenant of the County (the Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe), who at first did not feel inclined to take up that position; but who, having convinced himself that the Bill was desired by the large majority of the population, took the lead in the movement. Besides the Lord Lieutenant, we have the Bishop of the diocese (the Bishop of Truro), and a large number of the clergy and ministers of all denominations throughout the county. The mayors of the different boroughs are all in favour of the Bill except one; and of the 13 Members of Parliament, 11 are certainly in favour of it—nine on this side and two on the other side of the House; and the views of the other two I am ignorant of. These facts, I think, should convince the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton), who last night challenged the idea that the movement had been taken up by the majority of the people throughout the country. When 11 out of the 13 borough and county Members are in favour of the Bill, that, I think, should be sufficient proof that the whole county is practically in favour of it. In Cornwall we are wonderfully situated geographically for the application of this measure. We have the sea on three sides, and the fourth side is bounded to a large extent by a large river. Besides that, we have no very large towns—the largest do not contain 15,000 inhabitants; and in moving the second reading I do so most conscientiously, in the full persuasion that the Bill is desired by the very large proportion of the people. I am convinced the large majority of the classes concerned is in favour of it. They simply ask for the same measure as has been given to Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. They ask for this Bill because they feel that Sunday closing will be a benefit to themselves, their families, and to the whole county.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. A. P. Vivian.*)

Mr. WARTON, in opposing the Bill, said, the hon. Member who had just spoken had not thought it worth while to occupy their attention for more than four minutes, and he only used one argument. The hon. Member pressed forward the Bill on the sole ground that the opinion of the people of Cornwall was in its favour; but what did it really mean? They all knew how Petitions were got up, and he did not put much faith even in the opinion of the converted Lord Lieutenant. It was very easy to go with the stream, and the principle of the Liberal Government was expediency, who did evil that good might come. The opinion of the people of Cornwall on this question was really of no concern, and, no doubt, the Petitions were got up at the various Dissenting chapels in a manner similar to that which took place in Wales last year. Hon. Members all knew what a flock of sheep would do if one of them went through a hole in the hedge, and that appeared to be the course adopted by the supporters of this Bill. They followed each other like a flock of sheep, and cowardly surrendered the principles of personal freedom and responsibility. He did not care for the majority of the people of Cornwall. He objected to departmental, county, or parish legislation. With regard to the provisions of this Bill, he did not think it dealt with the subject in the right way. The Preamble said—"It is expedient and the county of Cornwall desires." He never heard of so sentimental a Preamble, which implied that there were many things expedient, but not desirable. It was argued that because the public-houses were now closed on Sundays during certain hours it was desirable to extend the shutting up of the public-houses to the other hours of the Sunday. To say that because partial closing on Sundays had had good results, therefore it would be beneficial to close public-houses throughout Sunday was as absurd as saying that a man who found he had been eating too much would do well to abstain altogether from eating. There was another curious little point in the drafting of this Bill which he would mention. The Licensing Acts of 1872-4 were alluded to as though there had been a Licensing Act of 1873. Would anyone who wrote or spoke English naturally—which he supposed they did not in Cornwall—approve of this clumsy, stupid mode of wording the Preamble of an Act of Parliament? He did not think the Attorney General even, who would accept almost anything, would accept these words in an Act of Parliament. The great Lord Coke—the soundest lawyer, perhaps, this country ever had—had said the proper course where there was an evil to be dealt with was to define the evil and then to consider the remedy. In this case there was a remedy, but there was no evil. Was Cornwall a place distinguished for drunkenness? It was just the opposite. Looking at the Returns, he found that out of the whole population of Cornwall the proportion of convictions for drunkenness on Sunday was one out of every 100,000 on 10 Sundays. Would any man, except a fanatical teetotaller, say there was any argument for closing the public-houses entirely on Sundays in Cornwall? The chances were 999,999 to one against a Cornishman being arrested on Sunday for drunkenness, and this Bill was directed against the one. If the men who introduced such legislation cared twopence about facts and figures, they would take account of that. Assuming that all the Petitions which were spoken of were genuine, this Bill was merely a gross instance of the tyranny of democracy, the tyranny of people who, because they could not understand their fellow-men, determined to compel them to conform to their ideas. The 200,000 Petitioners were to trample on the remaining population because they, in their superior wisdom, thought it desirable their neighbours should not exercise the rights they possessed. Why should the minority of the population of Cornwall be trampled on because they happened to live among such superior and virtuous persons? He had had numerous letters from working men in Cornwall, thanking him for the efforts he had made to prevent this Bill becoming law. He knew, too, the pressure that had been used. Even in his position persons of superior social rank had, in a most unjustifiable manner, brought influences to bear on him upon this question. Of real temperance he was as much in favour as anybody; but this was not a question of moderation. The case of Ireland was no argument in favour of the Bill, for though the figures showed there had been a great diminution in drunkenness since the Sunday Closing Act, an analysis of the figures showed that the result was in no way owing to the Act, for the diminution was 27 per cent in the five largest towns to which the Act did not apply; whereas, where the Bill was in force, the decrease was only 14 per cent. And in Galway and Carrickfergus, when the Act was in operation, there had been a positive increase of drunkenness. Increased temperance did not result from such Bills as this; it resulted from the social and moral elevation of the people. Allowing the importance of Saturday Sittings for the furtherance of Public Business in extreme cases, he protested against hon. Members who had charge of Bills which interfered with the general comforts of the people taking advantage of those Sittings, when appointed for the consideration of Bills of a special character, with the view of taking Parliament by surprise, and getting it to give a second reading to their own measures. There had been a pledge given by Her Majesty's Government a week ago that such an abuse of Saturdays' Sittings would not be allowed, and he hoped that that pledge would be adhered to.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: If anything was wanting to commend this Bill to the House, it would be the character of the opposition, for a more wanton and unjustifiable waste of time I have never——

MR. ONSLOW: I rise to Order. I wish to know whether it is competent for the Home Secretary to accuse an hon. Member of having wantonly and unjustifiably wasted the time of the House in opposing this Bill?

MR. SPEAKER: The right hon. and learned Gentleman says that the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) has wantonly and unjustifiably wasted the time of the House. The right hon. and learned Gentleman is responsible for these expressions. I am bound to say I do not see they are out of Order.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I say that a more wanton and unjustifiable waste of time I have never before known in the House of Commons.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said: This second example of the character of the opposition makes it perfectly clear that my previous expressions need no qualification. The hon. and learned Member for Bridport says he does not care for the opinions of the people of Cornwall. I cannot approach the subject from that point of view. In these matters, as in others, the House is bound to consider the opinions of the people affected by measures passed in the House. But the hon. and learned Member himself is not always so indifferent to the opinions of the people of Cornwall. The hon. and learned Member denounces very much those people who float with the stream, and says the friends of temperance pursue their propositions without regard to the consequences. Now, it is a very remarkable circumstance that the hon. and learned Member, who blocks every Bill, has blocked this Bill during the Session. But there came a county election in Cornwall, and it was considered, even by persons who have expressed objection to this Bill, that it would not be convenient that a block to it should appear in the name of a Conservative Member during the course of the Cornwall Election, and the consequence was that the block in the name of the hon. and learned Member disappeared from the Bill, but re-appeared in the name of an hon. Member from Ireland (Mr. Callan), who has just attempted to count out the House. This is the history of the character of the opposition to this Bill, and of the manner in which the feelings of the people of Cornwall are dealt with by those who call themselves independent people. It is well that the high tone of virtue which has been taken up by certain hon. Gentlemen should be properly understood. So much for the protestations of the hon. and learned Member's extraordinary virtue in dealing with measures of this character. The reasons why I, on the part of the Government, shall support the second reading of this Bill, are the same reasons which actuated the Government in reference to the Irish Sunday Bill and the Welsh Sunday Closing Bill. No doubt, there are certain classes of questions which ought to be dealt with on the same footing for the whole of the community, and ought to be dealt with upon general principles as affecting the community at large. But there are particular classes of questions which are rather of local than of general application. I have always been of opinion that the question of dealing with public-houses is essentially a local one, and that it ought to be governed by the opinions of those in the locality. The House acted upon that principle with regard to the Irish and Welsh Sunday Closing Bills. I have not spoken of Scotland, because it is now a comparatively long time since the Scotch Sunday Closing Bill was passed. In such matters as these, the only question is, what is to be the extent of the area to which the principle is to be applied? When we have a whole county absolutely unanimous on the subject—I have received a deputation headed by Lord Mount-Edgecumbe, and representing persons of all politics, of all parties, and of all occupations, practically unanimously demanding this measure—all we have to do is to inquire what reason there is for it. Certainly the reason why the Bill should not be passed is not indicated by the hon. and learned Member for Bridport. I listened attentively to the speech of the hon. and learned Member, but I was unable to find what it was all about; it seemed to be in reference to the block rather than to the question raised by the Bill. I have heard no arguments against the Bill. The House in two Parliaments has, with the consent of the great majority of both Parties, practically concluded that these are local questions, to be dealt with according to the sentiments of the community affected by them. That principle having, therefore, in my opinion, been wisely and firmly established, the only question we have to ask is—"Is there an overwhelming sentiment in this particular community in favour of the measure?" Of that there cannot be the smallest doubt. I do not believe you can find a dozen men in Cornwall who will say a word against this Bill. I am extremely anxious to see the hon. and learned Member for Bridport going to Cornwall and addressing the people in the sense in which he has spoken here—namely, that he was totally indifferent to the sentiments of the Cornish people. It seems to me the House has only to act upon the principle upon which it has acted in two successive Parliaments; and, therefore, I shall, on the part of the Government, cordially support the second reading of the Bill.

Lord ELCHO: The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary has spoken of the high line of virtue adopted by the hon. and learned Member for Bridport; but I know of no one so great a master of high-sounding virtue when it suits his purpose. [Mr. Callan: It is all sham.] The question of regulating public-houses is a question of the majority interfering with the minority—that is to say, the majority who cannot control their own appetites coming to Parliament for legislation to enable them to do so, and to prevent those who are able to control their appetites from getting a glass of beer when they want it. On that point the Home Secretary once made a speech in a very different tone from that which he has now made. I remember the time when the right hon. and learned Gentleman was a candidate for Oxford, and when he denounced, in words as eloquent and full of high-sounding virtue, any interference with the right of the people to get a glass of beer if they did not abuse that right, and he made use of the favourite expression—"What is this legislation? Call it by its right name; it is not paternal, it is worse than paternal, it is grandmotherly legislation."

Now, for my part, I am in favour of the people managing their own affairs, and I am opposed to this kind of legislation. I am not a Liberal, and why? Because I am in favour of liberty; and the whole tendency of this spurious thing which is called Liberalism at the present day is to encourage persons, who can put on the screw, to come here and ask for legislation—now for Ireland, now for Wales, now for Cornwall—and to put the screw on to obtain it. I detest drunkenness as much as my right hon. and learned Friend; but what I maintain is this—that the suppression of drunkenness ought not to be brought about by Local Option Acts of Parliament, but by elevating the people, so that they should look upon drunkenness with horror. It is the police and my right hon. and learned Friend who ought to deal with this question. If a man is drunk in the streets, take him up, and take him before a magistrate for punishment; that is the way to deal with him, and not in the way that is proposed now by this Bill. Although you uphold the principle of this Bill, yet you are not prepared to bring in a general Sunday Closing Bill for England. You know you dare not do it, because you cannot except the Metropolis; and, that being so, it shows the worthlessness of your principles—it shows the principle by which you are guided in your legislation—namely, that you legislate where you think there is no fear of danger, and where you think there is danger you leave it alone. Here in London there would be such a row if you were to attempt to close the whole of the public-houses on Sunday that you dare not do it. Why is that? Because a large number of the people of London feel that they are not all drunken, that they have a right, if they choose, even on a Sunday, to get a glass of beer; but here in Cornwall you are going to allow a majority to tyrannize over the minority. The Bishop of Peterborough is, I suppose, as moral a man as the right hon. and learned Gentleman. It is a bold assumption, after my right hon. and learned Friend's high moral tone to-day; but I still maintain that the Bishop of Peterborough is personally as highly a moral man as my right hon. and learned Friend. What does the Bishop of Peterborough say upon this question? He says he would rather see England drunken and free, than sober and enslaved. That is a sentiment that I heartily endorse; and if we do not take care, in consequence of this sort of legislation, what the Bishop of Peterborough calls the "odd man"—the crotcheteer who, if a temperance reformer, thinks nobody can be happy except by drinking water, and if a vegetarian, that nobody can be healthy unless they eat nothing but vegetables—we shall find ourselves bound hand and foot in the manacles of the State—slaves to the crotcheteers. I was not aware that this Bill was to come on; but I have been so touched by the speech of my right hon. and learned Friend opposite, that I cannot sit still, because it gives me an opportunity to present the counter-view, which I believe to be the sound one. We owe this Bill to the Saturday Sittings, on which occasions you have a lot of rickety bantlings, with legislative syphilis running through their bones, brought forward and hurried through Parliament on these Saturdays. I see my hon. Friend opposite who is the high priest of Local Option (Sir Wilfrid Lawson). The same principle runs through all this kind of legislation—that of the tyranny of the majority over the minority. That is the whole principle. It is to Caucusize the majority, and tyrannize over the country. Those who have water on the brain will not allow anyone to have any kind of beer. I think when you are dealing with this question of Cornwall Option you should recollect that the real question of Local Option has not been able to be discussed this year. It was expected to come on, and a deputation waited upon me and others; but I told them that I was a dreadful heretic and loved liquor.

Mr. SPEAKER: I must remind the noble Lord that he must address himself to the Question before the House.

Lord ELCHO: With all due deference to you, Sir, I was doing so. It has just been admitted that Local Option runs all through this; and I maintain that if the principle of Local Option is in the Bill, I am justified in pointing out what it means, and that it means much more than it professes, because, as I said to one of these gentlemen who waited upon me, what you wish to do is to knock in the end of every barrel of beer in the country. "Yes," said one of them in his zeal, "that is exactly what we mean; we want to run it away." I said—"Thank you; that will be heard in the House of Commons." Then I said—"You speak as if all the working men in England are drunkards." "Well, the majority of them are," these gentlemen said. We see what libels upon the working people of England these enthusiasts perpetrate. It is because I do not believe the working men of England, or anything like the majority of them, are drunkards, that I oppose this Bill, and protest against the majority being allowed to tyrannize over the minority, and I shall certainly divide the House against the Bill.

Mr. ONSLOW: I protest, Sir, against Saturdays being used for the legislation of the crotchet-mongers. When the Irish Sunday Closing Bill was brought in—that was a Bill brought in by a private Member—I asked, as a Question of Order, whether there was a precedent for such a Bill being considered on a Saturday; and you, Sir, told me you thought there was not such a precedent. The practice, however, has crept in of Private Bills being set down for Saturdays, when constituencies expect their Members to be elsewhere and not in the House. With regard to this particular Bill, it is most remarkable, considering that it is such a burning question in Cornwall, that during the whole discussion there have only been two Cornish Members in the House, and from that fact I think I am justified in saying that the Cornish Members do not care two straws for this Bill. ["No, no!"] That is my opinion; and I am justified in saying the Cornish Members do not care two straws for it, or else how is it that my hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Vivian), who says "No," and who has been very patient in putting the Bill down day after day, cannot prevail upon his Friends to stop during the discussion? During the last Election, it was one of the catch-words at every polling-booth. [*Cheers.*] I know that, and I understand those cheers. I say it was a catch-word. "Will you, or will you not, go in and support this Bill?" And what is the result? When this Bill comes down to the House for second reading, there are only two Cornish Members present; and I say I am justified in appealing to any man of common sense, whether it is not the case that there is not such a love for this Bill, even among Cornish Members, as the hon. Member seems to think? I am one of those who believe that the Sunday Closing Bill has done no good in Ireland in the way of preventing drunkenness. I think there are some persons present who will remember what the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Daly) said upon this Sunday Closing Question. He is a man of very great authority upon every question affecting Ireland, and he asserted here in his place that that Sunday Closing Bill for Ireland had done no good whatever in Ireland. Unfortunately we know that in Scotland the Sunday Closing Bill has not diminished drunkenness there; we know that Scotland is a more drunken place than any other portion of Her Majesty's Dominions; therefore I say this question is purely and entirely a sentimental grievance. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary says—"Go to Cornwall and speak to any decent man on this question." I know Cornwall very well, and have spoken to gentlemen there, and I hope they are decent men—I hope all Cornishmen are decent—but I know that many of the lower classes have been forced by some influence to sign Petitions. [*Dissent.*] An hon. Member shakes his head; but I know they have been forced by some ulterior influence into signing the Petitions that have been presented to this House. I know many magistrates and land proprietors in Cornwall; and I know, as a fact, that in Cornwall it has got to this—that it has become wholly a political question. I do not say that a Conservative would have much chance in Cornwall unless he supported this Bill; but that fact and the Petitions presented from the county are no criterion of the feelings of the people. The hon. Member may say the opposition I give to this sort of legislation is on behalf of the publicans. [Lord Elcho: Why not?] This is no publicans' question at all, but entirely a question of the liberty of the subject; and whether a publican is a good man or not, I shall always oppose this sort of legislation, because I believe it is against the freedom and the liberty of the people. To show this is purely a sentimental grievance, I have in my hand here the Return of the arrests for drunkenness on Sunday, a Return I moved for myself. I am quoting from the Return of the two years from September, 1879, to September, 1881. The population of Cornwall was asserted to be 286,211, and out of that number there had only been 14 cases in the two years arrested on the Sunday for drunkenness, being an average on the year of one in 40,000. That being the case, it is ridiculous to have this twaddling kind of legislation in order to come down upon one man in 40,000. The hon. Gentleman should appreciate the feelings of the working man as much as he appreciates his own on the Sunday. Is it not absurd to stop the working man obtaining a glass of beer because one in 40,000 in the whole of Cornwall happens to be arrested on the Sunday? Altogether in the two years for which I have the Returns, there were 32 arrests for drunkenness in the whole of Cornwall; but of that number there were only 14 *bonâ fide* residents. In Falmouth, with a population of 4,873, only four *bonâ fide* residents were arrested on the Sunday for drunkenness; at Helston, Launceston, Penryn, and Penzance, none were arrested; and in the City of Truro, with a population of 11,049, only four *bonâ fide* residents were arrested on the Sunday. It is absurd to ask us to waste our time on a Saturday in order to pass these mischievous Bills. I do not wish to say one word against those gentlemen, and those people who are trying to correct the progress of drunkenness. I think many of them are fanatics, and that they are going a great deal too far; but I am not at all sure that this liquor which is now sold in the Coffee Palaces will not do the working classes far more harm than the glass of beer sold in the public-house. The stuff that is sold in these Coffee Palaces is really dreadful. There is sold as non-alcoholic beverages stuff that is called champagne brandy, and some stuff called horehound beer; and I maintain that those people who drink that will feel the effects of that horrid stuff now being sold in all your non-alcoholic establishments much more than if they went into a public-house and had a glass of beer. If there is really anything in this question you should take up the Liquor Question as a whole; if there is really a strong feeling outside upon this question, then I say it is certainly a matter for the Government of the day to attack, and do not by this sentimental legislation—legislation which will not meet the requirements of the case—attempt by driblets to interfere, as you are doing, with the freedom of the subject. If there were any riots in Cornwall on the Sunday through drink, if there were any bad habits amongst the working classes from drinking on the Sunday, I think there might be something to be said for the Bill; but we have no proof—no statistics—that drinking on Sunday has done any harm whatever. Were it the contrary, I think there would be a great deal to be considered; but I do hope we have not come yet to such a pass that we are to pass legislation on a Saturday simply because a majority will try, and are trying, to override the opinions of the minority.

MR. CALLAN: I am sorry that the Home Secretary should—by delivering himself of one of his impassioned phillipics, in a style for which he was remarkable at the Bar, a put-on kind of indignation—have the advantage, at this time of the evening, of keeping you here, Sir, through the dulness of a Saturday Sunday closing meeting. I only wish to refer to one observation of the Home Secretary. When he said, with that expansive manner of his—"We are bound to consider the opinions of the people"—meaning the opinions of the people of Cornwall—it is a pity that he had not held the same opinion this year when he introduced a coercive measure affecting the interests of the people of Ireland. And what did the present Home Secretary state in March, 1873, when a Bill vitally affecting Ireland was introduced? What were the principles by which he was actuated then? He said—

> "For himself, he had never adopted the idea of governing Ireland according to Irish ideas. He had always regarded Ireland as a part of Her Majesty's Dominions—as an integral fraction of a united Empire—and, if that be so, Ireland, like all other parts of the Dominions of the Queen, must be governed, not according to Irish, but according to Imperial ideas."—[3 *Hansard*, ccxiv. 1618.]

But here to-day he jumps Jim Crow with all the agility and grace of an acrobat, and says "we must be governed by the people of Cornwall." Now, Sir, this being Saturday, and not wishing to waste any sweetness on the desert air, and seeing that there are not more than half a quorum present, I have to direct your attention to the fact that there are not 40 Members present.

House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. ROUND: I only wish to say that I am very anxious this Bill should pass the second reading; and I believe that many Members on these Benches will vote for the Bill. I know many Members who are not here who are in favour of the Bill; and I trust that my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) will be satisfied with the protest he has made, and will not put the House to the trouble of a division. The hon. Member for St. Ives (Mr. C. C. Ross), although not present, I know, is very anxious for this Bill to pass. In my own constituency the movement has been taken up by the clergy, Nonconformist ministers, and in many rural parishes by the inhabitants generally, who are desirous that a similar measure for England should become law.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK: I think, Sir, that the procedure of the Government in the matter of this Bill is unjustifiable; and, as an old Member of Parliament, I never remember a printed Bill being taken with the sanction of the Government at a Saturday Sitting. ["Oh, oh!"] This proceeding was settled at an early hour this morning between the hon. Member (Mr. Vivian) and the Government; but without Notice being given. The Home Secretary decided to take this Bill——

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The right hon. and learned Member is not correct in his statement. The House itself decided to take the Bill to-day.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK: Yes; but what did the Government do in the matter? Were there not some negotiations, some political considerations, to be disposed of in deciding that the Bill should be brought on or not? The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary, in his speech just now, goes and makes an attack on my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton); but my hon. and learned Friend is at least an honest politician. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Members opposite may laugh; but I believe that if the House were asked to vote by ballot as to who was the most honest politician, my hon. and learned Friend or the right hon. and learned Gentleman, my hon. and learned Friend would gain the ballot. The right hon. and learned Gentleman not only attacked my hon. and learned Friend, but he went still further, and assailed the Conservative Party. Such tactics will tell both ways, and if they will get votes in some quarters, it is a very reckless way of getting them. My own experience of elections is by no means small; and I know it is easy, in a hocus-pocus sort of way, to get the votes of the temperance section of the community—the Blue Ribbon Army, the Good Templars, or the Salvation Army. But how was it done? Why, hon. Members opposite, in order to secure the votes of the numerous people in the temperance ranks, say on the hustings—"I will vote for the second reading of the Permissive Bill of the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle" (Sir Wilfrid Lawson); but we all know that if that Bill is not altered in Committee to such an extent that its own parent is unable to recognize it at all, very few hon. Members would allow it to take its third reading. What was the attitude of the Government on this subject? The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary, not long ago, came down to Cumberland to make a big speech—in fact, he was "starring the Provinces" in the interest of the hon. Member for Carlisle; but it is absurd to suppose the right hon. and learned Gentleman is in accordance with the hon. Baronet. The fact is, there is not much agreement between the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle and the Home Secretary upon general politics; but the whole object of their efforts is to turn out a Conservative. ["Question!"]

MR. SPEAKER: I must remind the right hon. and learned Gentleman that he is wandering from the subject before the House.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK: I bow to your decision, Sir; but I was endeavouring to answer an argument used by the Home Secretary. This Sunday Closing Question is part of a great effort to stop the sale of intoxicating liquors on all occasions, and this Bill is the thin end of the wedge to prepare the way for something else. I altogether dissent from legislation such as this; and I object to this House passing measures to please a particular section of the community at the expense of other classes, and if they are to be heard on this one matter why should they not claim to be heard on other questions? The Bill is supported by a most dangerous doctrine. In my opinion, so important a question as this ought only to be decided in a full House, and not at the tail end of the Session, on a Saturday and on the 12th of August. If this Bill is read a second time—as I suppose it will be—I protest against it, for it will not be the opinion of the House of Commons, but of a clique who have been got together to-day for a particular purpose.

MR. DALY: I must, Mr. Speaker, enter my protest against this kind of piecemeal legislation. It has been said, and it remains uncontradicted, that the doctrine of Sunday closing could not prevail throughout the country; and I am one of those who think that in a question of this kind the main principle ought to be first settled and recognized by the country at large before it is acted upon. I do not see for instance why because the minority in London is large that it ought to be considered any more than the minority in Cornwall, where it is small numerically. We are now, Sir, arriving at a period when you will close the public-houses in various parts of the country for the entire Sunday; but let me call the attention of hon. Members opposite to what will happen in that event. The people will be deprived of the opportunity of obtaining reasonable refreshment on Sunday, and it will press with great hardship on those who are engaged from early morning until late at night six days in the week, and whose only healthy recreation is to walk in the country on the Sunday. With regard to the signatures to the Petition mentioned by the hon. Member (Mr. Vivian), we all know how signatures to Petitions are obtained, and how they are doubled, trebled, and quadrupled. I do not believe in the goody-goody people who subscribe their names to a Petition of this kind. I consider that Petitions affecting questions of personal liberty should be signed by those persons whose liberties are concerned, and the signatures of gentlemen who never have entered a public-house in their lives ought to have no value in a matter of this sort. I suppose the Bill will be read a second time; but I call the attention of the House to this fact—that by so doing you are recognizing, in a very broad and clear way, a principle which you deny in other cases. If you accept the majority principle to overrule the minority in this personal matter, why does this House deny the same principle to my countrymen on the question of Home Rule, when they can send to Parliament Petitions signed by more than 90 per cent of the whole population of Ireland in its favour? A question of individual liberty, I maintain, ought to be based upon a broad and sound platform; and it is not fair of the Government to give their consent to what is a species of Local Option, a principle which has never been accepted by the Government as one of their measures. I know that the Government has been afraid to meddle with the question of Local Option as a general measure; and I ask whether it is fair or dignified to support a partial measure which deals with the subject by a side wind, and which is introduced on a day when very few Members are present in the House? I believe the victory about to be secured by hon. Gentlemen opposite will be a fruitless one, because it will be unfairly won. It may be said that I, as an Irish Member, have no right to interfere in this matter. I should not do so if it were not a question involving a sacrifice of principle. I sincerely desire that personal liberty shall be respected in all cases where it does not interfere with the liberty of anyone else. Interference with personal liberty is a very wrong principle, and the Sabbatarians are driving this question to extremes. ["Divide, divide!"] Interruptions of that sort will not put me down, but will induce me to prolong my observations. With regard to this question, I say it is a preventive measure which very nearly approaches tyranny. The closing of public-houses on Sundays in the instances where it has been effected has inflicted an injury and hardship on people who were in the habit of using them reasonably. The Government support this Bill, while, at the same time, they abstain from adopting the general principle on which it is based, and they have always hesitated and are afraid to go for Local Option. They are, by a side wind, touching the fringe of a large question, which they are afraid to deal with. I, as an Irish Member, enter my protest against this tyrannical measure, aimed against those who used the public-houses in a reasonable manner on the Sunday—a measure promoted by fanatics and busybodies, who have taken an unfair opportunity to press it forward with the support of the Government.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 41; Noes 8: Majority 33.—(Div. List, No. 332.)

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

CRUELTY TO ANIMALS BILL.

(*Mr. Anderson, Mr. Samuel Morley, Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. Passmore Edwards, Mr. Buchanan.*)

[BILL 206.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. ANDERSON, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, he would not detain the House for more than a few minutes. The Bill was short, and only contained two provisions. The first of these was to include wild animals in captivity under the Cruelty to Animals Act; and the other was to treat the shooting of pigeons and other birds that were wild birds in confinement under the same category as bear-baiting, or badger-baiting, or any of those sports that had been put down by Act of Parliament. He had the support, he believed, of most of the genuine sportsmen in the House—such men, for instance, as the hon. Baronet the Member for the North Riding (Sir Frederick Milbank) and many others he could name who were regular and genuine sportsmen. They entirely approved of this Bill. But there were sportsmen and sportsmen. There were some sportsmen who were genuine and some who were bogus, and the latter, of whom there were some examples in the House, were ready to endorse any iniquity that came to them under the guise of the word "sport." With this particular sport there were special iniquities connected. Some things were done that made one's blood boil even to speak of them. Poor helpless birds that were in captivity, and unable to help themselves, were put into boxes to be shot at, and the man who did it might gouge out one of the eyes of the birds to make them fly in a certain direction, and he might take the upper mandible of the bill and bend it down to affect the flight of the bird. Some of these poor birds would not rise when the string of the box was drawn, and in order to make them rise a pin was stuck into their rump, so that they could no longer sit, in order to make them take flight. Sometimes the tail was wrenched out, and all such enormities of that kind were——

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at Five o'clock till Monday next

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 14th August, 1882.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Corrupt Practices (Suspension of Elections) * (251); Passenger Vessels Licences (Scotland)* (252); Expiring Laws Continuance* (253); Public Works Loans* (254); Royal Irish Constabulary * (255).

Second Reading—Turnpike Roads (South Wales)* (226); Allotments (248).

Committee—Report— Reserve Forces Acts Consolidation* (224); Militia Acts Consolidation* (225); Artizans' Dwellings* (231); Merchant Shipping (Mercantile Marine Fund)* (241); Government Annuities and Insurance* (243).

Committee — Report — Third Reading — County Courts (Advocates' Costs), *now* County Courts (Costs and Salaries) * (240), and *passed.*

Report—Parcel Post* (223-249).

Third Reading—Municipal Corporations* (214); Bombay Civil Fund* (222); Wellesley Bridge (Limerick)* (228); Isle of Man (Officers)* (227); Educational Endowments (Scotland)* (239); Poor Law Amendment* (221); Pensions Commutation* (230), and *passed.*

ALLOTMENTS BILL.—(No. 248.)

(*The Lord Carrington.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD CARRINGTON, in moving that the Bill be now read the second time, said, he was under the impression, until he had come into the House that afternoon, that the measure had the approval of the Charity Commissioners. He found, however, that several points were objected to by them, and to meet these objections when the Bill went into Committee to-morrow—if the second reading were agreed to—he should propose a series of Amendments. He trusted the Bill would be passed in some form that would be agreeable to the promoters, who were very much in earnest. The object of the measure was to enable trustees of charity lands to let it out to the poor of the parishes in which such lands were situated. It would be found to work very satisfactorily if passed into law, and he therefore hoped that their Lordships would allow the second reading to be taken.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Carrington.*)

LORD COLCHESTER said, he thought it was to be regretted that their Lordships should be called upon to proceed with a Bill of that kind at so late a period of the Session. It was a Bill of a somewhat exceptional character, containing many provisions inviting the most careful and deliberate scrutiny. It would be of some value; but the method by which it was to carry out its object was a novel one; and it seemed to him that it would have been a much wiser course to have brought it in at the beginning rather than at the very end of a Session. It had not been a Government measure in the other House, but had been brought forward by a private Member; and it had, owing to the pressure of other Business, passed through the other House of Parliament unnoticed, and with very little criticism; and it was now laid before their Lordships' House at a time when its full discussion was almost impossible, for it could not, in the absence of so many Members of their Lordships' House, be properly considered, and therefore he hoped it would not be pressed forward that Session. The Charity Commission, of which he had the honour to be a Member, objected to the Bill in its present shape, and desired to see it considerably amended, for they had been led, by their experience as to the management of charity property, to see the most serious objections to the Bill—objections which were laid before the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and since then before the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack. It involved a novel and unprecedented principle as to the duties of trustees of charitable endowments, requiring them, instead of dealing with their properties—properties not originally intended to be converted into allotments—as a prudent owner would deal with his own, in the interests of the funds of the charity, to manage them with a view to confer an indirect benefit of a kind different from that contemplated, and, as he hoped to show, on a class of persons other than the persons intended to be benefited. In the Preamble of the Bill was a statement of an incorrect character, which formed the foundation of a large part of the Bill. By the 4th section of the Act the trustees appeared to be debarred from letting their lands for a term of years. They were compelled to be ready at any time to obtain possession, in order to assign land for allotments. It was, indeed, provided by Clause 13 that allotments were to be let at the usual rent of land in the same parish. But the allotments might be only part of a farm. The remainder of the farm might be greatly injured in value by the taking off of a portion for allotments, and the trustees could not even attempt to compensate themselves by letting it for the term of years for which the highest rent was attainable. But it might be said the poor, for whom the charity was intended, would gain more than they lost. It must be borne in mind that the poor of the parish where the lands were situated were not necessarily the poor of the parish to which the endowment belonged. Clause 4, in its curious wording, seemed to be intended to guard the rights of the proper beneficiary. But the lands might be in a distant county. The parish intended to benefit might be in the heart of London, the lands 100 miles away from the people originally intended to be benefited. Again, a charity might be for the aged and infirm who did not benefit by the allotments. The 11th and other clauses undoubtedly gave to the Charity Commissioners powers of protecting trustees in doing what they might think necessary for the pecuniary interest of the endowment; but, by so proceeding, they called on the Commission to exercise powers which might constantly make them appear as opposing the intention of Parliament and depriving the labouring classes of the advantage intended for them by Parliamentary legislation, a position eminently mischievous and calculated to interfere with the useful discharge of their functions.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, that he was bound to endeavour to mediate between the opposing views of noble Lords on this question—those who were and those who were not interested in the Bill. There was, no doubt, a desire on the part of all parties to promote the best and most proper use of the lands dealt with by the Bill, and there could be no difference of opinion as to the desirability of permitting allotments of this description to be granted, if they were granted in a proper manner. The object of the Bill was to enable persons to hold allotments of land given for the benefit of the poor and vested in trustees; and it was with the view of promoting that object that the Representatives of the Government in the House of Commons had facilitated the passing of the measure of a private Member. While thinking the Bill would prove serviceable if passed into law, he felt that there was much truth in what the noble Lord who last spoke (Lord Colchester) had said, and that the Bill would require considerable amendment. If it were not easy to meet the views of the Charity Commissioners, it would be difficult to pass the Bill; but he should be glad to do so, and the attempt to satisfy them should be made, and he did not despair of success. The framers of the Bill had thought that land fit for the purposes of the Bill might be held in trust for others than the poor people of the parish in which the lands were situated. So far as that could be done without substantial loss to the income of the charity, he saw no objection to the proposal; otherwise it would be open to an objection, which might be met by an Amendment, saying that no part of any land falling within the description contained in the Bill should be separated from the rest, if it materially interfered with the value of the remainder. Then, again, the Bill might be amended so as to preserve all existing leasing powers. With regard to Clause 11, it would be a new mode of legislation first to indicate that certain things should be done, and then to give the Charity Commissioners power to say they were not to be done. The 10th clause proposed a roundabout course of jurisdiction between the Charity Commissioners and the County Courts. He would give the power to either one or the other of these jurisdictions, and by preference to the Charity Commissioners. With the amendment of these and some other matters, so that, if possible, no substantial loss should accrue to any charity, the Bill might be reduced to an acceptable form; and he would, therefore, suggest to the noble Lord that he should allow the Bill to be read a second time, and that it should be amended in detail as might be considered desirable when it got into Committee. He hoped that, with that understanding, the Bill would be allowed to be read a second time.

The Earl of REDESDALE (Chairman of Committees) said, that he thought their Lordships ought not to be expected at that period of the Session to put the Bill into that shape in which it was desirable to pass it. But he entertained a strong objection to the Bill, as it would cause infinite trouble to the trustees of lands situate in distant parts of the country. He objected to it on the further ground that the trouble and expense of working the machinery of the Bill were such as should not be thrown on anyone. He would like to know who would have the duty of looking after these allotments and seeing that they were properly cultivated. The Bill was a very ill-considered one, and badly drafted, and there would be no time to consider the Amendments suggested by the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack. The principle of the Bill was wrong, and he should oppose the second reading. It was a bad measure, and should not be allowed to pass a second reading—certainly not at that late period of the Session.

Lord CARLINGFORD (Lord Privy Seal) suggested that their Lordships should wait until they saw the proposed Amendments on the Bill, which were already prepared, and would be on the Paper to-morrow morning, before they decided to reject the measure.

On Question? Their Lordships *divided:*—Contents 13; Not-Contents 7: Majority 6.

Resolved in the *affirmative.*

Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House *To-morrow.*

PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC BUSINESS—THE AUTUMN SITTING.

MOTION.

Moved, "That this House adjourn during pleasure."—(*The Lord Privy Seal.*)

The Earl of REDESDALE (Chairman of Committees) said, it was very desirable that their Lordships should have some understanding as to what was to take place with regard to the proposed long Adjournment of the House, and what was to be its effect upon certain Bills. There were a number of Bills which, when before their Lordships, were ordered to be read that day six or three months, and that might bring these measures within the time when the House met again in October, a result that would be somewhat awkward.

Lord CARLINGFORD (Lord Privy Seal) said, that his noble Friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Granville) would be in his place to-morrow, and would make a statement on the subject of the Adjournment of the House.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, that the noble Earl the Chairman of Committees having asked a Question relative to the effect which the Adjournment would have upon Bills postponed for three months, he (the Lord Chancellor) did not, as a matter of fact, believe there had been any within the last two months, and as it was not probable that they would meet again for two months, the question would not arise.

Motion *agreed to;* House *adjourned* accordingly at 5.15 P.M.

11.30 P.M. House resumed by the Lord Monson.

After an interval,

House adjourned at Twelve o'clock,
till To-morrow, a quarter
past Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 14*th August,* 1882.

MINUTES.]—Select Committee—*Report*—Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms (House of Commons) [No. 399].

East India Revenue Accounts—*considered in Committee.*

Public Bills—*Resolution in Committee*—Fishery Board (Scotland) [Salaries and Expenses].

Ordered—First Reading—Purchase of Railways (Ireland) * [278].

Second Reading—Consolidated Fund (Appropriation).

Committee—Fishery Board (Scotland) [240]—R.P.

Committee—Report—Third Reading—India (Home Charges Arrears) * [272], and *passed.*

Considered as amended—Third Reading—Revenue, Friendly Societies, and National Debt [260]; Merchant Shipping (Colonial Inquiries) [235], and *passed.*

QUESTIONS.

PARLIAMENT—SCOTCH BUSINESS.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR asked the Lord Advocate, To state how many Scotch Bills have been prepared during each of the past three years, and how many have passed through each House of Parliament, the total amount expended in each year, and sums paid to parties for drawing the Bills, and names of the parties so remunerated; and, what money has been spent in remunerating parties for making disgests of Scotch Acts; and, if any, what digests have been made?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour), in reply, said, he was obtaining this information, which would be laid before the House in the form of a Return.

POOR LAW (SCOTLAND) — ALLEGED ILLEGAL REMOVAL OF A PAUPER FROM GLASGOW TO LONDONDERRY.

Mr. DALY asked the Lord Advocate, Whether it is true that, by warrant of date of 8th of July, the Poor Law Authorities of Glasgow transmitted to Cork on 15th July a pauper named John Donnachie; whether it is true that John Donnachie had been resident in Glasgow for fourteen years; whether it is true that, previous to his admission to Glasgow Workhouse Hospital, Donnachir had lived for three years and theee months in Hyde Park Street, Glasgow, and had previously lived for one year and three months in McAlpine Street, and previous to that had lived one year in Forth Street, all three residences being in the same parish; whether it is true that, having spent two weeks in Glasgow Workhouse Hospital for medical treatment, and having claimed his discharge, employment being ready for him, he was detained in the workhouse for three days and brought before a magistrate, was then placed in the workhouse van and sent to the Railway station, placed on board a steamer at Greenock, and forwarded to Londonderry; and, whether the Poor Law Authorities of Glasgow acted legally in transmitting John Donnachie?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): Sir, on inquiry, I find that the Poor Law authorities of the Barony Parish of Glasgow, by warrant, dated 8th July, transmitted to Cork a pauper named John Donnachie. He was removed from Glasgow on 13th July, and arrived at Cork on the 15th. It is substantially true that Donnachie had been resident in Glasgow for 14 years. It is not the case, however, as appears both from the Inspector's report and from a written statement signed by Donnachie himself, that he was resident for more than one year and nine months previous to his chargeability in the same parish —namely, the parish of Barony. M'Alpine Street is not in that parish, but in the City parish. It is true that on 11th July, after the warrant for his removal had been granted, Donnachie intimated his desire to leave the poorhouse rather than be removed to Ireland, and that, notwithstanding, his removal was proceeded with. The parochial authorities do not know whether there was employment ready for him or not. Donnachie had been previously chargeable to the parish in 1881. I am of opinion that if the parochial authorities had reason to believe that Donnachie's proposal to leave the poorhouse was not for the *bonâ fide* purpose of procuring his living by industry, and that he would immediately become chargeable again, they were justified in proceeding with his removal.

NAVY—ARMAMENTS FOR MERCHANT STEAMERS.

SIR EDWARD WATKIN asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, What has been done, or, if nothing, what is intended to be done, with the thirty-six complete armaments prepared by the late First Lord of the Admiralty for merchant steamers, to be used, in case of need, as vessels of war, to defend the ocean routes of British commerce?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, the armaments to which the hon. Member refers are intended to be put on board merchant ships in time of war, and they are available for that purpose if required.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—OLDCASTLE UNION, CO. MEATH—CONSTITUTION OF THE BOARD OF GUARDIANS.

MR. O'DONNELL (for Mr. SHEIL) asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether, in the Union of Oldcastle, in the county of Meath, the population of which is 21,500, of whom ninety-five per cent. are Catholic, out of twenty ex officio guardians, eighteen are Protestant; whether the senior magistrate, who regularly attends, is assisted on the Bench by his three nephews, all of whom are Protestant; and, whether he can hold out the hope that the Irish Executive will make such representations to the Lord Lieutenant of the county of Meath, as may induce him to fill up the three existing vacancies on the Bench by the appointment of Catholic gentlemen?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): Sir, in answer to the first part of the inquiry, I am not able to ascertain the religious persuasions of the Poor Law Guardians of the Oldcastle Union. As to the second, I believe the senior magistrate of the Oldcastle Petty Sessions district is a Protestant. Other local magistrates, one of whom is a nephew of his, and a Resident Magistrate, whom I am informed is a Catholic, also attend the same Petty Sessions. As to the third part, the hon. Member is doubtless aware that the appointment of county magistrates rests, not with Her Majesty's Government, but with the Lord Chancellor.

RAILWAYS—PRINTING FARES ON RAILWAY TICKETS.

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL (for Mr. BUXTON) asked the President of the

Board of Trade, Whether it would not be possible to impose on all Railway Companies regulations such as are already in force on the Metropolitan Railway, as to printing clearly on all Railway tickets the price of the passenger's fare?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, he had no doubt it would be conducive to the convenience of passengers if the fares were, in all cases, printed on the tickets; but he had no power to compel the adoption of such a proceeding by the Railway Companies. The subject had been brought before the Railway Rates and Fares Committee, and various suggestions had been made; but the Committee themselves had not made any recommendations on the subject. All he could say was, that whenever there was legislation with regard to the railways, that was one of the matters which would receive careful consideration; and, whenever it could be done without undue interference with the railways, he should be very glad to see it carried out.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—DUBLIN METROPOLITAN POLICE.

Mr. MACFARLANE (for Mr. Gray) asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether an unusual number of resignations have of late taken place from the Dublin Metropolitan Police; whether he is aware that considerable dissatisfaction exists owing to there being no announcement on the part of the Government of any intention to give to the members of the force additional remuneration, as is proposed in the case of the Constabulary; and, whether it is the intention of the Government to propose any extra grant for the Dublin Metropolitan Police?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson): Sir, the number of resignations recently in the Dublin Metropolitan Police Force has been above the average, and the reason assigned is that the men desire to better their condition by emigrating. I cannot say whether the dissatisfaction alluded to in the second paragraph of the Question exists; but I am aware that the Government is at present considering the question of a special grant to the Force.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—THE SUB-COMMISSIONERS—MR. JOHN GEORGE M'CARTHY.

Mr. WARTON asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether Mr. McCarthy, the present legal Sub-Commissioner for the county of Kerry and the adjoining western part of the county of Cork, was up to the date of his appointment a member of the firm of McCarthy and Hanrahan, solicitors, extensively practising in the county of Kerry; whether he was for many years, and up to the time of his appointment, solicitor to and an active member of a society called "The Cork Land Loan Society," which carried on its operations in the counties of Kerry and Cork, chiefly among the farming classes; and, whether, having regard to the statement of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, to the effect that Mr. McCarthy ought not longer to act as a Sub-Commissioner in West Cork on account of his professional connection with that district, he would not, on the same grounds, cause him to cease to act as Sub-Commissioner for the county of Kerry?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson): Sir, Mr. M'Carthy was formerly a member of the very respectable solicitor's firm of M'Carthy and Hanrahan, whose office was in the city of Cork. I am aware that they carried on their profession in most parts of Ireland, including the county of Kerry. I never heard the society referred to called the Cork Land Loan Society. Its usual appellation, so far as I know, is the Cork Building Society; its operations were not confined to the counties of Cork and Kerry, but its loans were made to anyone who gave satisfactory security. There were about a dozen loans, I understand, in the County Kerry. All of them were mortgages of leasehold interests, and, therefore, did not and could not come within Mr. M'Carthy's judicial cognizance as an Assistant Commissioner. With regard to the final paragraph of the Question, my answer is as follows:—The Land Commissioners inform me that they can only say that in allocating Assistant Commissioners to districts they will carefully consider every circumstance and antecedent of each Assistant

Commissioner, and will make such arrangements as will, in their judgment, be most conducive to the public interests. It is a matter which is entirely in the hands of the Land Commission, and over which the Government have no control.

EGYPT—REFUGEES AT MALTA.

Sir HENRY FLETCHER asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Treasury and the Colonial Office have agreed as to the amount which should be contributed by the Imperial Government towards the cost of maintaining the distressed refugees which were sent from Alexandria to Malta by the Commander-in-Chief, and which have hitherto been supported by charity or by the funds of the Island of Malta?

Mr. COURTNEY: Sir, the amount to be contributed from public funds towards the maintenance of refugees at Malta has not yet been agreed to, as it depends on the actual expenditure, on the number of British subjects, not natives of Malta, and on the amount which may be contributed from charitable sources or otherwise. As all these elements are still undetermined, it is obvious that no definite reply can be given to the Question of the hon. and gallant Member.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—THE ROYAL MARINES.

Sir HENRY FLETCHER asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, As a large number of men of the Royal Marines are now under the command of the General Commanding in Egypt, and are not serving in the Fleet, why a previous custom in the Crimean and China campaigns of appointing a special Brigadier belonging to the Royal Marines has now been departed from?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, I have already, on several occasions, explained that the Marines now attached to the Fleet in Egypt are required to perform services in connection with the Fleet, for which the Navy is responsible. The Marines will not be attached as a brigade to the Army, as was the case in the Crimea and China; and, therefore, in the present instance the services of a brigadier are not required.

The Attorney General for Ireland

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—MR. LAWRENCE DALY.

Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, If he will consider the advisability of ordering the release of Mr. Lawrence Daly, a suspect now detained in Dundalk Gaol, having regard to the fact that he has undergone a long imprisonment which, in addition to causing him loss and injury in other respects, has seriously impaired his health?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson): Sir, His Excellency has been pleased to order Mr. Daly's release.

POST OFFICE—FEMALE CLERKS.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Postmaster General, If it is a fact that young girls, employed in the service of the Post Office as assistants, are required to give from ten to twelve hours' daily duty in the respective offices in which they are engaged, and are also required to discharge the entire of the duties of the office both Postal and Telegraph, being only relieved by their Postmasters during the periods which they are allowed for meals, and also for the short periods they are allowed for recreation, which rarely extends over two hours in any day; this comprising the entire assistance rendered by Postmasters in discharge of routine duties of their office; is it a fact that they have to begin their duties at hours varying from 2 a.m. and have to continue on duty, excepting during the periods referred to, until 8 p.m. or such times after 8 p.m. as they have accounts for the day settled for transmission to the chief office in Dublin; and, does he sanction for females such exceptional hours and duties as these in his Department; and, if not, will he be good enough to take such steps as will prevent its continuance, and give to these assistants the same privileges, or something nearly approaching to them, as awarded to females who hold appointments in the same service?

Mr. FAWCETT: Sir, I am not aware of any female assistants, in the service of the Post Office, working under such conditions as those described by the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar). If any such cases existed, I should think, not only that the particular postmaster in whose service the assistants were was much to blame, but that the Surveyor would be expected to bring such cases under the notice of the Department. If the hon. Member will direct attention to any cases, they shall at once be most carefully investigated. With regard to his suggestion that assistants should be placed in the same position as those on the Establishment, I think this would not be practicable. Among other reasons, it may be mentioned that assistants often give only a portion of their time to the Post Office, as they are engaged in helping in the business carried on in the shop where the post office is.

INDIA (MADRAS)—MINING CONCESSIONS IN MYSORE.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Secretary of State for India, Whether he has received information that the Madras Government officials in charge of the Mysore State during the Regency of the Rajah were concerned in the concession of extensive tracts of mining land to a person named Lavelle for subsequent transfer to gold mining companies and speculators; and, whether he will call on the Government of Madras for the details of such transaction?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, the transaction referred to in this Question dates from 1876. Its initial stages do not appear to be on record; but its history can be sufficiently traced from Correspondence contained in the printed Proceedings of the Government of India (Foreign-General) for February, June, and October, 1881, connected with the general question of mining leases in India. From this Correspondence in the India Office, it seems that in March, 1877, the Mysore Administration—which was under the Government of India, not under that of Madras—granted a concession to a Mr. Lavelle, Mr. Mackenzie, and Lieutenant Colonel Beresford, of the Madras Staff Corps, entitling them to mining leases over certain tracts of land in Mysore to an aggregate of 20 square miles, if applied for within a period which was originally fixed at three years, but was afterwards extended to February, 1883. The terms of this concession were approved at the time by the Government of India. The rights under it appear to have been ultimately acquired by Colonel Beresford alone, to whom, in August, 1880, a 30 years' lease of two square miles of land was granted by the British Administration, upon terms which were considered sufficient to protect the interests of the Mysore Government. They provided, among other things, for payment of the ordinary land assessments on all the arable lands, occupied or waste, included in the grant, and of a royalty of 5 per cent on the actual yield of the mines, which might, within one year from the grant of the lease, be commuted for an immediate payment of 55,000 rupees per square mile of land. It seems unnecessary to call upon the Government of India for further details of a transaction which was carried through with their cognizance. Experience having shown that grants of such extensive tracts of land were open to some objections, it was lately suggested to the Native Government of Mysore that future grants should be limited to 30 acres in each case, as in British India; but such a limitation was considered by that Government to be unsuited to the circumstances of Mysore, and it now grants leases of tracts a square mile in extent, upon terms not materially different from those conceded by the British Administration in the case in question.

POST OFFICE—MAIL CARTS (METROPOLIS).

MR. ALDERMAN W. LAWRENCE asked the Postmaster General, If he is aware that the mail carts and vans carry no lamps, and are driven at a fast rate through the Metropolis and suburbs, to the great danger at night to vehicles and pedestrians, especially during the dark winter nights; and, whether he will give instructions that the mail carts and vans shall carry lamps to be lighted at sunset?

MR. FAWCETT: Sir, so far as I am aware, no accidents have been reported as resulting from the driving of mail carts at night in London. The Post Office contracts for the service, and I understand the contractors would be liable if any accidents occurred. Instructions were some time since given that mail carts in the country districts should carry lamps.

MR. ALDERMAN W. LAWRENCE asked whether the right hon. Gentleman meant that mail carts need not carry lights by night in London and the suburbs, and whether he would order each cart to be numbered?

Mr. FAWCETT said, he had not been able to discover that any practical inconvenience resulted from the present system.

EGYPT—THE LAW OF LIQUIDATION.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he can mention any document by which Egypt is bound to treat the Law of Liquidation as anything more than an enactment of Municipal Law repealable by the State Authority?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, the Law of Liquidation is not repealable by the State authority alone, being the result of an international compact, whereby the Powers surrendered the rights of their subjects to enforce their claims against the Khedive to their full extent in the mixed tribunals, and compelled them in the general interest to accept the composition offered by the Law of Liquidation. For that purpose, the Governments of England, France, Germany, Austria, and Italy, agreed that the law should be binding on the mixed tribunals. That international compact appears in the following documents:—First, in Lord Salisbury's instructions respecting the collective declaration (Parl. Paper, Egypt No. 2, p. 1); secondly, in the declaration of the 31st of March 1880 (p. 4); thirdly, in the decree of the 31st of March, reciting the agreement, and enacting that the Law of Liquidation shall be binding on the mixed tribunals (*Ibid.* p. 6); fourthly, by the Law of Liquidation itself, which embodies the agreement by reference to the above decree (Egypt No. 4, 1880), and declares that it is issued on the proposal of Commissioners designated by the five Powers therein mentioned; fifthly, by the formal acceptance by all the other Powers who were parties to the establishment of the mixed tribunals of the Law of Liquidation, and the communication by the Egyptian Government of the general acceptance to the President of the International Court of Appeal. The rights acquired under the Law of Liquidation cannot, therefore, be varied without the consent of the Powers.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked, whether the agreement of the five Powers, that the arrangement in Egypt would be binding on their subjects, was signed only by the five Powers, and contained the signature neither of Egypt nor Turkey; and whether, consequently, the agreement was by any means binding on Egypt? He also wished to know, whether the Law of Liquidation was not drawn up in the ordinary form of an Egyptian decree, so that nothing of an international Treaty appeared in any way about it; and whether, with reference to the Commissioners of the foreign Powers, it did not specially say that the Commissioners were only designated by the foreign Powers, but were appointed by the Khedive? ["Order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER said, that the hon. Member was now entering upon matter of argument.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE said, that he had already referred the hon. Member to the passages bearing on the subject.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked, whether, in fact, any complete document existed, having within the four corners of it the signature of Egypt, as well as the signatures of the five Powers; or, whether the statement of the hon. Baronet, that an international obligation existed, was only a matter of interpretation?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, there is no doubt whatever that an international obligation exists; and with regard to what is called the signature of Egypt, I may point out that the agreement of the five Powers was one limiting the rights which their own subjects possessed.

Mr. O'DONNELL: Not as to the rights of Egyptian subjects.

AFRICA (SOUTH)—ZULULAND—REPORTED COLLECTION OF TAXES BY JOHN DUNN.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether Her Majesty's Government have received information to the effect that many of the chiefs and headmen in John Dunn's district of Zululand have complained that he collected taxes in the Queen's name, and gave them to understand that the money was sent to the authorities at Pietermaritzburg; and, whether he will cause inquiry to be made into the matter?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY, in reply, said, they had forwarded to Sir Henry Bulwer the reports in the papers sent in to the Colonial Office making the statement as to John Dunn.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. GARNETT-TATLOW.

MR. MOLLOY (for Mr. O'KELLY) asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether it is true that, at a petty sessions court held at Keadoe, county Roscommon, on Friday the 4th of the present month, Mr. Garnett-Tatlow, J.P. the agent over the extensive estates of Lady L. Tenison, occupied his usual place with the magistrates on the Bench while cases in which persons who were summoned at his instance for trespass and killing rabbits were being tried; whether five of the persons thus charged were fined one pound each; and, whether Mr. Garnett-Tatlow shall be instructed not to occupy for the future a place on the Bench during the trial of cases wherein he is directly interested?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): Sir, I have inquired into this matter, and am informed that at Keadoe Petty Sessions, on the 4th instant, five persons were summoned, at the suit of Lady Louisa Tenison, for trespass in pursuit of game, and fined £1 each. Mr. Garnett-Tatlow was, I understand, the Chairman of the Bench on that day; but when the cases were called on another magistrate took the chair, and Mr. Tatlow moved away from the other magistrates, and took no part whatever in the hearing or adjudication of any of these cases.

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—SEARCH FOR ARMS.

MR. MOLLOY (for Mr. O'KELLY) asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether it is true that the Police entered and ransacked the house of Mr. Edward Hickey at Ballymurry, county Roscommon, last week, while searching for arms; and, whether the search was justified by the result?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): Sir, the Constabulary searched the house of Edward Hickey, at Ballymurry, on the 3rd instant; but nothing material, I believe, was found.

ARMY—THE ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT—THE MONCREIFF BATTERY AT ALEXANDRIA.

MR. ANDERSON asked the Secretary of State for War, If he has sent out instructions to have any special Report made as to the merits of the Moncreiff Battery, as exemplified in the recent bombardment?

MR. CHILDERS: Yes, Sir; immediately after the bombardment I sent an Engineer officer to Alexandria to report in detail on any matters arising out of it from which we might derive instruction, and his attention was specially directed to the Moncreiff Battery.

NEW ZEALAND—CASE OF RODERICK MANNION.

MR. MOLLOY (for Mr. SEXTON) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he will consider the case of Roderick Mannion, late private in Her Majesty's Army, who served for a period of twelve years in the 14th and 26th Regiments of the Line, and a period of three years in the New Zealand Militia, and who, on his retirement, was entitled by the terms of his engagement to a gratuity and sixty acres of land in New Zealand, or the equivalent in money, £120; and, whether he is aware that Roderick Mannion never received either the gratuity on retirement, the land, or the equivalent of the land in money, and that he has returned from New Zealand to England in order to urge his claim, and is now in a state of need?

MR. CHILDERS: Sir, in reply to the Question of the hon. Member, I have to state that I have perused the papers on the subject, and the case is as follows:—Roderick Mannion was discharged from the 2nd Battalion 14th Foot in April, 1866. He was entitled to a gratuity of £9 2*s.* 6*d.*, and, according to the papers retained in the Office, was duly paid. His actual receipt was, in accordance, with custom, destroyed some years ago. In April, 1879, or some 13 years after he was paid, he applied again for payment, and was refused. It would be impossible after 16 years to entertain a claim of this character more than any application for repayment of an account. Some months after he claimed the gratuity, he wrote again saying he was entitled to 60 acres of land in New Zealand. Between 1866 and 1879 he appears to have been living in New Zealand, and had ample opportunity of applying to the Colonial Government. The War Office has nothing to do with grants of land in New Zealand, and Mannion was told that he must apply to the Colonial authorities.

EGYPT—(MILITARY EXPEDITION)—OFFICERS OF ROYAL MARINE ARTILLERY AND LIGHT INFANTRY—PROMOTION.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND said, he intended to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty—

> "Whether he would recommend that some promotion should be given to the officers of the Royal Marine Artillery and Royal Marine Light Infantry for their conduct during the bombardment of Alexandria, the Marines having constituted on that occasion about one-half of the fighting force, and such honours having already been conferred upon the officers of the Royal Navy?"

But it was not now necessary to put the Question, as it had been anticipated by the action which had been taken.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—LEGAL APPOINTMENTS.

MR. BIGGAR asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether it is the fact that the Crown Prosecutorship of Green Street, one of the most lucrative posts in Ireland, is being kept open for Mr. Edward Sullivan, son of the Master of the Rolls; why no appointment has been made; and, whether the holder of the office of Crown Prosecutor is eligible for a seat in Parliament?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): Sir, the answers to the paragraphs of the Question of the hon. Member are as follows:—To the first, No; to the second, The appointment has been filled up; to the third, Yes. The post is in the gift of the Attorney General for Ireland.

BURMAH—MISSION TO THE VICEROY OF INDIA.

MR. ONSLOW asked the Secretary of State for India, Whether he can state the results of the mission from the King of Burmah to the Viceroy of India; and, whether there is any objection to lay upon the Table of the House Papers for the last four or five years regarding affairs in Burmah (not British)?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, the negotiations with the Burmese Mission have not yet reached a stage at which any statement on the subject can conveniently be made; but I have every reason to believe that a Treaty will be concluded. Pending the negotiations being concluded, there are no Papers of importance regarding Burmese affairs which can be laid upon the Table of the House without detriment to the Public Service. When the negotiations are concluded I shall take care that the Papers are presented to the House.

THE DANUBE COMMISSION—NAVIGATION OF THE DANUBE.

MR. CHARLES PALMER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he will lay upon the Table of the House the Memorial of the Associated Chambers of Commerce relative to the navigation of the Danube, and the reply of Earl Granville thereto; also the Correspondence between Her Majesty's Government and the other States interested in the question?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, there will be no objection to do so as regards the Memorial and the reply, together with a selection of the Correspondence, subject to the consent of other Powers. The Papers are so voluminous that it would not be worth while to incur the expense of printing the whole of them.

EGYPTIAN LOANS, 1862 & 1864.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the attention of the Government has been called to the statement of Sir Stephen Cave (Bluebook 1425, of 1876, page 6), with regard to the two loans of 1862 and 1864 amounting to a nominal total of some £9,000,000, that, in spite of inquiry on the spot, he could get "no particulars of the amount really received by Egypt on the first of these loans;" whether he has reason to believe that there is a large difference between the nominal amount and the amount received in the case of other Egyptian Loans; and, whether he can state the total nominal amount and the total amount received in the case of all the Egyptian Loans, and, also the total amount paid by Egypt in interest on loans?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, I do not think it advisable that Her Majesty's Government should make any statements in regard to financial matters respecting which they have no information which is not in the possession of this House and the public.

MR. O'DONNELL said, he wished to ask the hon. Baronet whether the two loans referred to were contracted for by the firm of Frühling and Goschen; whether Her Majesty's Government had afterwards appointed a member of that firm Her Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary at Constantinople; and, whether they were aware at the time that the right hon. Gentleman was a partner in the firm which contracted for the loans of 1862 and 1864?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, I believe this Question has been three times asked and answered in this House during the present Session. It was answered in the course of a recent debate on Egypt in this House, and also in "another place." That being so, I think it would be, perhaps, better, if the hon. Gentleman wishes to repeat it, to place it on the Paper, so that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) might see it, and have a fair opportunity of answering the part that relates to himself.

MR. O'DONNELL: Then I give Notice of the Question.

MR. GOSCHEN: If the hon. Member wishes to ask me the Question, I should prefer he would do so at once.

MR. O'DONNELL: Then, Sir, I ask, whether the loans of 1862 and 1864, referred to by Sir Stephen Cave in the first paragraph of my Question, were negotiated or contracted with the Khedive by the house of Frühling, Goschen, and Co.; and whether a member of that firm was afterwards appointed by Her Majesty's Government Ambassador Extraordinary at Constantinople; and, whether the Government were aware of the connection of that gentleman with the said firm?

MR. GOSCHEN: Sir, I do not propose to answer the last two paragraphs of the Question, which the hon. Member simply put *in invidiam*, because they are matters of public knowledge. With regard to the first, it is not true. as has been alleged, that the firm of Frühling and Goschen were the contractors. They were the London agents for these two loans, which were contracted for by others, and nothing more.

MR. O'DONNELL said, he would ask other Questions on the subject to-morrow.

INDIA—MORTALITY IN INDIAN GAOLS.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Secretary of State for India, With reference to the passage in his Despatch of the 25th May 1882, to Lord Ripon, that he has been—

> "Much impressed by the statement contained in the Bengal Gaol Report for 1879 that a heavy mortality was going on month after month without the attention of Government being called to it;"

if he is in a position to inform the House who were the responsible authorities who failed to call the attention of Government to the heavy mortality; and, also, how long the heavy mortality had continued before any inquiries were made by the Bengal Government as to the condition of the Bengal Gaols?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, Dr. Lethbridge's statement in the Bengal Gaol Report for 1879 was as follows:—

> "Superintendents were asked to watch the effect of the new scale very closely, and to report any tendency to sickness. I regret to say that no important Reports on this point were received during the nine months that the diet was in use."

It would be the duty of the medical officers of the different gaols to send in monthly Returns of sickness and mortality to the Inspector General of Prisons, by whom the Returns are tabulated at the end of the year and laid before Government. It is, no doubt, difficult to draw any correct inference from these Returns without first getting a number of them together, for a gaol that showed a very high mortality in one month, might show a very low mortality in the next. When the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, in his Resolution on the Report for 1879, adverted to the absence of reference to the effect of the diet scale in the medical Reports, he admitted that the effect was probably not noticeable by anyone who was constantly with the prisoners. The Inspector General of Prisons appears to have been first led to the opinion that the diet was at fault during his inspection of the gaols of Northern Bengal in February and

March, 1880. When he returned to Calcutta, and consulted the statistics for 1879, which had just been prepared, and which showed a high rate of mortality, he reported the matter to the Government of Bengal. The arrangements which have been repeatedly explained to the House were then immediately made. In view of these facts, and of the opinion of the Government of India that it is not proved that the mortality was due to insufficiency of food, I cannot say that there is sufficient evidence before me to convince me that the prison authorities were guilty of neglect of duty.

EGYPT—THE EUROPEAN CONTROL.

Mr. MOLLOY asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If he is in possession of any other evidence, other than that of the European officials, which shows that abominable oppression existed in Egypt in a less degree since the establishment of the European Control than existed previously to that event; if it is not a fact that the "abominable oppression" was at its worst between 1875 and 1880, during which time Taxes were wrung from the people to pay the Foreign bondholders; if he can lay upon the Table any Papers that will show that Sir Rivers Wilson took adequate means to stop the oppression of the cultivator during the time he was a member of the Egyptian Cabinet; if it be a fact that the Control raised a revenue by taxation of about £10,600,000, of which about half went to the bondholders; if in 1864, prior to the Egyptian Control, £4,900,000 only was raised by the Khedive for all purposes; if it is a fact that the taxation imposed by the Control to pay the bondholders was greater by about £6,000,000 than that imposed even under the oppressive rule of the Pashas; and, if the Correspondence and discussions that have taken place relative to the right of the Egyptian people to vote its own Budget should be treated as confidential or made public to Parliament?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, with the permission of the hon. Gentleman, I will answer the Question. Numerous reforms were introduced at the instance of the Controllers, chiefly in pursuance of the recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry of 1878; one decree alone removing 28 small, but vexatious taxes. The payment of land tax in kind was suppressed; the personal tax, cited by the Commission of Inquiry as more inequitable than any other, was abolished; the abuses connected with the salt tax were corrected; the periods for payment of the land tax were adjusted so as to coincide with the ingathering of the crops; and, as the result of these and other improvements, the taxes up to the date of the late disturbance were paid with ease and regularity. There are no Papers as to the particular measures taken by Sir Rivers Wilson while he was Finance Minister; but it is the case that one of his first acts was the publication of strict instructions forbidding the use of the stick, which had been the usual means of coercing the Native taxpayer, and the appointment of Inspectors, whose special duty it was to report to him any acts of oppression on the part of the officials. The Control was established in November, 1876. The Budget for 1876 given to Mr. (afterwards Sir Stephen) Cave by the Khedive, at the end of 1875, estimated the Receipts at £10,772,611. It is, therefore, not the fact that the taxation imposed by the Control to pay the bondholders was greater by £6,000,000, or by any amount at all, than that "imposed under the oppressive rule of the Pashas." The Control, as already stated, was established, not in 1864, as the hon. Member appears to assume, but more than 12 years after that date; and if the taxation at which he states the Revenue in 1864 increased to the amount which it reached in 1876, no responsibility attaches to the Control. It may be observed that, while the Budget which the Khedive gave to Mr. Cave in 1875 estimated a Revenue of £10,772,000, that fixed by the Commission of Liquidation in 1880 settled the Revenue upon an estimated basis of £8,576,000 only, being a reduction of over £2,000,000. I have already several times stated that the Papers asked for in the last branch of the Question refer to a matter still pending.

TRADE AND COMMERCE — SPANISH DUTIES ON BRITISH GOODS — BRITISH DUTIES ON SPANISH WINES.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether it is true that the new prohibition Duties on

British goods imposed by the Spanish Government has been declared by the latter to be intended as a retaliation for the effect of the British Wine Tariff on Spanish wines as compared with French wines; whether it is true that the Spanish wine-growers allege that the present British Tariff forces them to seek a market for their wines in England, not directly, but through the intermediary of French wine-manufacturers or wine-adapters, who, by converting the natural Spanish product into so-called French claret, are said to gain a large part of the profit which would otherwise be divided between the Spanish wine-grower and the British consumer; whether a slight alteration in the British Wine Tariff would remove the grievance both of the Spanish wine-grower and the British consumer of Spanish wine; and, whether any sufficient grounds exist for continuing to maintain a Tariff which promotes the importation into this Country of immense quantities of artificial and spurious wine from France, at the expense of the natural wines of Spain that used to be so generally consumed?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GLADSTONE), in reply, said, that the statement in the first paragraph of the hon. Member's Question was not perfectly accurate. There were no new prohibitory duties on British goods in Spain; but Spain had been effecting a legislative change which had an effect not similar to that of prohibition, but similar to that of enormous differential duties, he believed, upon most British commodities, and, consequently, instead of new prohibitory duties, the process ought to be described in general terms, not as prohibitory, but as leaving British goods at a great disadvantage in the Spanish market, in consequence of reduction of duty on the goods of other countries, and deliberately withheld from ours. The hon. Member asked, whether the operations of the Spanish Government had been declared by that Government to be intended as a retaliation for the effect of the British Wine Tariff on Spanish wines as compared with French wines? He (Mr. Gladstone) did not know whether any formal declaration of that kind had been made; but he might say that the Spanish Government had, at various times, complained very greatly of the operation of our Tariff of Wine Duties upon Spanish wines, and had followed up those complaints by the operation referred to in the Question. How far those complaints were justified would easily be judged by the House when it was known that the year before the Wine Duties were changed, and Spanish wine was placed at this "enormous disadvantage," of which complaint had been made, that there were 3,629,000 gallons of Spanish wine imported into England. In 1871, also under the operation of this "cruel Tariff," the Spanish wine imported into England was 9,389,000 gallons. It was quite true there had since then been a large diminution in the importation of Spanish wine; but that diminution, he believed, had been common to all descriptions of wine without any very great distinction, at least that he had heard of, and was owing to well-understood causes connected with the general question of the consumption of wine in this country. He might say that while, under the English Tariff which was thus complained of, the Spanish wine had increased its importation by 260 per cent, he did not think that any increase of British exports to Spain had ever been more than 40 or 50 per cent. Of that we made no complaint, and for it we inflicted no retaliation; and, on the other side, the course taken by Spain had been as he had described it. With regard to trade with France he could not answer the Question. There was, as the hon. Member ought to know, an enormous trade in Spanish wine into France, and, no doubt, that conversion of Spanish wine into so-called French wine was a matter having no connection with the question of re-importation into England. It was quite possible, indeed he would not dispute, that some foreign Spanish wine might be doctored into French wine, as he believed since the ravages of the *Phylloxera*, there had been a good deal of British gin doctored into French brandy. It was not the case that a slight alteration in the Wine Tariff would remove what the hon. Member called the "grievance" of the Spanish wine-grower and the British consumer. An alteration in the British Wine Tariff to attain that purpose must be a considerable alteration, and must involve a considerable sacrifice of Revenue, which the fiscal engagements of this country did not enable them at this time to contemplate, although it had been made known to the Spanish Government and all the world that we were perfectly ready to entertain that question, whenever the state of the Revenue and Expenditure permitted it. He had further to say that Papers on the subject would shortly be laid on the Table of the House, and would exhibit to the hon. Member the exact state of the Correspondence.

Mr. MONK asked the right hon. Gentleman if he could state what would be the loss caused to the British Revenue by a reduction of the Spanish Wine Duty?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Gladstone), in reply, said, he could not supply the figures at that moment, because no precise scale had been arrived at; but it was a loss that was estimated at hundreds of thousands of pounds.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—THE RESERVE—FRAUDULENT ENLISTMENTS.

In reply to Sir Henry Fletcher,

The JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. Osborne Morgan) said, that the number of Reserve men convicted between July 1, 1880, and June 30, 1882, of enlisting into the Army, at the same time concealing the fact that they belonged to the Reserve Forces, was 271.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I rise, Sir, for the purpose of fulfilling an engagement, and to state one or two points that bear on the future course of Business, and to throw light upon it for the guidance of the House, as far as it is in the power of the Government to give explanations. In the first place, it is our intention to propose on Thursday that this House should adjourn till Tuesday, October 24, and a similar proposal will, I believe, be made in the House of Lords. I propose to make that Motion on Thursday next, in anticipation that the Adjournment will be from Friday. There are precedents for such a proceeding, and we propose to make the Motion on Thursday, for fear any accident might happen in consequence of the non-attendance of a sufficient quota of Members on Friday. We propose to ask that when the House meets on the 24th of October, it shall address itself to the great question of Procedure; and to deal with that question is, in point of fact, the object, and, so far as we can foresee, the sole object, for which we ask the House to meet at that particular season of the year. We shall, therefore, propose when that time comes that the question of Procedure do take precedence of all other subjects on the days when it is set down upon the Orders of the Day, and that Motion will be made with the intention of setting it down *de die in diem*. But we shall not express that it shall be *de die in diem;* because, at any time, some special exigency of public affairs might arise, which might require the House for a greater or less time to divert its attention to some other subject; but it will be distinctly with the intention of taking it from day to day, so far as the public interests will permit, and so far as we know at present. I may say that it is desirable, in conformity with precedent, to ask the House to meet to-morrow at 3 o'clock, so as to render more certain the meeting of a House, as if after 4 the House is not made up, the House for the day is lost. Then, with regard to the question of Procedure, I will refer to the inquiry which has been addressed to me on one or more occasions, and which I promised to answer before we came to the time for Adjournment, and that is, whether we adhere to the intention we at one time signified, although it never was made publicly known, to accept upon certain conditions, and with a special view, the Amendment to the 1st Resolution, of which Notice was given in the name of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the junior Member for Dublin University (Mr. Gibson). I had better state to the House, rather more particularly than they are at present informed, what actually took place. On the afternoon of the 6th May I addressed a note to the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition (Sir Stafford Northcote), in which I referred to the Notice of Motion given by the junior Member for the University of Dublin, and I said, adverting to various circumstances, and especially to the character and spirit, and particularly to the length of the debates thus far on the 1st Resolution of Procedure—

> "That the Government were prepared, without having modified their own views, to accept the Amendment of which Notice had been given by Mr. Gibson, with the intention of allowing the Resolution thus altered to be fairly tested by experience, provided that they were assured in the House"—for no reply was asked from the right hon. Gentleman by letter—"at the proper time"—that would have been on the following Monday, the 8th—"that the Leader of the Opposition would, on that footing, use his influence to expedite the action of the House in respect of Procedure, and would enter on the consideration of the remaining Resolutions in what might be termed a spirit of co-operation,"

agreeably to a disposition shown somewhat to favour the other Resolutions in the communication I had received at the beginning of the Session from the right hon. Baronet. That proposal, as the House will observe by referring to the date, was cut off by the great calamity which occurred in the Phœnix Park in Dublin. That altered altogether the position of Business in the House of Commons for the moment, and, in consequence, this was never made known to the House, and no occasion occurred of going forward with the discussion on the subject of Procedure, so that the matter remained in abeyance. Now, coming to the time when we have again to consider the bringing up of the question of Procedure, it has again been our duty to consider it, and it is necessary for me to explain that, in the first place, in May the view of the Government was this—We were well aware that it would be necessary for us after a short time to proceed to deal with Irish legislation; but we thought, at that period of the year, that if we could secure expeditious proceeding in regard to Procedure it was quite possible we might still have some fruit in the way of legislation from the Session of this year. I need not say these expectations have been entirely disappointed, and the Session has been a Session of utter ruin and discomfiture, with some very small and slight exceptions indeed. I mean that in respect of legislation proposed by the Government it has been a Session of ruin and discomfiture such as has never before occurred; and, consequently, the reason which induced me on the part of the Government to make known that intention to the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote), and it would have induced me on Monday the 8th, had the situation of Business not been altered, to declare it publicly in this House, and then to receive whatever might have been his reply. That situation, like the conditions, has been entirely changed, and we have to judge the question afresh. The special reason for the proposition having gone by, as we consider, the proposition itself falls to the ground; and it is our intention, therefore, when the House meets in October, to resume the consideration of the Resolutions as they stood, with one exception, that I will mention directly, at the time when this proposal was conceived and entertained. We shall proceed to the discussion of them just as we should proceed to the discussion of any Bill, or any Government measure, with a perfect willingness to entertain any proposal that may be made, which might appear to involve, perhaps, an improvement, or, at any rate, a change expedient to be adopted in the whole circumstances of the case, and comformably to the general purpose in view—looking at the same time to the substance of our Resolutions, and hoping that in view of the great necessity which we think exists the House will be prepared to accede to them. But there is one exception, and that is one which I ought to mention, because I intend to strike out from the list the Resolution which relates to the Monday Rule for Committee of Supply. We propose to part with that Resolution altogether, and the House may consider it as dropped, as far as we are concerned. But I am bound to say this—we drop it with the view of substituting for it what we hope will be found a more advantageous and a more effectual mode of relieving the House, and saving its time very considerably in connection with that particular matter of Supply. I think I have now stated all that belongs to the present time to state in regard to the present course of Business, and all that is necessary in order to redeem the promise I gave on a former occasion.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I think it necessary, Sir, to make one observation on the statement we have listened to. I think it is right, and certainly convenient, that the mode of proceeding to be taken in regard to these Resolutions should be left to be reconsidered when the House meets again after the Adjournment which the Government have proposed. I think it would have been inconvenient to anticipate in any way those proceedings before we separate, and that we may, and shall now find ourselves, when the House meets on the 24th October, in face of this question, with some modification proposed or indicated on the part of the Government. We do not clearly understand how far that last proposal is to go, and I think, as the right hon. Gentleman holds himself entirely released from giving effect to the communication which he made at the beginning of May, and which I admit was given under circumstances very different from those which afterwards came about, it must be distinctly understood, on our part, that we are entirely free to take what course we think fit with regard to the Resolutions proposed, and with regard to each in its turn. That is a matter of great importance. There have been various statements made at different times, showing our readiness to consider the other Resolutions if the one to which we had principally objected, which was put first, was modified. That has not been done and will not be done, and we must take time to consider the whole of these important Resolutions with absolute freedom.

Mr. GLADSTONE: The right hon. Gentleman was never called upon to make an answer, and never did make an answer, to my note of the 6th of May. There was a further note of his at the commencement of the Session to which I had made reference, which was quite independent of that.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I only wish it to be quite distinctly understood that we are in no way bound by anything that has passed.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Of course, the right hon. Gentleman is perfectly within his right to retract his note of the earlier date of February, if he thinks fit. I do not know if that is intended or not.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL asked, with reference to the emphatic expressions that had fallen from the Prime Minister, with regard to the superior importance of those changes in the Rules of Procedure, which referred to what he called the delegation of the powers of the House, whether the right hon. Gentleman was at present prepared to intimate if it was the intention of the Government to carry the proposal any further?

Mr. GLADSTONE: The proposals which we intend to make on that subject are on the Paper of the House, and it may be that the House may choose to contract, or may choose to extend them. I have spoken of the subject as undoubtedly involving, in my opinion, by far the most important part of the entire question, and the proposal we intend to make in October is to take up the Rules as they were left, with the exception I have alluded to.

Lord JOHN MANNERS asked if the Prime Minister would at once place before the House the terms of the Rule he proposed to substitute for the one he intended to abandon on the subject of taking Supply on Monday?

Mr. GLADSTONE: No, Sir; we shall consider carefully the terms of such a Rule, and take care to present it to the House in abundant time.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, he understood, from the statement of the Prime Minister, that the original offer of the right hon. Baronet the Leader of the Opposition, with regard to the substitution of a two-thirds majority for an absolute majority, was regarded as rejected for the present, and that the circumstances no longer existed under which it was made, and under which the Government were disposed to assent to it. Was he also to understand that there was nothing in the speech of the Leader of the House which bound him not to accept that original offer of the two-thirds majority, in case it seemed to be convenient once more to accept it on the House resuming?

Mr. GLADSTONE: No, Sir; I have simply said—and I think that is the best way of stating our intentions to the House—that matters, so far as we are concerned, stand exactly as they did before the 6th of May, except the single exception that we propose to withdraw the Resolution as to the Monday Rule for Committees of Supply, and to substitute one which we think more adequate.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT: The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, as I understood him, stated distinctly, in answer to a Question, that he had no intention whatever to deviate from the Resolution that a bare majority was to be that majority which he intended, if possible, to carry. In that case, I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he still adheres to that; because, if he does, I can promise him that, so far as we are concerned—and I believe I am speaking for the whole of the Opposition—we shall offer to that proposition our most determined opposition.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON said, he wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the Resolution giving precedence to the Procedure Rules would be moved during that week, or not until the House met again?

MR. GLADSTONE: My intention is to put that down as a Motion to be taken before the Business commences in the regular course on Tuesday, 24th October.

MR. ONSLOW asked whether, when the House met in October, the Prime Minister would sanction, or in any way support, Private Bills or Motions in the Autumn Session? There were many hon. Gentlemen who had crotchets, and would be likely to bring in Bills or Resolutions. Would the Government sanction the promotion of such Bills or Resolutions—especially Liquor Bills?

MR. GLADSTONE: The hon. Gentleman is very vigilant on the subject of the particular kind of Bills in which we know he feels a tender interest. I have already stated that the Government have no disposition to ask the House to sit in the Autumn to consider what is commonly termed private legislation; and as it is our intention to ask the House for all its valuable time on each night, down to the usual period of adjournment, I do not think the hon. Member need be in a state of alarm. I do not speak of what are strictly called Private Bills. They take their own course under a different set of Rules, and nothing I have said has any reference to them.

MR. W. M. TORRENS wished to know whether, if Bills which had been referred to Select Committees had to stand over until the expiry of the Adjournment, they would hold the same place as if the Adjournment were only for a week?

MR. GLADSTONE: So far as I am concerned, they will follow the general Rule of the House, and will in no way be affected by any view we may entertain.

INDIA (FINANCE, &c.)—EAST INDIA REVENUE ACCOUNTS.—COMMITTEE.

THE ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I do not know, Sir, whether it is necessary that I should commence the Statement I have to make by the usual expression of regret at the period of the Session at which I am now making it being so advanced; but I do regret extremely that year after year it should be necessary to make this Statement at a time when it is impossible to have any considerable part of the House present, however much they may desire to attend. At the same time, I must be permitted to express some doubt whether, at whatever time the Statement might be made, it would secure a general or crowded attendance of the House. I hope that there are here to-day a very considerable number of Members who take an interest in the discussion of Indian financial subjects, although it is hardly possible that a Statement so long and so dry as that which it is my duty to make should command any general attention or interest. I think it will be desirable, before I begin the Statement I have to make, to offer some explanation upon two points which have caused me considerable perplexity, and which may be described as financial puzzles, but which it is essential the House should understand, as they exercise considerable effect upon the Accounts and the Estimates we have now before us, and, if unexplained, would lead to misapprehension.

The first of these subjects is the mode in which the Imperial contribution in aid of the cost of the Afghan War has been brought to account in the two years 1880-1 and 1881-2. The House may remember that last year I explained the plan which had been adopted in bringing this contribution to account. It was done with the object of securing, as far as possible, that the War Expenditure which fell in 1881-2 should be balanced or eliminated by an equivalent amount of War Contribution, so that, in the years subsequent to 1880-1, the year in which the war ended, the Accounts and Estimates of the Government of India should be as little as possible disturbed by abnormal expenditure arising out of the war. With this view it was determined, as I said last year, at the time the Estimates were prepared, to credit the Revenues of 1881-2 with a portion of this contribution amounting to £3,000,000. Then the balance of £2,000,000 out of the £5,000,000 given in aid of the War Charges remained for the previous year 1880-1. When the Accounts of 1880-1 were about to be closed, it was necessary to come to a definite decision as to the amount of the War Contribution to be credited to that year, and it was then found that the War Charges which would fall in 1881-2 would probably not exceed £2,305,000. That sum only was, therefore, credited to 1881-2, leaving an increased sum of £2,695,000 to be credited to the previous year 1880-1. That change from what I said last year has, therefore, been made in the distribution of the contribution. I ought, however, to add that the present Estimate for the year 1881-2 gives for War Charges a sum of £1,610,500; Frontier Railways are put at £235,200 in 1881-2, besides £223,000 for their completion in 1882-3, making a total of £2,068,700, so that about £236,000 more than was required was reserved; and by the postponement of part of this outlay to the present year, the Estimates of 1881-2 benefited by £259,000 more than was intended.

The next point on which I desire to offer some explanation is with regard to the Provincial surpluses and deficits, by which the Estimates of the last two years have been very largely affected. Last year I endeavoured to explain what was the effect of the introduction of these headings upon the Revenue and Expenditure of the year, and, at the same time, I expressed a doubt as to whether—though they ought to be shown in the Accounts somewhere — they ought to form part of the Accounts of Revenue and Expenditure. On that subject a correspondence has taken place with the Government of India, and I am convinced that it would give a false idea of the position of that Government as regards its surplus or deficit if these items were altogether omitted. It has, however, been decided to remove the item of Provincial deficits from the Revenue side of the Account, where it used formerly to appear, so that entries will no longer appear which do not actually form an addition to the income, but only a transfer of balances. The course now adopted is to show the net result of the deficits and surpluses of the Provincial Governments on the Expenditure side of the Account. Thus, the total Expenditure of the year, by both the Supreme and the Provincial Governments, being first given, an addition or subtraction is made of the amounts by which the Provincial Governments have either fallen short of or exceeded their income, which amount has accordingly to be paid by the Government of India to, or received by it from, the Provincial balances. I will ask the House for a few moments to follow me in a review of the effect which these items have had during the last three years. In 1880-1 there was a total Expenditure of £76,306,000; but in that year some of the Provincial Governments had saved to the amount of £336,000, while others had exceeded to the extent of £38,000, the difference being £298,000, which the Government of India had to pay to the Provincial balances, so that the total Expenditure of the Supreme Government was £76,604,000. In 1881-2 the Budget Estimates of the Provincial Governments showed that some of them expected to draw £821,000 from their balances, while on the balances of others there was an increase of £114,000. While, therefore, the total estimated Expenditure, Imperial and Provincial, was £70,012,000, the Supreme Government had only to find £69,305,000, the remainder being obtained from the Provincial balances. But the flourishing state of the Revenue for that year enabled the Supreme Government to repay to the Provincial Governments the contributions which had been demanded from them during the time of the Afghan War, amounting to £670,000. The quinquennial adjustments of the contracts with the Provincial Governments fell in that year, and the same prosperous condition of the Revenue enabled the Government to make grants in anticipation of the Provincial re-adjustments, amounting to £360,000. They also made a special grant to Bombay, on account of certain refunds of Land Revenue, amounting to £251,000. Those sums amounted to £1,281,000, which were in the nature of presents made to the Provincial Governments. But, in addition, the Provincial Governments, instead of exceeding their income, spent less by £41,000, so that the Provincial balances increased by £1,322,000, instead of being, as was anticipated, reduced by £707,000. The surplus on the Regular Estimate of 1881-2 was made to appear worse by the sum of those two amounts—or £2,029,000—than it would have been but for the existence of this system of Provincial finance. These sums are simply transferred from the balances of the Supreme to those of the Provincial Governments, where they are available for purposes of Provincial improvement, and where, as will be seen, it is intended that they shall be largely utilized in that way in the present year. Coming to 1882-3, the total estimated Expenditure—the sum of the 36 items enumerated on page 61 of the Budget Statement—will be found to amount to £68,164,000; but a large portion of this is within the control of the Provincial Governments, who, being in funds from the operations which I have been describing, estimate to draw on their balances in the present year to the extent of £1,990,000. The amount, therefore, which the Government of India will have to provide is not £68,164,000, but that sum less £1,990,000, or £66,174,000. I have laid on the Table a Statement which contains most of the figures which it has been usual to give in the Financial Statement for the purpose of comparing the results of the three years under review; and it will therefore be unnecessary for me to enter into many details respecting them.

The Expenditure of 1880-1 was reduced below the Estimate by £287,000, and, the Revenue being increased by very nearly £2,000,000, the anticipated deficit of £6,220,000 was reduced to an actual deficit of £4,044,000. In 1881-2 the Regular Estimate, as compared with the Budget Estimate, showed that the Revenue, omitting the English War Contribution, was increased by £3,455,000 over the Estimate which I gave last year, one-third of which was derived from opium, another third from Productive Works, and the remainder from excise, interest, extra army receipts, &c. The Expenditure of 1881-2, as compared with the Budget Estimate, shows, apart from the Provincial adjustments, very little change, the reduction being only £75,000. The ordinary Army Charge was about £500,000 more than was anticipated, which was mainly due to expenses indirectly connected with the military operations in Afghanistan, while the direct charges for those operations and the frontier railways was about £1,000,000 less. Comparing the Expenditure shown by the Regular Estimates for 1881-2 with the Accounts for 1880-1, and deducting the War Contribution as well as the War Charges, it appears that the Revenue was increased by £750,000, and that the Expenditure was increased by £6,472,000, which I will presently explain.

I come now to the Budget Estimates for the present year, 1882-3. The Revenue Estimates have been, as stated by Major Baring, framed with very great care and moderation. Allowance has been made for a decrease in the Land Revenue of £283,000, owing to the remissions which have been ordered in Bombay, and to the very moderate estimate which has been taken for the North-West Provinces and for Madras, where arrears were collected in 1881-2. Notwithstanding the flourishing condition of the Excise, a reduction has been made in the estimate from that source in every Province except Bengal, giving a net reduction of £80,000. The net Revenue from the Railways has been taken at a diminution of £466,000; that is an estimate which is considered an extremely, almost an absurdly, low one; and I think that, as far as the results of the present year have yet been ascertained, it is shown to be very greatly under-estimated. A very moderate estimate has been taken of the increased consumption of Salt in consequence of the reduction of duty, to which I shall revert by-and-by. As to the Opium Revenue, it has been estimated in the present year £588,000 below the regular estimate of the net receipts in the preceding year; at the same time, I have to state that it has been estimated in the present Budget at £750,000 more than in that of 1881-2, when it was taken at £6,500,000, a low estimate which I endeavoured to justify this time last year. Major Baring has entered at very great length in his financial statement into a discussion of the Opium Question. It will be unnecessary for me on this occasion to follow him into any discussion on the moral or political aspects of the question. All that we are concerned with at present is its financial aspect, and how far the Estimate which has been taken for the present year is justified by the condition of the Revenue. Major Baring on this point shows that, although, no doubt, elements exist which give to the Opium Revenue a precarious character in future, although competition both from foreign opium and also from the Chinese growth may ultimately affect it, yet the great fluctuations that in former years occurred in the receipts and in the price of opium were chiefly owing to the varying amount of the quantity offered for sale; and he has shown that, since the policy was adopted of establishing a reserve and offering the same number of chests for sale annually, the number being announced a year previously, the revenue from this source has been comparatively steady, and, on the whole, an increasing one. It is quite true that the reserve of opium has been in recent years very greatly reduced, and in the absence of a large crop it would be necessary next year or in future years to give notice of reducing the number of chests to be offered for sale; but the reserve is sufficient for the sale of the number of chests announced and estimated for the present year; and, indeed, under the existing arrangements, it is absolutely necessary that the number of chests which have been announced the year before should be offered for sale in the present year. As, then, the usual quantity will be offered for sale this year, there is no reason to fear that the Estimate for the present year, £7,250,000, which is £500,000 below the Regular Estimate for 1881-2, will not be realized, and, indeed, it is not by any means an excessive one.

I now come to the Expenditure of the present year. The Estimate shows a reduction of £3,475,000. But then I am obliged to acknowledge that almost the whole of this estimated reduction is due to what I have already had so often to refer to—the item of Provincial adjustments. This accounts for £3,312,000 of that sum. The statement, which has been circulated, shows what are the increases and the decreases under the different heads, and I think I need not now detain the House on the matter. But probably this is the most convenient opportunity on which I can examine a statement which the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope) made on the 31st of July in the present year. The hon. Member is reported to have said that since 1880 the Expenditure has been raised £3,500,000. I cannot, of course, tell what were the exact figures on which the hon. Member based that statement; but I presume that his calculation was somewhat as follows:—I may probably take him to mean that, deducting from last year, 1880-1, the charge for War Expenditure and the Frontier Railways, and deducting also the charge for the present year for Famine Insurance, and adding the sums to be drawn from the Provincial balances, the excess of Expenditure in the present year over that for the year 1880-1 would amount to £3,500,000. Taken that way, I believe the statement is substantially correct. It has to be explained how far this is due to the real increase of Expenditure. The year 1880-1 obtained exceptional advantages from the conversion of the India Stock, which accounts for an increase of £186,000. A sum of £768,000 is due to Reproductive Public Works, the development of which, while bringing increased Revenue, necessitates increased charges for working expenses. To that has to be added, under the head of Interest, a sum of £248,000, arising from the reduction of the rate charged against those works, from 4½ to 4 per cent. Under the head of Subsidized Railways is a charge of £50,000 for the Bengal Central Railway, repayable from the profits of the line, which enterprize was not initiated in 1880-1; and there was also an additional loss by exchange of £32,000. These sums, which ought to be eliminated from the comparison, make together an aggregate of £1,284,000. The additional charge for 1882-3 for ordinary State railway construction—that is, railways which it is not considered right to include under the head of Reproductive Public Works, and which are, therefore, constructed out of Revenue, is £515,000. The amount for ordinary irrigation and navigation works is £265,000; for other works, buildings, roads, &c., £1,058,000. Public Works, therefore, account for £1,838,000. That leaves only £374,000 to be explained. But, on the other hand, there is a saving of £595,000, which, it is estimated, will be effected under the head of the Army, so that under other heads there is a total increased Expenditure of £969,000. That arises upon several heads, among them being the charges for the collection of the Revenue, and for administration. The Land Revenue Department takes £184,000, which is due to the improved position of the Uncovenanted Service, and also to the assumption by the Government of the charge for village officers; £143,000 more is required for Law and Justice; and the cost of the collection of the Salt Revenue has increased about £275,000, which is due to the institution of the depôt system, an increase of Expenditure that is expected to lead to an increased development of the Revenue. Roughly speaking, one-half of this increase is due to the construction of Public Works, one-third is due to the extension of the railway system, and the remainder is due to the Government assuming administrative charges formerly borne by the people. It is an increase which I am not concerned to explain away or to apologize for. It is in part due to causes over which the Government can exercise no control. It is in part due to the development of Public Works already constructed, and which, as business increases, must, of course, cost more in working expenses; but the Expenditure is more than balanced by the increased Revenue they bring in. It is in part due to the activity of Provincial Governments and local bodies in the construction out of funds at their disposal of a minor class of Public Works, such as roads, bridges, drainage works, sanitary improvements, and minor local improvements of all kinds. These are works for the construction of which it would not be justifiable to borrow, as they produce no direct return; but they are undoubtedly quite as necessary for the progress and development of the country as—if they are even not more necessary than—the more showy and pretentious works which are known by the name of Productive Works. It is on this class of Public Works, which do not bring any immediate and direct return, that the progress of the country, especially in the parts that are least advanced, mainly depends, and as to these I should be sorry to check the activity of the Provincial and the public bodies. Part of the increase is due to the improvement of the revenue-producing branches of Expenditure, such as the institution of depôts for salt and advances for the cultivation of opium. Part of the increase, though nominally expenditure, is due to the assumption by the Government of payments hitherto made by the cesspayers in parts of the country occupied by the poorest class of cultivators. These increases are, in every intsance, the result of improvements which, I admit, could not be made under the pressure of war or famine, or when the disturbance of the rate of exchange placed the Government in difficulty, and compelled it to enforce a disagreeable retrenchment. The late Government was necessarily driven to postpone improvements of this character, and I think they were right in doing it rather than resort to increase of taxation for the purpose. At the same time, I do not think we are liable to any reproach when, under no such pressure, with an increasing Revenue, we endeavour to resume the course of improvement which had been necessarily checked, and also, to some extent, to make up for time which has been lost.

I am able to announce some reduction—I regret it is not larger—in one branch of Expenditure, that on the Army. In the financial discussion at Calcutta, General Wilson made a comparison with the year 1877-8—the last in which there was no disturbance by extraordinary War Charges; and he stated that a reduction had been effected of £259,000. I have not the materials to explain exactly where the reduction has been effected, especially as, according to the statement of General Wilson, it is accompanied by an improvement in the position, pay, promotion, and non-effective pay of officers and soldiers in both the British and Native Armies. At all events, I think the broad fact will show that the Military Administration has been conducted with due regard to economical considerations. Certain reductions in the Establishment have been sanctioned recently, for which it has not been possible to take full credit in the Estimate for the present year. The reductions in the British Army which have been sanctioned are—four batteries of Horse Artillery, two of Field Artillery, and five garrison batteries of Artillery. At the same time, two reduced garrison batteries have been converted into mountain batteries. There is a reduction of 11 and an increase of two, making a net reduction of nine batteries of Artillery. Two remaining garrison batteries are also increased in strength. The financial results, prospective and practical, represent a reduction of between £70,000 and £80,000 a-year. In the Native Army the reductions which have been recommended and sanctioned are—in Cavalry, three Bengal regiments and one Bombay regiment; in Infantry, six Bengal, eight Madras, and four Bombay regiments. These are reductions of cadres, and concurrently with them there has been an increase in the numerical strength of the remaining regiments to 550 of all ranks in each Cavalry regiment, and 832 in each regiment of Native Infantry. The practical result is that there is the same number of rank and file in the new Establishment as in the old. The ultimate financial saving is estimated to amount to £100,000 or £120,000 a-year. In making this reduction, the Government of India have desired to offer to the non-commissioned officers and men of the reduced regiments such liberal terms as shall save them from inconvenience and suffering. They have reason to suppose that the terms offered have been adequate, because a considerable number have accepted their discharge, and have not re-enlisted in other regiments. The vacant places in the increased Establishment will be filled up from the same races as those from which the regiments have been previously recruited. In the opinion of the Government, these changes will not only lead to economy, but will also add to the efficiency of the Army, because the regiments which have been reduced have been those recruited from the least warlike races of India, and their places will be filled up by recruits from the most warlike races. At the same time, the Government have considered it their duty to increase the efficiency of the Native Forces by adding one English officer to each regiment. They have also been able to make a considerable improvement in the position of the non-commissioned officers of the Native regiments. The ultimate net saving will be £80,000 in the Artillery, and £100,000 in the Native regiments. These reductions have been adopted on the recommendation of the Government of India, to whom they were recommended by the Army Commission; but I am bound to say that the Government of India proposed to us considerably larger reductions in the British garrison, and, again, the Army Commission proposed considerably larger reductions than have been supported by the Government of India. The Army Commission recommended no reduction of numerical strength, except in the Artillery, where they thought the number excessive; but they recommended a large reduction of cadres in every arm, though accompanied by a corresponding increase of the strength of the remaining cadres. They contended that these measures, while resulting in considerable economy from the reduction of the most costly military element—that of the officers and non-commissioned officers—would produce more efficient fighting units. The Government of India, however, were not prepared to accept those recommendations in their entirety, in any branch of the Service; but they recommended the reduction of one regiment of British Cavalry, and four battalions of Infantry, the numbers being made good by increasing the strength of other regiments. Much doubt was, however, felt by my advisers in Council of the policy of these reductions. I admit that I should have been disposed to support a great part of these recommendations, but for the remonstrances with which they were met by the military authorities in this country. There is no question, in my opinion, more difficult to determine exactly, than that of the fair and just relations of India and the United Kingdom in regard to military expenditure. India pays for every man in her garrison, and for every man required from home to maintain the efficiency of that garrison; but the military liabilities of the United Kingdom towards India are not to be measured by the exact force of the garrison, or by the number of men necessary to maintain its efficiency. Great Britain would be bound, in case of emergency, to provide whatever military force might be required for service in India; and it is quite impossible to define the exact effect of that obligation. There is no doubt that the Military Establishment of the United Kingdom is, to a certain extent, regulated by the consideration that is always present in the minds of the military authorities, that India may have to make a call on the military strength of this country, and to demand troops in excess of her normal garrison. I am not, therefore, disposed to put forward on behalf of the Government of India any absolute claim to regulate their Military Establishment precisely as it may suit them at any given moment. The military authorities of this country are of opinion that the changes advocated by the Government of India would diminish the military strength of the British Forces in India, and they also contend that the proposed reduction would diminish the combined military strength of the Empire maintained by India and the United Kingdom. As regards the first point, the military efficiency of the Force in India, I should be disposed to give the greatest weight to military opinion in India; and, if I could think it purely an Indian military question, to assent to the whole of the proposed reduction. But, with respect to that aspect of the question which regards the combined strength of the whole Empire, I cannot deny that the authorities in this country have the greater weight; and I have, therefore, decided to waive the claim of the Indian Government for further reductions, though with a protest that their arguments should receive further consideration; and I am not without a hope that some such economy may be effected with no diminution of the military strength of the Empire. [MR. ONSLOW: When will the Papers be presented?] I do not know that there is very much Correspondence which can be given, but I will deal with that question presently. While I am on this point, I have also to state that the Government of India have made proposals connected with the organization of the Army, founded partly on the recommendations of the Army Commission, proposals which, I think, are even of greater importance than those relating to the reduction of the Forces, for they go to the root of the whole organization of the Indian Army. The House is aware that the supreme control over the whole of the Army in India, British and Native, rests with the Commander-in-Chief in India and the Indian Government; but the Madras and Bombay Armies, though in subordination to the Commander-in-Chief, are directly commanded by the local Commanders-in-Chief. The Government of India proposes the abolition of the offices of Commander-in-Chief of Bombay and Madras; and, instead of the three Armies now known as the Bengal, the Bombay, and the Madras Armies, they propose that the whole Force should consist of four Army Corps, the Bengal Army being divided into two Corps, and the Madras and Bombay Armies constituting one Corps each. Each of these Army Corps would be under the command of a lieutenant-general, who would be under the direct command of the Commander-in-Chief in India, and the Military Departments would be administered under the direct control of the Government of India, at Calcutta or Simla. They also think it would be possible, by a redistribution of the divisional and district commands, to effect a considerable reduction in the number of commands, and in the cost of Staffs. They further express their opinion that it would be possible to intrust to the lieutenant-generals commanding these Corps larger powers than are now possessed by them. I must acknowledge that great difference of opinion exists as to these proposals; in fact, I may go further, and state that there is an absolute divergence of opinion on this point between the Government of India and the Council of India in this country. The Government of India recommend these changes on the ground not only of economy, but also of efficiency. They say that at present the real power and responsibility rests with the Government of India and the Commander-in-Chief, but that the power is weakened and the responsibility diminished by the interposition of the local Commanders-in-Chief and the local Governments. They contend that the principle of segregation could be more efficiently observed by the redistribution they propose, and by more carefully keeping apart the different Native races of which the Native Army is constituted. And they argue that in every Military Department greater efficiency and economy will result from placing the Departments under the control, not of the local Governments, but of the Government of India. On the other hand, it is contended, and is the almost unanimous opinion of the Council of India, that the Indian Army is too large, and India itself too vast, to be administered advantageously in this manner. It is contended that Madras and Bombay are real and efficient centres of Military Administration, which have been found useful in the past, and may at any time be useful in the future. The Council say that there has been great advantage in not having all the Military Departments centred under one control, and that Madras and Bombay may still furnish efficient means of military organization. They deny that any economy will result from the substitution of four lieutenant-generals and their Staffs for the existing three Commanders-in-Chief and three Military Departments, and, above all, they contend that the principle of territorial segregation recommended by the Army Commission would be more than counterbalanced by the dangerous tendency to unification and the loss of *esprit de corps.* It was urged, moreover, that no Government of India, no Commander-in-Chief, and no Military Department, whether at Calcutta or Simla, could possibly have an intimate knowledge of the wishes, the wants, and the desires of the local Armies, and that, in the absence of such necessary knowledge, the most dangerous errors might be committed. I have not attempted to argue the question, but only to give a statement of the different views on this vital subject of organization which are held by different persons. The House will not be surprised to hear that the Government hesitated before giving effect to the recommendations of the Government of India. I do not know that it is necessary that I should put forward the importance of the question as an excuse for delay. No other course was open, for it would not have been possible for the Government to come to any final decision on the question. In order fully to carry out the views of the Government of India, the sanction of Parliament, by way of legislation, would have been necessary, and Parliament would not be disposed either to sanction or to reject a scheme of such great importance to our rule in India as that which I have indicated without full consideration and deliberation. It is quite clear, I think, that Parliament would not have been able to devote, either in the past or the present Session, adequate time to the consideration of a question of such vital importance. Whenever these proposals are brought before Parliament for adoption or rejection, I think the decision ought to be a final one. And, therefore, I do not think it necessary that I should excuse the Government to the House for not having, up to the present time, arrived at a final decision. I trust, however, that, before another year has elapsed, it may be possible for the Government, with the help of the best advice we can obtain, and giving due weight to the views entertained by the Council of India, to arrive at a decision on the subject, and to lay our conclusions before Parliament. The final responsibility, however, rests with the Government. The views of the Government of India are valuable, and no Secretary of State would be justified in disregarding them. But, nevertheless, a Secretary of State for India may at times take the responsibility of overruling those opinions. I may also point out, without in the slightest degree under-estimating the value of the opinions to which I have referred, and which are held by the majority of the Members of the Council of India, that it is natural that the Council should from its composition be opposed to very large and sweeping changes. The Council of India does not represent the prevailing opinion of Indian Administrators; it represents opinions which prevailed five or 10 years ago, or even longer. The Council of India will always be of a conservative character, and in questions involving very important changes it will very rarely be prepared to go the length which the actual Government of India are prepared to go. I have been asked whether the Papers on the subject can be laid before Parliament. I have already said that, as soon as there was a probability of Parliament being able to discuss any tangible proposals, I hoped it would be placed in possession of all the information necessary. The Report, or the greater part of the Report, will be laid upon the Table; but I cannot undertake to say that the whole of the Report will be published, a great deal of the evidence having been given under circumstances which would make its publication impossible. As I have said, the greater part of the Report will be laid before Parliament; but I am not at all convinced that it would be desirable that the Papers should be produced before the Government forms a final conclusion on the matter, and the time approaches when Parliament will be called upon to consider that conclusion.

There are one or two subjects connected with the Budget Estimates to which I must ask the attention of the House for a short time. I have already referred to improvements intended to be made next year in the position of the subordinate Civil Servants. The Government of India have had before them proposals connected with the subject of the Civil Service. It has been found that there exist in different Provinces of India very wide differences in the duties attached to similar appointments, and also with respect to the pay, promotion, and prospects of the officers. Great inconveniences also have been found to arise from the system of acting appointments and acting allowances, which has sprung from the necessity for frequent furloughs for considerable periods. It has become an extremely complicated question; the pay and position of a Covenanted Civil Servant depend rarely on his substantive appointment, but far more on the acting appointment which he may hold or have a claim to hold. Such a system causes great confusion and much unnecessary shifting and dislocation. The details of the scheme have yet to be considered in connection with the Local Governments; but I may mention very briefly that the principle of our policy in this matter is to have the number of the superior appointments, whether in administrative departments or executive offices, which must necessarily be held by covenanted civilians, fixed absolutely for periods of five years, assigning to those appointments suitable rates of pay, and grading them so as to give to every Civil Servant after a suitable probation, and after the time necessary for acquiring a knowledge of his duties, the certainty of arriving at a position of responsible duty with suitable pay. No member of the Civil Service ought to be retained in a subordinate position longer than is necessary to acquire a knowledge of his duty; and any increase of the subordinate establishment within the five-year period should be made from the Native Service. Relying, as the Government of India proposes to do, on the Native subordinate Civil Service more exclusively than it has hitherto done, it is necessary that it should be efficient, and, in order that it may be efficient, it is necessary that it be adequately paid.

Another point of considerable importance as affecting the financial arrangements of the year was the quinquennial settlement of the contracts with the Provincial Governments. These have now been based on the principle that, instead of the Local Governments receiving a fixed sum of money to make good any excess of Provincialized expenditure over Provincialized receipts, a certain portion of the Imperial Revenue of each Province shall be devoted to that object. A few heads are reserved as Imperial, others are divided between Imperial and Provincial, and the rest are made Provincial. The balance of revenue and charge thus made Provincial, being against the Local Governments, will be rectified for each Province by a fixed percentage on its Land Revenue, which otherwise is reserved as Imperial, and in the case of British Burma by a percentage also of the export duty on rice and the revenue from salt. The advantage of this system is that the Provincial Governments will have a direct interest, not only in the Provincialized Revenue, but also in the most important head of Imperial Revenue raised within their own Provinces. The general result of these arrangements is that in about three-fifths of the Revenue, amounting to £42,000,000, and in about one-fourth of the Expenditure, amounting to £19,000,000, the Provincial Governments will, to a greater or less extent, have an interest in, and responsibility for, their administration. As regards the financial effect of the new contracts, it is obvious that the Government of India could not possibly forego all claim on the increments of revenue which arise from the growing wealth of the country; and, when the contracts which have just expired were made, power was reserved to revise the arrangements subsequently. The new contracts are, however, framed in a liberal spirit, so as to make no revision at the expense of the Provincial Revenues, except in cases where such a course would not embarrass Provincial finance or check the growth of the material prosperity of the Province. It was found, on a careful examination of the circumstances in each case, that the Supreme Government might, on the whole, reduce its grants by £470,000 a-year. Of this sum, however, it has given back £78,000 for the improvement of the position of the subordinate Civil Service, and for general purposes in the Central Provinces, &c.; £20,000 to Madras for public works; £326,000 to the North-West Provinces and Oudh, on account of the payment of additional Revenue officers and village accountants, and the remission of a cess levied for the remuneration of such persons; and £72,000 to Bengal, British Burma, and the North-West Provinces, for various minor reasons. Thus the net result is a loss to the Supreme Government of £26,000 for each of the five ensuing years; but the whole amount of the last-mentioned £72,000 a-year has been paid at once from the balances in a lump sum of £360,000, so that the Revenue of the Supreme Government in the coming years will actually benefit to the extent of £46,000 a-year annually.

The condition of the cultivators of land in the North-West Provinces and Oudh has been already mentioned in Parliament. The Government of India have arrived at the conclusion, after a careful examination of the social condition of the people, that in no part of India does there exist greater poverty than in the North-West Provinces; and it has been determined, as I have just stated, to remit certain payments borne in the main by cultivators of the soil in that part of the country. According to the estimate, the remission will amount to £316,000.

The following, then, was the financial position of the Government of India. Taking into consideration all the circumstances to which I have referred—the new arrangements with the Provincial Governments, and the increased expenditure which they entail—the estimated surplus, if no remission of taxation had taken place, would have been £3,171,000. The question which the Government of India had to consider was to what purposes ought the surplus to be applied. Some people might have recommended that it should be applied to the reduction of debt, and others that it should be applied to increase the expenditure upon productive Public Works. In the opinion of the Government, both those objects were good ones; but neither of them has been neglected. Provision is already being made for the reduction of debt by the inclusion in the annual Estimates of £1,500,000, the average sum considered necessary by the Famine Commission, of which half is devoted to the repayment of debt, and half to the construction of protective works, which, it is hoped, will make the contraction of debt on account of famine relief less necessary. In the same way care has already been taken for the extension of Public Works. The expenditure upon such works is not limited to the £2,500,000 which they had annually borrowed. In the year 1880-1, for example, the expenditure from borrowed money was £614,000 on Irrigation Works; £2,554,000 on State Railways; £70,000 on the Madras Harbour; and £418,000 on the East Indian Railway; £435,000 was spent from Guaranteed Railway Capital; while out of Revenue was spent £2,294,000 on the Frontier Railways; £77,000 on other railways; £290,000 on irrigation works; and £1,427,000 on buildings and roads. Thus, the total outlay on the construction of public works of all kinds was upwards of £8,000,000, which is quite as much as can with prudence be laid out in one year. The Government of India think that it would not be wise, in a time of exceptional prosperity, to pledge themselves to a course of additional expenditure upon public works. There was something more necessary than either of the two objects that I have named. The main object of the Government of India was to place the fiscal system of that country upon a sounder and more secure foundation. The precarious character of the Opium Revenue, the sudden fluctuations of exchange, the liability to recurring famines, and the inelasticity of many of the sources of revenue, are factors in connection with Indian finance which cannot be ignored. Nor is it of any use simply to admit them with an expression of regret; the difficulties and risks must be fairly faced. Again, it would not be desirable to seek to meet them simply by a reduction of expenditure, and so, by unwise parsimony, to forbid the hope of future development. The true policy is to husband those sources of revenue which are assured, and to develop those which have the elements of extension. If it be true, for instance, that the Opium Revenue cannot be relied on for a long series of years, it yet shows no diminution or insecurity in the immediate present, and the best use to which it can be put is to develop those sources which may in time replace it. The Government of India have, therefore, sought for something in the nature of a financial reserve, something which should, however distantly, resemble the great reserves which we possess in the Income Tax and the Excise Duties. It is certain that in India no such reserve is to be found in the Income Tax, or in any form of direct taxation, though I do not despair of its being possible to incorporate some form of direct taxation as a permanent source of revenue. There is much of the wealth of India, such as that which is acquired in trade and industrial occupations, and that derived from settled landed property, which escapes taxation, or, at all events, does not pay a fair proportion of taxes to the State; and too large a proportion of the State burdens is borne by the poorest classes and the most struggling cultivators of the soil. It is, I think, just that the wealthy classes of India should contribute something more than they do now. The objections to an Income Tax, on account of its inequality, its inquisitorial character, the fraud and oppression exercised in its collection, are in India at least as great as elsewhere, if not greater. Above all, there has in India been the extreme uncertainty of the demand. To quote from Major Baring's statement—

> "In the last 22 years no less than 23 Acts of the Legislature have been passed, in which successive Governments have either rung the changes on the various expedients for imposing direct taxes, or have, for the time being, adopted

a policy opposed to any direct taxation whatsoever. These frequent changes have rendered it difficult for the taxpayers to ascertain the true amount due from them, and have facilitated arbitrary and illegal exactions on the part of the tax-gatherers."

The Government of India thus came to the conclusion that a system of direct taxation cannot form the requisite financial reserve, and they therefore wisely decided not to deal with it on the present occasion. It is, however, admitted that the Licence Tax cannot be left as it is, and that it must either be given up or be remodelled in such a manner as to form a permanent and certain part of the taxation of the country,

The direction in which the Government next turned for their reserve was the Salt Tax. It appeared to me, as it probably has to everyone, on first making acquaintance with the facts of Indian finance, that this tax is open to every possible objection to which a tax can be liable. It is a tax upon a necessary of life, and it is a tax which, for the protection of the Revenue, makes it necessary for the law to declare it to be a penal offence for a man to collect or store a little salt earth for the purpose of seasoning his scanty food. But, on the other hand, it has some great advantages. It is the only means of reaching the mass of the population. Its incidence is light—a few annas per head annually; and it seems to possess some important qualities of a financial reserve, seeing that in time of pressure a considerable addition to the Revenue might be obtained by simply increasing the rate of duty. To render it, however, useful for such a purpose, it is necessary that in ordinary times it should be reduced to the lowest rate practicable. Great improvements have been made in regard to it in recent years. An approach to an equalization of the incidence of this tax was made by the late Government, involving an increase in some Provinces, but a larger decrease to a larger number of people in others. The Government of India, with the view of reducing the price of this necessary article of life to the poorest classes, of extending the consumption of an excisable article, and of strengthening the financial position and equalizing the incidence of the Salt Tax, has decided to take advantage of the prosperous condition, and especially of the present high receipts from opium, and has made a reduction in the duty on salt of 30 per cent in Bengal, and of 20 per cent in the remaining parts of India. It is singular that this is the part of the Budget which has provoked most criticism. There is a school of financiers in India which has very curious views of political economy, holding that low duties do not stimulate consumption, and that indirect taxes are not felt by the people. I trust that the result of this very considerable reduction of the Salt Tax will prove more conclusively than any argument the unsoundness of their theory. It is, of course, too early to judge what will be the result. The consumption of salt is influenced by so many considerations, by the quantity of stock in hand, and by so many other circumstances which it would be idle to ignore, that it is not possible to form an opinion as to what will be the permanent result of this measure. But as far as it has gone the result of four months of the present year has been certainly satisfactory. The consumption of the four months from March to June of this year, compared with the consumption of the four corresponding months of last year, shows an increase of nearly 10 per cent, while it is more than 13½ per cent above the average consumption of the past three years. Whether that increase will be permanently maintained it is too early to foretell; but there seems reason to hope that the estimate of a net loss of £1,400,000 owing to the reduction will not be realized.

I now come to another great step taken by the Government of India—namely, the reform of the Customs Duties, the importance of which has been somewhat obscured by the controversy as to a single branch—those on cotton goods. It is said that it has been adopted owing to the demand from England, and as a concession to powerful Home interests. But this is to put it on a false issue; it might, no doubt, be sufficient to point to the anomalies and disturbance of trade which have resulted from the partial remissions in the case of the Cotton Duties, and which have been fully expounded by Major Baring. But I think it is desirable to look at this question from a broad point of view. The fact is, that there is no country in the world where it is less desirable to raise Revenue by duties on foreign trade than in India. This is proved, in the first place, by Indian trade being very small relatively to its population. It is eminently desirable, in the interests of India, that its trade should be increased. In the second place, the variety of the productions and of the industrial capacity of the workers gives to any tariff a protective character. Thirdly, the mass of the people, being poor, consume no luxuries of foreign importation, and, the wealthier persons being numerically so small a class, it is not worth while to maintain indirect taxes falling only on them. Whatever opinion may be held as to the relative disadvantages of direct and indirect taxation generally, it is clear that regard must be had to the conditions of the country in which it is to be imposed. In such questions there are certain rules of political economy which are also rules of common sense. Taxes which take more from the taxpayer than the Exchequer receives are bad; taxes which yield little in proportion to the cost of collection, and the inconvenience and injury of the community, are bad. Judged by either of these standards, the Import Duties are condemned. A few years ago the Tariff Duty was placed at 10 per cent, a rate which Mr. Cobden used to say was the lowest it was worth while to impose; but the trade of India was not strong enough to bear so high a rate, and it was successively reduced to 7½ and 5 per cent. The remission proved to be wise, as no appreciable loss of Revenue ensued. But, when these reductions had been made, and when machinery and various articles had been from time to time exempted, the duties on cotton, salt, and spirits were the only ones remaining which, from a fiscal point of view, it was worth while to retain. The Salt Duty and the Spirit Duty, which are counteracted by Excise Duties, will remain; but the Cotton Duty, which is the only other article from which any considerable Revenue is derived, is distinctly of a protective character. It was impossible to deny that this duty was protective in principle, though every kind of ingenious argument was brought forward to prove that it was not so in practice—an unfortunate line of reasoning for the supporters of the duties, because it proved fatal to their existence. The general arguments upon this subject are well set out in the Marquess of Salisbury's despatch of May 31, 1876, and, so far as I am aware, have never been controverted. The despatch showed that the whole of the duties were at the time protective, and that they were tending to become more protective still. It was contended by the advocates of the Cotton Duties that there was no Indian trade with which the British manufacturer really competed. It was said that the Indian manufacturer was not capable of competing with the British. The figures relating to the exportation of Indian-made cotton goods from Indian ports to foreign and other Indian ports show that since 1874 those exports have greatly increased, from £1,260,000 in 1874-5 to £3,564,000 in 1880-1. The number of mills and the number of persons employed have also risen enormously. It is thus clear that a large Indian industry is growing up under the injurious influence of the Protective Tariff. An article of necessary consumption by the people of India is being raised in price by the effect of the Protective Tariff, and the Revenue upon which the Government calculated is gradually slipping away. Under these circumstances, there is only one argument which could justify even the temporary retention of these duties, and that is the argument of financial exigency. But that argument had disappeared; the duties were bad in principle, while their existing condition led to confusion and dislocation of trade; they were condemned by Parliament; their retention caused a conflict between great interests in India and at home; they were an unsound and rotten part of the Indian fiscal system; and it was inevitable that they should go on this, the first clear and evident opportunity. They have been swept away, and with them have gone the minor duties which it was no longer worth while to collect. The result is, that India has become a great free port, and an experiment in Free Trade will now be carried out in India on, perhaps, the largest and grandest scale upon which it has ever been tried. I regret that I should have been compelled to say anything against the arguments of my friends, and doubtless there may still be a question as to the time and mode selected for striking the blow; but I think, now that the question has been finally settled, it is right that I should say a few words in justice to the Lancashire manufacturers, and to the late Government. The manufacturers were, I consider, perfectly justified in the part they have taken in opposing these duties. Exposed as they are to the various effects of competition in their own country, they have a right to demand from the Government under which they live that, so far as it is in their power, they should not be harassed by the application of principles which have been pronounced inexpedient in their own case. It seems to me that they had a right to claim that, as soon as the financial exigency would permit, they should enjoy for their trade in India the advantage of that free competition to which they are exposed in their own country. I have no hesitation in saying that the policy and the action of the Government of India with regard to the duty is sound and wise, and that it has been adopted, not in deference to any political pressure or exigency, but deliberately in the interests of the people of India. Before I part with this subject I wish to make an appeal to my right hon. friend the Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer. I have had very frequent and urgent requests made to me from India for the abolition of the duty on silver plate in this country. I think that it would be a graceful concession on the part of this country to surrender a duty on which they feel in India a very considerable interest, and which is of no great amount. I find, however, from the statements of my right hon. Friend, that there is some difficulty in dealing with the subject at the present moment.

Before I conclude, I should state to the House the result of the working of the railway and irrigation works. During the year 1881, 726 miles of new railway were opened for traffic, the total number of miles now finished, or in course of construction, being 11,900, and the extent open for traffic 9,875 miles. The total amount of capital expended on railways stood at the end of 1881 at £134,200,000, and the net Revenue during 1881 was £6,953,000. The gross receipts were £13,726,000, and the working expenses, £6,773,000. The net receipts yielded a return of £5 3*s.* per cent, and in 1880, £4 15*s.* per cent; the East Indian and guaranteed lines together yielded £6 5*s.* per cent, and the State lines £2 3*s.* per cent. A large trade in the exportation of wheat to this country has been started, and will be still larger when the railways are more fully developed.

The net addition to the Debt in 1880-1 was £5,661,000, including a loan in India of 313 lakhs for Protective Works, and the raising of £3,500,000 of 3½ per cent Stock in England. In 1881-2, when India bonds to the amount of £4,500,000 were repaid, the net addition to the Debt was only £927,000, notwithstanding the raising of a loan of 3 crores of rupees for Protective Works in India. In 1882-3, the Budget Estimate shows a net discharge of debt to the extent of £1,188,000, chiefly through the application of the Famine Insurance money to the repayment of securities bearing interest at 5 or 4 per cent. This, however, involves an estimated reduction of the cash balances from £17,251,000 on the 1st of April, 1882, to £12,995,000 on the 31st of March, 1883, after allowing for an expenditure of £3,250,000 on Public Works. The Government of India carefully reserve the question whether any loan will be raised during the year to replenish the balances; but they hope that funds may be obtained by means of the Post Office Savings' Banks, and by the issue of Stock-notes—the details of which are explained in a paper appended to Major Baring's statement—sufficient to render any loan unnecessary.

It is hardly necessary for me to say that the Estimates were framed several months ago, before the Indian Government had any expectation of incurring the expenditure for the expedition to Egypt. Up to the present time I have not been able to receive anything but telegraphic information on the subject of this expenditure; but a fortnight ago I received a rough estimate which has occasioned me very great surprise. The estimate which the Indian Government has given for the expedition, including the cost of transport and maintenance in Egypt for three months, is £1,880,000, a sum greatly in excess of the amount I anticipated the other day. Whatever decision the House may arrive at respecting the incidence of this charge, it cannot be without its effect on the Ways and Means during the present year. It appears that the Revenue for the first four months of this year was greater than was estimated, while the Expenditure was somewhat less; so that, even with the addition of the expenses incurred by the expedition to Egypt, it is not likely that the Government of India will be compelled to depart very widely from their original proposals, or that they will have to make any exceptional arrangements. This is a subject upon which it is necessary always to speak with reserve. The Indian Government wisely refuse at all times to pledge themselves either to borrow or not to borrow for the purpose of Public Works. Therefore, I must not be expected to commit myself upon this matter. All I wish to impress upon the House is that, notwithstanding the heavy charge they may be called upon to pay during the present year, I see no reason to suppose that the financial arrangements of the Indian Government will be seriously affected thereby. The actual Revenue in excess of the estimated Revenue may be such as to enable them, without much inconvenience, to meet this charge.

I have now, in spite of all my efforts, spoken at much too great length. I have had some critical points to dwell upon. I am aware that, notwithstanding the length of my remarks, there are many important subjects of which I have been able only to give a very imperfect summary. The two past years have been, on the part of the Government of India, years of very great activity in the investigation and examination of some of the most important problems of Indian finance. I am afraid that the Home Government, occupied as it has been with nearer and more pressing, but certainly not more important questions, has been scarcely able to keep pace with the activity of the Indian Government. But nevertheless in these two years much has been done in India, and reforms, financial and social, have been initiated. Above all, I think that the statement which I have made shows that the Indian Government have availed themselves of the favourable seasons, and, having avoided, most fortunately, until the present year, both foreign war and domestic trouble, have made use of the advantages which they have enjoyed to apply to Indian finance those sound and scientific principles which have done so much for other countries, and have done much to relieve the future of Indian finance and the administration both at home and in India of those anxieties and those disquietudes which have so often heavily oppressed our rule in India.

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, that he had originally intended to remark upon the period of the Session at which the Indian Budget had been brought forward, and he should have done so, were it not for the fact that the Statement of the noble Marquess had almost disarmed his criticism. He was heartily glad, at any rate, that the noble Marquess had not used the argument which the Prime Minister had used on the subject. He did not base the fact that the Budget was taken so late in the Session on account of the obstruction to Public Business. The fact was that it had grown to be the invariable practice, though broken through by the late Government, to take the Indian Budget at the last period of the Session. The noble Marquess had said that it was not much use to take it earlier, as it was not a subject of very general interest; but he (Mr. E. Stanhope) should like to see the experiment tried. He did not, in fact, think the House would be doing its duty to India unless, by some arrangement of the Public Business, an earlier period of the Session were chosen for the discussion on the Budget for that country. He had listened to the very interesting Statement of the noble Marquess, which had gone over a great number of topics, some of which were of too wide a range for him (Mr. E. Stanhope) to deal with then. But there were two subjects which deserved ample discussion, and which at some future time he hoped would be adequately dealt with. One was the policy of the present Government with regard to railways, which deserved full and complete discussion; the other was the Opium Question, and the latter was so extensive that he would reserve his remarks for a future occasion. But all those who were interested in the question of the Indian finances could not fail to have observed with great satisfaction the result of the financial measures which were adopted by the Government of India some four or five years ago, and which had resulted in the present magnificent surplus. Major Baring, the present Finance Minister, had admitted this so fully that he (Mr. E. Stanhope) would quote his words. He said—

> "So far as the flourishing condition of the finances which I have given above results from financial administration, the credit is due, not to the present Government, but to its Predecessors."

That was, to Lord Lytton and Sir John Strachey. But he (Mr. E. Stanhope) could heartily agree with the noble Marquess as to the use made of that surplus by Major Baring. It had been used with courage and sound judgment; and, although the estimated surplus was smaller than he could wish, and smaller than persons of more experience than himself advised, yet he could not but admit that a courageous forecast of the future was justifiable in present circumstances. He must be allowed to congratulate Major Baring upon having been able to repeal the Cotton Duties and import duties generally. It was to the interest of India to get rid of what was likely to be in the future a source of friction between this country and India. With respect to the Salt Duties, he would read one passage from the admirable work recently published of Sir John Strachey and his brother, General Strachey, which was a perfect mine of information on this and other subjects. The writers said—

> "No time could be more favourable than the present for taking another step in this direction (of giving the people throughout India an unlimited supply of salt at the cheapest possible cost) by a large and general reduction of the Salt Duties. The condition of the finances is so prosperous that a temporary loss of Revenue could well be afforded; but this would rapidly diminish, and the Salt Revenue would before long be in a far more satisfactory condition than any which had hitherto existed."

That was the course which Major Baring had adopted. The first point was, the desirability of reducing the cost of a prime necessary of life; and the second, that the general financial condition of India would be strengthened by that course. The noble Marquess had dwelt upon that point, and he (Mr. E. Stanhope) hoped that the temporary decrease of Revenue might be met without resort to those objectionable means which had hitherto been found necessary in India. Major Baring had also anticipated that the consumption would be increased. He said—

> "It is almost certain that the consumption will be increased by so large a reduction as 30 per cent in Bengal and 20 per cent elsewhere."

He was glad to hear from the noble Marquess that the expectation was likely to be realized. There was another point to which he desired to draw the attention of the House. That was the estimate of opium. It was a source of great satisfaction to him that the Opium Revenue had been estimated upon the true ground, for the only sound method was to estimate it at the amount which was really likely to be received. To fix it at an arbitrary sum, as had been done last year, was most objectionable, and especially because of the temptation it offered to fix, so as to make the Estimate high or low, according to the financial necessities of the time. But the most prominent feature of the present Budget which he desired to bring before the House was the continued increase in the ordinary Expenditure of India. Three years ago he thought everybody had made up their mind upon this subject. Three years ago the Government of India, Her Majesty's Government, the House of Commons, and the public unanimously agreed that there ought to be a large reduction of Expenditure. The only real criticism upon the proposal was that made by the present Prime Minister, who pronounced the proposed reduction to be inadequate. But that reduction of Expenditure was proposed and accepted, not because of the heavy expense to which India was subjected in consequence of the Afghan War, but because, on all grounds, it was essential to the permanent welfare of our position in India. And, accordingly, the Government of India took steps to carry it out; and the results appeared in the Budget of 1880-1. But since that time—in fact, ever since the Marquess of Ripon had been Viceroy—a reaction had taken place, and the ordinary Expenditure of India had largely increased. The extent of that increase was probably hardly known to the House. But the noble Marquess frankly told them that, subject to certain deductions, his estimate of an increase of £3,500,000 was not exaggerated. The noble Marquess had, in fact, admitted the whole of the case he (Mr. E. Stanhope) had put forward; but still, in order to make his position on this matter beyond doubt, he hoped that he might be permitted to place it before them still more clearly, but with as few figures as he could. He took for the purpose the Return of Net Expenditure in India (known as Parliamentary Paper 214 of this Session). Now, in order to make a fair comparison of the ordinary Expenditure of India in different years, it was necessary to exclude one item, which was entirely beyond the control of the Government—namely, loss by exchange, and other items which occurred exceptionally, such as the charges for frontier railways and for war. And he also deducted certain mere adjusting entries, known as the Provincial and Local Surpluses and Deficits. In 1880-1, the first of the three years under review, the net Expenditure was £49,617,688. Deducting from that amount the items of loss by exchange, frontier railways, and war expenditure, amounting in all to £13,081,306, he arrived at a net ordinary Expenditure for the year of

£36,536,382. In 1881-2 the net Expenditure was £42,860,483. He deducted in the same way for frontier railways and loss by exchange; but he had, on the other hand, to make an allowance for the excess of receipts from the English Exchequer over and above the expenditure for the Afghan War. He arrived in this way at a net ordinary Expenditure of £40,292,700, or £3,250,000 more than in the previous year. In 1882-3 the net Expenditure was estimated at £43,796,000. Deducting, in the same way as before, £2,998,000 for frontier railways and loss by exchange, he found a true net ordinary Expenditure of £40,798,000, or £500,000 more than last year, and no less than £4,250,000 in excess of 1880-1. But he ought also to allow for the amount now placed to the credit of famine insurance, or £1,500,000 a-year during the past two years, so that the actual increase in the first year was £2,250,000, and in the second £2,750,000. That was an enormous increase, even if it were admitted that the standard of 1880, attained by a great effort, was a difficult one to maintain. But even if the comparison were to be made with previous years, a very large increase would still be shown. How had it been caused? If any hon. Member would take the trouble to examine this Return, he would find that an increase had taken place on many of the items of expenditure, but that it had chiefly arisen under the head of Public Works. The very large increase which had taken place under this head could best be estimated by the figures in a Return for which he recently moved, and from which it would be seen that the total net charge on the Revenue of the year for Public Works was £6,305,000, as against £3,408,000 in 1880-1, or an increase of not much under £3,000,000 sterling. For if he took the single items of what were called Public Works Ordinary, it would be found that the cost of these works was taken for the present year at £6,368,000, as against £4,353,000 in 1880-1, or as against £4,600,000, which was the average expenditure upon these works during the five years immediately preceding 1879. Upon these figures no one could doubt that an enormous increase of expenditure had recently taken place under this head; and he confessed that his own apprehensions on the subject were enormously increased by a step upon which the noble Marquess had recently decided. He had sanctioned the re-establishment of the office of Public Works Minister in India, which was abolished, after full consideration, in 1879; and principally upon the special ground that to make the construction of Public Works a subordinate Department under the Minister of Finance would be to establish a more complete system of control over an expenditure which there was every temptation to extend in India, and which it required very careful supervision to hold in check. He hoped the House would not suppose that he was undervaluing the importance of Public Works in India. We certainly did not spare our money for promoting them. The noble Marquess had told them that day that they spent last year out of capital no less than £8,000,000 sterling on Public Works, and that did not exhaust the subject, because very considerable works were being undertaken also, as they were all glad to know, by private capitalists. Certainly, the results of most of their past expenditure, not only in its direct financial returns, but in the indirect benefit which it had conferred upon the country, were highly encouraging. But his fear was that, in pursuit of these great and noble objects, they would again begin to force this expenditure on India more rapidly than India was able to bear it, and that they were losing sight of the necessity of economy as regarded that expenditure, a necessity of which, personally, he was as much convinced as he was in 1879. Looking to the certain recurrence of famines, and to the many great and difficult problems which they would have to face in India, the importance of making provision for a rainy—or, as he was afraid they must put it, a dry day—was no less pressing than it ever was. But it might be said—"Surely this provision for times of adversity was the special object of the so-called 'famine insurance surplus.'" No doubt it was; but he was sorry that, upon a very careful examination, he could not say that that object was being attained. The House would remember that the original idea was based upon the assumption that famine entailed upon India an expenditure of about £15,000,000 every 10 years. If, then, they provided an annual surplus of £1,500,000, they would be put into the position of meeting all their famine expenditure without permanent addition to the Debt. Well, accordingly, they had provided an annual surplus of £1,500,000, and how was it disposed of? When, happily, there was no famine which required expenditure, we gave one-half of the surplus to "Protective" public works—that was, works specially constructed to protect particular districts against famine, or to afford means of relief in the event of its occurrence. And if only the works were carefully selected, everybody must approve that appropriation. The remainder, or £750,000 a-year, was to be devoted to the reduction of Debt. But what Debt? The original intention always was, that that amount should be applied, whenever reasonably possible, to the reduction of the Gold Debt in England. The effect of that would be as follows:—When a serious famine occurred, and they had to borrow on a large scale, it inevitably followed that they had partly to borrow in England. But if, in the meantime, they had been gradually remitting from India, year by year, for reduction of Debt, the ultimate result was that the permanent amount of the Debt in England was not increased. That policy was sanctioned by the noble Marquess the present Secretary of State for India, and it was accepted in principle by the Government of India; but, in practice, it was not being carried out, and he (Mr. E. Stanhope) was sorry to see that, in October last, the noble Marquess sanctioned the application of the famine insurance moneys during this year to the reduction of Debt in India, although the smaller amount of bills to be offered for competition would seem to have afforded an opportunity for endeavouring to carry out the policy of reducing the Gold Debt. The noble Marquess had told them that day, and it appeared also in the Papers laid on the Table, that, in October last, he sanctioned the application of half of the famine relief surplus towards the reduction of the Debt in India, although a smaller amount of bills were going to be sold during the present year, and it would appear justifiable if greater efforts were made to obtain remittances towards the reduction of that Debt. In effect, what the Government of India was doing was this. With one hand, they were paying off debts; and with the other, borrowing money for Public Works to a much greater extent. The result was that, in effect, the famine relief surplus was devoted to Public Works. When the noble Marquess told them the amount required for the service of the war in Egypt, and the amount of the cash balances, he must be a very sanguine man, he (Mr. E. Stanhope) thought, who did not believe it would be necessary to borrow during the current year. His position was this. If it were not easy to send money from India for the purpose of reducing the Gold Debt in England, it became all the more necessary to practise economy in the Public Expenditure of India. He had dealt with the question of Public Works, but there were a number of other questions which quite as much as that one deserved attention. For instance, there was the military expenditure, and he had observed with great satisfaction the reduction that had taken place under that head; and although, perhaps, the reduction was rather more apparent than real, still, so far as it went, it was satisfactory. He had pressed the noble Marquess, during the present Session, to produce to them the Report of the Simla Army Commission. His reason for that was, that he believed that the only possible means of effecting economy in expenditure in India was by enlisting on their side the support of the public opinion of this country. Certain points, indeed, had been mentioned by the noble Marquess, which appeared to show that much good would have been done if the Report of that Commission had been published. The noble Marquess had referred to one subject which interested him (Mr. E. Stanhope) very much—that was the proposal to abolish the local Commanders-in-Chief, and to substitute for them lieutenant generals in command of Army Corps. The noble Marquess had told them that there was the utmost possible divergence of opinion on that question, and that he was not in a position to state precisely his conclusions. But both sides were before the noble Marquess. What were the views presented to him? In the first place, there was the view of the Simla Army Commission, and he would remind the House that that Commission had one of the ablest civilians in the Service—Sir Ashley Eden—as President, and one of the best soldiers—Sir Frederick Roberts—as two of its members, On the other side, they had the opinions of the Council of the noble Marquess; and as regarded the latter, he (Mr. E. Stanhope) had no desire to say anything of a disparaging nature. During past years the Government of India had derived most valuable and important services from them; but, still, at the same time, as practical interpreters of what India's military requirements were, he could not but think that the Commission was a greater authority and weight than the Council in this country. Between those two authorities, however, he should not venture to decide. All he could say was that, at the time of the Afghan War, it was proved to him conclusively that the system as it stood was unsatisfactory. He believed there was great truth in the remark made by a distinguished general at that time, when they were employing troops both from the Bengal Army and from Bombay, that the result was that they were not operating against Afghanistan with one army, but that they were in exactly the same position as if they were employing two allied armies. There could be no doubt that such a system as that caused very great inconvenience, and was eminently unsatisfactory. The noble Marquess said that it was quite impossible to alter that without submitting legislation to that House. Well, in that case, he (Mr. E. Stanhope) hoped the noble Marquess would submit a Bill to Parliament, which would have the effect of insuring a practical discussion on the matter, and might be referred to a strong Committee if necessary. Before passing from the subject of expenditure, he wished to say that he feared that those who were in favour of rigid economy in the Indian finances must, for the present, be contented with entering a simple protest, when they considered the circumstances with which they had to deal. There were two or three points on which he wished to ask the noble Marquess a question. The first was on a subject on which the noble Marquess had not touched that night—namely, with regard to the experiment that had been tried since last year in selling the Council's bills, of announcing a minimum price beforehand. At first this appeared to work satisfactorily; but since then there were indications which led many to doubt its success; and he would therefore like to ask the noble Marquess to state, so far as he could properly do so, the results of that experiment. The next question was as to local self-government. A mysterious Order had been issued by the Marquess of Ripon on this subject; and, as there were a number of people who regarded the proposal with considerable anxiety, going, as it did, far beyond the recent proposals of Sir Ashley Eden in Bengal, which were in themselves bold enough. At first sight it certainly appeared to be rash and hasty, and he had read it with great surprise. He would only now express the hope that it had been carefully considered, and would not, in any case, be put into practical operation without great caution. With regard to the cost of the war in Egypt, the noble Marquess had given them, he said, an outside estimate. He (Mr. E. Stanhope) accepted it, however, because he remembered that the estimate as to the sending of troops to Malta was singularly accurate. The noble Marquess had stated that the expenditure under the former head would be no less than £1,800,000; but he would remind him that the cost of bringing the Indian troops to Malta did not exceed £800,000. The noble Marquess had stated in regard to this sum that he believed, having regard to the revenue received since the Budget Estimate, there would be no great difficulty in providing for it. He hoped that statement of the noble Marquess would turn out to be true. In conclusion, he would say that he had detained the House at greater length than he intended. Upon the whole, however, he was sure that the House had derived the same impression as he had himself from the noble Marquess's statement—that it was a satisfactory and an encouraging statement; but he hoped that the Government would not give way too much to that view of the case. He would venture to repeat what he had once said before—that there was excessive danger of rushing into extremes, and he must warn them against taking at one time an optimist, and at another a pessimist view of the affairs of India. At one time they were in a condition of unreasoning apprehension; at another they were apt to fall into apathy and neglect. Indian finance always required close and careful attention, on the part of both the House and the country, if it was ever to be placed upon a sound and satisfactory footing.

Mr. CROPPER said, it was to be deeply regretted that the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for India (the Marquess of Hartington), in his very able and exhaustive Statement on the affairs of India, had spoken so very briefly on one large source of Indian revenue—namely, that derived from opium, which was very uncertain and so very likely to change, that he (Mr. Cropper) should very much have liked for the noble Marquess to have given them his own views as to the future. He (Mr. Cropper) alluded to the Opium Duty. He would like to know what provision was contemplated to meet the loss which would be entailed in the event of that traffic being abolished; and what tax or scheme would be substituted should that contingency occur? How would he raise the £7,000,000 now derived from opium, in case it should be taken from him. Several suggestions had recently been made which tended to show that the Opium Revenue of India was by no means so assured as it used to be. Many persons in this country felt not only that the opium traffic was a crime against China, but that it was a grave danger to India that it should be one of the great staples of the revenue of our greatest Dependency. If China should hereafter resist the introduction of opium from our Dominions, the people of England would refuse to sanction another war to force the pernicious drug upon the Chinese, and then call on the Indian Government to make arrangements for dispensing with that source of revenue. Opium smoking and opium eating were a curse to the countries where they were practised; and it should be the part of a wise statesman to provide in time for such a contingency as he had indicated. Last June, the Bombay merchants had memorialized the Government for a reduction of the duties on Malwa opium, and a reduction of 50 rupees per chest had been made. Now, he should desire to increase the consumption of an article like salt by a reduction of the duty; but he was very sorry indeed to see the consumption of opium in China stimulated by a reduction of duty. He felt that a step in the wrong direction had been taken in the change that had been introduced during the last two months, and he hoped that would be the last concession that would be made to the merchants of Bombay. He believed a deputation had lately gone from China to the Viceroy of India with a view to negotiate for the ultimate extinction of the opium traffic by a fixed yearly reduction, and he was anxious to know if this was correct, and how such a proposal had been received? If our Government meant to enourage the use of opium in other countries by lowering the duties, it was taking a further step in the wrong direction, which would cause it to be more closely watched, and more strongly suspected.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he felt that the development of a policy of Free Trade in India would confer such vast benefits upon the people of our great Dependency that no justification was needed for the course which the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) was pursuing in that matter. The hon. Member for North Durham (Sir George Elliot) had alluded to Major Baring's work in Egypt, and had lately spoken of that gentleman as the most successful financier who had ever been engaged in the affairs of that country. The noble Marquess had made a statement as to military reforms in India which could not but produce very important results. It seemed pretty certain that the noble Marquess's inclination was to a large military reform in India, such as would produce the most important results, and lead to a very considerable reduction of expenditure. Another important question was the escape of Europeans from the incidence of taxation. He could not help thinking that the Government should be careful lest they produced in the Native mind in India a feeling of irritation that they had a hardship to bear, in the spectacle of a large number of European traders escaping all direct taxation. He could not but think that every one of the 228,000 who paid licence duty must feel the hardship of having to pay a tax to which Europeans were not subject. He hoped the noble Marquess would yet be able to inform them that something had been done by the Department of Agriculture. It had been maintained over and over again that to interfere with Native implements or Native methods of agriculture would be disastrous; but there was one sentence in the Blue Book just published, which had an important bearing on the moral and material progress of India, and which ought to be proclaimed on the housetops—that was, the announcement of the result of experiments in deep ploughing, which showed that by that means 50 per cent more could be produced than from the same land tilled with Native implements. That statement showed that by properly working the land they might raise the miserable average annual income of the people of India, which at present amounted to 54*s*. per head, while that of France and Great Britain amounted respectively to £23 and £33 per head. If that possibility could be realized, it would do more than anything else to lighten the Budget of India; and in India the State was the only landlord who could command the requisite knowledge and capital to work this mine of wealth, which would supply food for very many millions of people. The Government, he held, should not be discouraged from the duty of directing their attention to the improvement of Indian agriculture by the fact that there was no appreciable desire on the part of the people of India for better agricultural knowledge and instruction in scientific principles, because such a desire had never been observed on the part of an uninstructed people. It was satisfactory that property had passed so safely through the India Post Office that the Government had saved nineteen - twentieths of the amount of insurance. He was glad to hear that the Government continued their efforts as regarded the extension and development of local self-government in India; and, as a Liberal, he was proud that the first proposal in that direction had been brought forward by the Duke of Argyll. He looked upon those efforts as being full of promise for the future. He thought a step in the direction of Free Trade might have been taken by the remission of the duty on rice. It was only within the last few years that rice had been used in brewing in this country; but the export from India was checked by the duty of 12 per cent, which, besides operating in the direction of restricting the traffic, made a bountiful harvest a disadvantage to the rice growers rather than a benefit. The Salt Duty, too, fell heavily on the very poor, to whom its remission would be a great boon. The extraordinary increase in the export of corn from India, to which the noble Marquess had alluded, was a very remarkable fact; but while that export had increased by leaps and bounds, the cotton imports, being harassed by duties and imposts, had not only been stagnant, but had actually declined. It seemed reasonable, then, to expect that the entire remission of the cotton duties would lead to a large increase in the import of cotton goods into India, and would also tend to increase the amount of food exported to this country. The opium trade had been mentioned in the course of the debate; and he (Mr. Arnold) regretted as much as the hon. Member for Kendal (Mr. Cropper) the vast consumption of opium, spirits, and tobacco; but he was not so sanguine as to believe that the abandonment of the opium monopoly would diminish the evils of the opium traffic. In fact, Major Baring was, no doubt, right in his assertion that the suppression of the growth of opium would be made more difficult if the monopoly were abolished. He was no friend to opium, but he had seen persons habitually take opium with their tea just as Frenchmen take brandy with their coffee; and he had been in factories where it was manufactured, and, so far as he could observe, without any bad consequences. While drunkenness and *delirium tremens* were noticed by the very careful medical supervision of India, no medical statistics recorded any baleful effect of opium on the public health; and yet opium, he believed, was largely consumed by the population of many parts of the country. While he detested the opium traffic, he must say that he heard with astonishment that hon. Members, who objected entirely to what they called the interference with India in regard to the Expedition to Egypt, were ready in a moment, without consulting the people of India, at once to deal with a source of revenue amounting to £5,000,000 sterling. He thought there was some inconsistency in that position which needed further explanation. He did not think it would be possible to prevent the cultivation of opium in India; and, in regard to the general question, he could only repeat that all their efforts should be directed to raise the moral and material welfare of the people, and they would do much to attain that object by raising the income per head of the population.

MR. O'DONNELL said, he felt bound once more to protest most emphatically against the deliberate and wilful postponement by the Government of the discussion on the Indian Budget till the last days of the Session, to a time when it was difficult for the Government to secure the attendance of a quorum, nor did he think the speech of the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Hartington) adequate to the occasion. The Statement of the noble Marquess was like other Budget Statements; and, indeed, since the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) held the House spellbound some years ago, by the recital of Indian Blue Books, he (Mr. O'Donnell) had heard no more faithful repetition of all that had for years past appeared in print with respect to India than the speech of the noble Marquess; and he could not help thinking that it might very well have been condensed into 40 or 50 lines of statistics. Financial Statements, until the time of the Prime Minister, were expected to be unentertaining; but that right hon. Gentleman had wholly changed their character, and he (Mr. O'Donnell) only wished that the noble Marquess had endeavoured to imitate him. If the noble Marquess had devoted the great bulk of his speech to the state of India under British rule, he might have added to the information of the House with regard to the social, moral, and political condition of the Indian people. He rejoiced, however, to hear that the duty upon salt was to be reduced. That was truly a matter for congratulation, for it had long been impossible to persuade the Government of the desirability of the change, and that it would not act prejudicially upon the Revenue. Moreover, such a proceeding was not likely to injure the finances of the country, and it was needless to say that all such taxation was cruel and unnecessary. He had no wish to discuss the question of the taxation of cotton and opium; but he did expect that sooner or later some hon. Member from Lancashire would favour the House with his views about cotton. He wished to impress upon the noble Marquess the expediency of the removal of the application of the Contagious Diseases Act from India. If anything was calculated to disgust the Natives with British rule, it was the carrying out of those abominable Acts, which were intended to protect the vice of a Christian soldiery. The noble Marquess, in the course of his speech, dealt with the reorganization of the Army. For his own part, he (Mr. O'Donnell) was inclined to look at the Indian Army, not from the point of view of figures, but of the comfort and health of the Native soldier. He would recommend Her Majesty's Government to improve the sanitary condition of those gallant troops, who had proved themselves so often faithful to their salt. A constant cause of much of the unhealthiness of the Army was the abominable condition of the Native lines, which were constructed without regard to health, and the floors of which were soddened with the elements of disease. As a result of the recent reorganization of the Native Indian Army, a large number of regiments were broken up, and it was supposed that the officers and men would be distributed among other regiments. But, of 10,000 men, 7,000, and of 16 officers, 13 had refused to continue any longer in the Service of the Empress of India. He contended that it would be wise to induce Natives to enter our Service and remain in it. Turning to the condition of the late Gaekwar of Baroda's family, he insisted that we ought to show something like liberality to a Royal Family whom we had deprived of their ancestral rights for political purposes. He would also suggest that steps should be taken by the Government to stop the import of cheap and dangerous petroleum into India, many homes having been destroyed by its use. In connection with that point, he must say that he would like an explanation of the extraordinary Petroleum Bill, which had been introduced at the instance of the Secretary of State for India, in order to legalize that importation. Another instance of the disregard shown to the feelings of the people of India was exemplified by the Bill which had been introduced into the Bombay Legislative Council, prohibiting the collection for sale of a fruit in general use for food, which it was held was liable to be used for the purpose of illicit distillation. That Bill had been passed despite the most strenuous protest of the Natives. He maintained that the condition of India, so far from being improved, had grown more wretched under the administration of British officials, and a great cause of complaint was the action of the supreme authorities in the Madras Presidency. Instead of remaining at their posts to hear the grievances of the peasantry, they spent the greater part of their time, 10 months out of 12, in the Neilgherries, where they were practically beyond the reach of the poor people. With regard to the proposed remission of taxes to the amount of £315,000 in the North-West Provinces in Oudh, he argued that the remission would have no practical effect as regarded the poorer classes of the population, because, as a matter of fact, it only affected taxation which was never paid by the very poor. Sixty per cent of the population in that part of India were always in debt; in some districts 69 per cent owed three years' arrears, and 25 per cent of the agricultural population of Oudh were always on the verge of starvation. Next Session he should move that Oudh be restored to the Native Administration, from which it had been taken unfairly and on false pretences. In support of his contention that parts of India had been misgoverned by this country he would instance Jhansi. There our administration had existed for 25 years, and yet now a Bill had been introduced in order to check the ruin to which we had exposed the Native landholders. The subjects to which he had referred might usefully appear in the Annual Statement of the Secretary of State. What was the use of repeating year after year what appeared in the Blue Books, and which, in many instances, had been sent over by the Calcutta Correspondent of *The Times*, months before the noble Marquess made his Annual Statement? If the noble Marquess would in future make his Statement a real Budget, and allow this country to understand what these figures meant, that would be the commencement of a real era of reform in India. As to the Coolies imported into Assam, it appeared that the mortality among them was as great as among the prisoners in the gaols of Bengal. The Natives of Assam, knowing the sort of work that was imposed in the plantations in Assam, did not volunteer in sufficient numbers, and labourers were imported from primitive districts of India. The term for which they were engaged under the old system was three years; and, even under that system, the mortality was equal to a sentence of death to one in three. And now that the term had been enlarged to five years, they might expect a fearful result. Was it not a fact that some of the greatest officials in India invested large portions of their savings in Assam plantations, and that those plantations were regarded as the only sure investment for yielding 10 per cent? He had often complained of the administration of Behar, the population of which was always on the verge of famine. There were fair Land Laws in Behar, as there were in other parts of India; but those laws were not properly carried out. As an instance of the way in which matters were managed in India, he would state that the ryots on a large indigo estate went to the magistrate of Behar to complain of oppression on the part of the indigo planter; but they found that the magistrate had accepted the hospitality of the indigo planter. Complaint was made of the conduct of the Maharajah of Futtehpoor; but he gave a magnificent ball, which cost 60,000 rupees, to which he invited all the authorities, and they whitewashed him. After that, what ryot would dare to complain of rack-renting by the Maharajah? He further wished to complain, in the most emphatic terms, of the neglect of duty of the Indian officials in permitting Indian coolies to be entrapped into engagements with the French planters in the Island of Réunion. Year after year our Indian fellow-subjects were permitted to be taken to Réunion to a condition of absolute slavery. The terms upon which they went were ostensibly fair and honest; but the condition of the coolies in the Island was miserable in the extreme. All their religious and social observances were outraged at will by the insolent planters; they were reduced to absolute slavery, and seldom succeeded in leaving the Island alive. He would ask why that traffic was allowed to go on? The reason was, that corrupt European influence had come between justice and British authority. Then there was the question of the ryots on the indigo plantations in Behar. The indigo ryots were now in a wretched state; but there was reason to fear that, in consequence of the discovery of artificial indigo, they would become still more wretched. It was noticeable that all the officials at Behar were closely connected by marriage with the indigo interest, and there was reason to fear that this system would not work favourably in protecting the interests of the indigo ryots. A subject which he wished to make one of special inquiry was the practice that prevailed among English officials of accepting small presents from the Natives, and, in many cases, of accepting the loan of carriages and elephants for hunting expeditions and other purposes. On a future occasion he should give the names of the English officials who had resorted to that system of sponging. Then, with regard to the subject of the Indian gaols, he protested against the statement made by the Secretary of State for India that the administration of Sir Ashley Eden, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, led to an improvement in the management of those gaols. The real fact was that his appointment marked the commencement of increased mortality and flogging. The Supreme Government of India themselves admitted that the period from 1868 to 1876 was a period of low mortality in gaols; but with Sir Ashley Eden's accession in 1876 or 1877 began an era of increased mortality. The explanation of it was that he took no steps to punish or replace the subordinate gaol officials; and he considered that the late Secretary of State for India (Viscount Cranbrook) was equally culpable with Sir Ashley Eden. The hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) had replaced many of these subordinates by men of energy, and had succeeded in reducing the mortality to about 40 per cent. In conclusion, he would again protest against these discussions on Indian grievances being put off to the end of the Session. He thought that the Government ought to set apart some more convenient period for their discussion. He would assure the Government that, unless before next year he received more satisfactory assurances from his numerous correspondents in India upon the subjects he had mentioned, he should take the earliest opportunity of bringing them under the notice of the House.

MR. LYON PLAYFAIR said, that the hon. Member for Kendal (Mr. Cropper) had spoken of the bad effects of the Opium Tax on the health of the Chinese, who consumed that drug. But he (Mr. Lyon Playfair) would venture to assert, as a physiologist, that the Salt Tax did more harm to the health of the people of India than the opium supplied to the Chinese did to the Chinese. Salt, which formed one-half of the inorganic ingredients of blood, was absolutely essential to the health, not only of man, but of all animals. When highly taxed, the consumption of salt was limited, and fell below the requirements of health; and when it fell below a certain minimum, it stunted the growth, not only of human beings, but also arrested the development of the leading manufactures. Formerly, the people of Madras used to consume from 16 lbs. to 18 lbs. of salt per head of the population. Now they were reduced to 12 lbs. But the people of Bengal were in a worse state, for they only consumed 9·1 lbs. That was about the minimum required for existence. He was grateful to the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for India, and to the Government of India, for reducing substantially the Salt Tax to the extent of 30 per cent in Bengal, and 20 per cent in Madras and Bombay. That reduction was substantial; but it must not be forgotten that 20 per cent reduction was only one-half of the increase of 40 per cent upon the impost which had been put upon the inhabitants of Madras and Bombay in 1878. The substantial reduction of 30 per cent upon Bengal would undoubtedly stimulate to increased consumption, and quickly make up any loss which the Revenue might temporarily experience. If it produced no more effect than to raise the average consumption of the Natives of Bengal from 9 lbs. to 12 lbs., the low average of Madras, that increase, at 2 rupees per maund, on 140,000,000 of inhabitants, would equal an increased Revenue of £4,000,000 sterling. Salt was the basis of the chemicals used in bleaching cotton, in making glass, pottery, soap, the salting of provisions, and many other industries; so that cheaper salt meant increasing manufactures. No tax would be more elastic if it were moderate in amount; but at present it was enormous—something like 140*s.* per ton. The proposed reduction in the tax, substantial though it was, must go much further in future years, if elasticity was to be shown in the revenue to be derived from this impost. A Salt Tax was in any case a bad one; but he would admit that it was difficult to find one more easily imposed and collected. Still, it was a poll tax, paid by everyone equally, and without any differentiation as to the ability of the taxpayer. He gave credit to the Government for using their surplus in the reduction of the tax; and he would confidently predict that their estimated loss of £1,400,000 next year would not reach half that amount.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON said, he thought the Statement of the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for India was, in one sense, very remarkable. It was satisfactory to learn that in the last three years the ordinary Revenue had exceeded the ordinary Expenditure by £11,850,000, according to Major Baring's figures, although the noble Marquess candidly admitted that the later information received from India showed that the surpluses of the last two years had been under-estimated. Only three or four years ago, when he (Lord George Hamilton) or his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope) made any statement on Indian finance, it was customary for their critics to make deplorable prophecies, and to assert that we had reached the extreme limit of taxation in India, that the expenditure was rapidly increasing, and that the bankruptcy of India was a mere question of time. The present satisfactory condition of affairs arose from the judicious financial and administrative reforms initiated five years ago by Sir John Strachey, whose great services had been, to a certain extent, effaced three years ago in consequence of the unfortunate blunder he made in connection with the Afghan War. Now, however, an accurate estimate could be formed of the immense value of his financial reforms, and he thought it only fair that full credit should be given to Sir John Strachey for what he had done, and to Major Baring for the vigour with which he had pushed forward the reforms in question. One of the difficulties Sir John Strachey had to contend with when he initiated his reforms was that the Party in that House which had been associated with Free Trade and fiscal reforms gave very little encouragement to his proposals. The noble Marquess had spoken with enthusiasm to-night of the scientific principles on which financial reforms were effected in India. But in 1878 the right hon. Gentleman the present Postmaster General (Mr. Fawcett) made a number of hostile Motions against Sir John Strachey's proposals. The great bulk of the Liberal Party divided against those proposals, and among them was the noble Marquess; but he (Lord George Hamilton) would admit, however, that the noble Marquess had now done ample justice to Sir John Strachey. The right hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Ways and Means (Mr. Playfair) had expressed his satisfaction at the reduction of the Salt Duties. What occurred in 1878 was this—on 45,000,000 of people there was an increase of 11 annas, on 70,000,000 a decrease of 7 annas, and on another 70,000,000 a decrease of 4 annas. The only object Sir John Strachey had in thus temporarily levelling up a certain portion of the duties was to obtain a temporary income to enable him to tide over the difficulty in which he was placed by a rapid fall in the value of silver and a succession of harvest failures in the South of India. A distinct pledge was then given by the Government that as soon as they could they would reduce the Salt Duty, and the reduction which had been made was considerably more than the right hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Ways and Means seemed to imagine. The most satisfactory part of the noble Marquess's comprehensive Statement was that which showed that the loss of Revenue arising from the reduction of the Salt Duty would soon be compensated for by an increased consumption of that article. In fact, a largely increased consumption had already taken place, and there was no reason why the Indian Government should not reduce those duties until they stood on a much lower level. There was great danger in those sudden changes in the Revenue and Expenditure of India, because the moment the Revenue considerably exceeded the Expenditure, a series of new projects was brought forward and sanctioned which would otherwise never have been sanctioned. Thus, as the noble Marquess had said, there was an increased expenditure of £1,800,000 with reference to works for which it would not have been justifiable to borrow money. Thus, while the Local Government were carrying on those great works, which amounted to £1,800,000 in one year, the Indian Government was suddenly involved in a war which would cost £1,800,000. He hoped the noble Marquess would carefully look into that class of expenditure. The right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster

General had insisted that no class of work required more careful investigation than that which did not pay interest on the money borrowed. The general statement of the noble Marquess was so satisfactory that there was little he (Lord George Hamilton) could criticize; but he could not understand why the noble Marquess had said that the Opium Revenue could not be relied on for long. [The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Its present amount.] He supposed the noble Marquess was referring to some arrangement to be made with the Chinese Government. He had nothing to say against that. He had feared there was some intention of abolishing the Opium Revenue altogether. The noble Marquess had judiciously avoided certain moral questions in connection with that revenue. If the statements of the Anti-Opium Association were admitted, it would be necessary to do away with the revenue. But he had always disputed their statements. He would refer to the authority of the late Mr. Cooper, who had been a British Consul, was well acquainted with the Chinese language, and had a greater knowledge of the interior of China than anyone else. Mr. Cooper said that, although Indian opium was largely consumed on the coast, it was not so inland, and that, just as in proportion as Indian opium was not consumed, the Native poppy was grown and used in its place, and that was much more injurious than the opium from India. It was absurd that India should be asked to give up a revenue which was doing incalculable benefit to 250,000,000 of people, when it was doubtful if one ounce of opium less would be consumed if that revenue were removed. He should like to say a word on a matter which he had been anxious for some years to bring before the House—namely, the method which had been adopted by the Prime Minister, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, in paying from Imperial Revenues part of the expenses of the Afghan War. He (Lord George Hamilton) thought that the effect of such a method as had been adopted would be to mix up English and Indian finance in an inextricable muddle, unless some definite arrangement were come to. The method adopted was to give to India a sum of £5,000,000, by remitting India a loan amounting to £2,000,000 due from India to England, and to pay the remainder—the sum of £3,000,000—in six equal amounts spread over six financial years. The last amount would be payable in 1886, and if it were as the Prime Minister had stated that a Resolution passed by that House was not binding on a subsequent House, it would be competent for a future House of Commons to repudiate the debt. In that case, who was to pay the amount which would still be owing to India by England? He did not know whether the right hon. Gentleman was aware that it had been necessary to raise an additional sum by taxation in the United Kingdom every year in order to pay the contribution of £500,000 to India. He would suggest that the realized surplus, if any, at the end of the financial year should not be voted for the reduction of the Debt, but for the payment to India of the amount which was due under that head until the whole was liquidated. As regarded the military question, to which the noble Marquess had referred, he admitted that the arguments on either side were rather nicely balanced. He should like to see the Commander-in-Chief of Madras or Bombay in the same position as the Commander-in-Chief in Ireland. At the same time, he admitted that there were strong arguments against the abolition of separate armies for the Presidencies. He thought the noble Marquess was to be congratulated on his Statement; and he hoped that, during his tenure of Office, he would exercise such foresight and judgment as to mitigate the suffering which would be felt in future years of distress and scarcity.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he must confess he was one of those who had not taken a very sanguine view of Indian finances. It had always been said that if something or other had not happened they should have had a surplus; but that something or other had always happened. It was acknowledged up to 1880-1 that there was a small deficit; but they were all led to believe that in the year 1881-2 there would be a surplus, whilst the fact was that, excluding the grant to India of £5,000,000, there was a deficit. As to that grant to India of £5,000,000 in respect of the Afghan War, it was a fictitious grant; because India had not got the money, and it was yet possible that she might never obtain it. It, therefore, seemed to be the fact that in the year 1881-2 they had no real surplus at all. The statement of the noble Marquess brought out a surplus that would have existed if there had been no Afghan War; but, unfortunately, there had been an Afghan War, and there had been a real disbursement in respect of that war. As a matter of fact, there was not a surplus for the year 1881, but a deficit. Coming to the year 1882-3, they hoped they should get a surplus; but, unfortunately, again, there was the Egyptian Expedition, which came to disarrange their anticipations; and he must say he might have been knocked down with a feather when he heard the noble Marquess's statement that the small contingent of 5,000 men that was coming from India to Egypt was expected to cost, in something like three months, about £1,800,000. It seemed to beat anything Lord Napier of Magdala could have done, though that noble Lord had carried on Expeditions on a pretty expensive scale. He could not conceive how that sum was arrived at; but, unfortunately, that was the cause that entirely nullified all their expectations, and they, no doubt, would have to be told next year that they should have had a surplus if they had not had an Egyptian War. He was inclined to think that the Indian Accounts had been so refined and made so scientific that no one could understand them. There were payments on loans which clearly were not payments on account of Revenue; there were fictitious accounts and Provincial adjustments which he defied mortal man to understand. Certainly, even after hearing the elaborate Statement that had been made, no Member of the House except the noble Marquess could understand the question of the Provincial adjustments with regard to the actual amount of Indian Revenue and Expenditure. They were so complicated that it was impossible to analyze them within a reasonable space of time. But he had looked into these Accounts with some knowledge of the subject; and, setting increase against decrease, and putting aside the Revenue from Public Works, as to which he believed there had been an increase, and the traffic in opium, he believed, with those exceptions, there had not been any real increase of Revenue. As to the latter, he had found that, taking the increase of receipts and the decrease of expenditure, there had been a real increase of £2,500,000. He would not go into the moral question with respect to opium; but, from the accounts received by the last mail, it appeared that the Indian Government viewed with alarm, and most reasonably, the prospects with regard to the Opium Revenue. Though the estimate of the noble Marquess was not sanguine, it was, he (Sir George Campbell) was afraid, still too sanguine. In Lord Mayo's time it was thought right to establish what was called a reserve, in order to equalize the sale of opium; and, in his (Sir George Campbell's) time, that was fixed at 60,000 chests; but within the last few years, since that time, he found that the season's stock had been reduced from 48,000 chests to 15,000 chests, so that in this matter they had been living upon their capital; and this last Resolution of the Government of India showed that they could not maintain even that. Under these circumstances, it would be necessary to reduce the amount sold in Bengal in future, which was an alarming state of things as regarded the financial prospects of India. Altogether, political questions apart, he thought the noble Lord was right in thinking he should be chary in building too much upon the opium traffic, and that he would have been more right if he had gone a little farther than he had gone in his action with regard to the Opium Revenue; and if, from political causes, it was not swept away, from financial causes it was not at all unlikely it might be considerably diminished. There was one item which showed a tendency to increase during the past two years, and that was the item of excisable and spirituous liquors. That was an increase on which he looked with very great misgivings. He believed that the cause was a change in the system in Bengal, and that it had been a reversion from the strict and more modern system to older and looser systems. He was very much inclined to believe that there was considerable ground for the complaint that such a change had been allowed to prevail over the restraint on the consumption of spirituous liquors, which ought to be the main object of a system of that kind; and he was sure that the noble Marquess would take care not to encourage the increase referred to. He believed there had been a great increase in the system of railways, and they had reason to congratulate themselves that the great system of railways inaugurated by Lord Dalhousie had been a distinct and wonderful success. There was no country in the world in which railways paid such a uniformly good average percentage on the capital expended. The question of Public Works was a large one; but he would not enter into it at length. He must, however, say that it seemed to him to be a great misfortune that we were subject to such oscillations of policy. A mistake was at one time made in the belief that nothing would make India prosperous but an almost unlimited expenditure on Public Works, and he was glad that that mistake had been corrected. No one was more opposed to the extreme profuseness in regard to Public Works that was at one time allowed to prevail; but, at the same time, he thought that the reaction had been carried out too suddenly and too far. The consequence of the stoppage of Public Works was to render necessary an enormous increase of pensions and compensations. For instance, the excess of expenditure over the Estimate for compensations and pensions in the Accounts of 1880-1 was £169,000, owing to the cost of pensions and gratuities in consequence of the reductions made in the Public Works Department. They compensated and pensioned largely men who were in the prime of life, and then they soon found that they must employ them again. In regard to the railways, they should in the same way be careful to pursue a steady policy. As to that, it had been thought right to make more railways, and the Government chafed under the restrictive Resolution imposed on them by the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. E. Stanhope). The Southern Mahratta Railway was made under a *quasi*-guarantee outside the limits fixed by the Resolution. The result of the whole was that, when they came to the year 1882-3, they had arrived at a small surplus of £250,000. They only arrived at that surplus by that extraordinary £1,000,000 of Provincial adjustments which no person on earth could understand. He relied on the Financial Department of the Government of India, although it was a puzzle to himself how they arrived at a very gratifying reduction of taxation. Assuming that they were able to make those reductions, he heartily joined in the congratulations expressed on both sides of the House to the noble Marquess that he had been able to abolish the Customs Duties, and to reduce the Salt Duty, which he (Sir George Campbell) had always considered a monstrous tax—which was literally a poll tax upon the people of India, amounting to something like an Income Tax of 3 or 4 per cent upon the working men of India. As regards the abolition of the Customs Duties, he would not dispute that it was not a just and economically right measure; but let them not be hypocritical about it. It was not because of the people of India, but because of the pressure put on the Government by the manufacturers of Lancashire, that those duties were abolished; and he was afraid if the matter had been merely one of the benefits that was to be conferred on the people of India by taking that step, it never would have been taken. He would remind hon. Members that though they had abolished all the import duties in which this country was interested, they had not abolished the export duties, for they levied a heavy tax on the export of rice from India, and the people of India were still hampered by export duties, as much as we should be by export duties on cotton manufactures. As regarded the Civil Expenditure of India, it was a growing item, which had a tendency to increase, and which must increase with civilization; and he had very considerable doubt whether the ideas of the hon. Gentleman opposite were correct, the Government of India, being hard pressed for money to carry on the Afghan War, had found it necessary to starve the Departments in order to carry on that war. The Government of India, having returned to a normal state of things, the hon. Gentleman said what a terrible thing that the Expenditure was again going to be increased. [Mr. E. Stanhope said, he used the same language in 1879.] As regarded the Army, he was not very sanguine that the expenditure could be materially reduced. The Army might be reduced here and there; but, on the other hand, he believed the noble Marquess would find that our Indian Army, especially when there was a call for men to Egypt, was not too largely, but dangerously small. There might be a cutting down of expenditure by the abolition of the Commanders-in-Chief, and their Staff at Madras and Bombay; but the rank and file of the Indian Army were not over, but under-paid. He condemned as absolutely fatal the amalgamation of the Native Army; but expenditure might be saved by remodelling it on the basis of the Punjab Frontier Force. One thing which struck him very much was the enormous increase of the Non-Effective Charges for the Army —the most unsatisfactory kind of military expenditure—a charge which was rapidly growing; and he would point out that, in the view of the great expenditure of India, the costs incidental to the large Public Works, and the charges necessary for the provision of the General Debt, there was great want of a Sinking Fund. Taking all these things into consideration, he would impress upon the Government the great need there was for the exercise of prudence in regard to their Indian finance.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER said, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Edinburgh (Mr. Lyon Playfair) had spoken very forcibly on the question of the Salt Duty; and he (Mr. R. N. Fowler) thought the House would heartily concur with the right hon. Gentleman in all he had said upon the subject. He was glad to find that the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) had been able to announce a reduction of the duty on salt; and he hoped that, on future occasions, he might have the privilege of announcing still further reductions. But he wished more particularly to call attention to the question which had been alluded to by the hon. Member for Kendal (Mr. Cropper) and other hon. Gentlemen—namely, the question of the opium trade. There could be no doubt that there was, throughout the country, a strong feeling that it was a great disgrace to Great Britain that we should continue to derive an important part of the Revenue of India from that pernicious traffic. [Mr. O'Shea: Oh!] The hon. Member for Clare (Mr. O'Shea) said "Oh;" but he (Mr. R. N. Fowler) would ask the hon. Gentleman if he ever heard of an instance in which a medical man prescribed the smoking of opium? He (Mr. R. N. Fowler) knew that opium was constantly prescribed in other forms; but he never heard of any case in which the smoking of opium was prescribed. It certainly seemed to him that that was a subject which deserved the earnest attention of the Government and of the House, and he earnestly hoped that the time would soon come when the noble Marquess would be able to tell them that he had decided upon taking steps to put a stop to the traffic. There was one question which he would like to put, and which the noble Marquess would, perhaps, be good enough to answer when he replied upon the debate generally. They had been informed that an alteration had been made in the transit duties on opium; but he could not find, in the Accounts before them, what that alteration was, and the noble Marquess had not alluded to it in the really very able speech which he had delivered to the House. He hoped the noble Marquess, when he rose to wind up the debate, would tell them the precise steps he had taken, and what had been done in regard to the reduction of the duty on Malwa opium. He (Mr. R. N. Fowler) quite concurred with the hon. Member for Kendal in the remarks he had made as to the impropriety of raising that very large amount of duty from opium. It was generally felt that the opium traffic was a disgrace to the country. There was only one other point with which he would trouble the House. There had already been a debate on the question of placing the expense of the troops about to be sent from India to Egypt upon the Indian Revenue. He was one of those who felt very strongly on the subject, and he had recorded his opinion by his vote against the propriety of placing any part of the charge upon the Indian Revenue. The people of India were a poor and a highly-taxed people, and it was a crying shame that they should be taxed for any Imperial purpose. He trusted that the question would receive the future consideration of the House; and he hoped when the time came, when it would have to be fairly discussed, the House would lift up its voice in a strong protest against any part of the expenditure for military operations in Egypt being levied upon India. The noble Marquess had told the House that night that the sum demanded for this purpose would be greater than had been anticipated. He thought that was only an additional reason for listening to the advice of those hon. Members on both sides of the House who objected to placing the charge upon the people of India. At that late hour he would not further detain the House; but he had wished particularly to express the views he entertained upon these two points—the opium traffic, and the impropriety of charging upon India any of the expenses connected with the Expedition to Egypt.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR: Mr. Speaker, I am desirous of explaining that, in expressing dissent during the speech of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope), I was not actuated by any feeling of discourtesy. I am confident that, from the high personal esteem and regard in which he knows I hold him, my unintentional interruption will be overlooked. This involuntary loud objection was simply caused by the hon. Member's unexpected advocacy of another extensive scheme of Indian Army re-organization. I frankly say that after the hon. Member's wide experience, as Under Secretary of State for India, of the disastrous consequences from the vast changes in the Indian Army system in 1861, I did not expect anyone, having that knowledge, would desire to enter upon a second attempt. I naturally feel strongly on all such proposals. I was directed by the Viceroy of India, from my official position, as head of the Military Finance Department, to join the Indian Military Commission of 1861. It was appointed by the Viceroy to aid Government in carrying out the Army changes which Sir Charles Wood, the then Secretary of State for India, with the sanction of the Government of that day, had ordered. With the experience I then acquired, and with the knowledge since obtained of the financial and military evils resulting from changes, unwisely ordered, and hastily carried out, I look with the greatest distrust on new schemes. The old system of the Indian Army, which had been advocated by the ablest men, who created our vast Empire, was destroyed in 1861, on grounds neither sufficient, nor properly sifted, to justify the ordered changes. There were defects, no doubt, in the Indian military system; but these were remedial. They were, however, not noticed in the despatches from the Secretary of State. But hardly a year passed after that re-organization without some attempt to patch up the created defects, and vast sums have been annually spent to try and make the 1861 system work well. After only 20 years we are again urged to accept further changes, on the recommendation of a Commission which three years ago sat in India. I maintain that the proposals of that Commission are not entitled to confidence, partly because the inquiry was not carried on with that continuous regularity and order which are expected from the presence of all the Commissioners.

I may also point out that but little official confidence appears to be placed on the proposals of that Commission. We now learn, for the first time, that not only does the Government in India dissent from recommendations, but the Council of the Secretary of State for India are wholly opposed. And, as regards the opinion of the Secretary of State, that has yet to be made up. Above all, the Papers connected with this new re-organization are still withheld from Parliament. In this respect in great contrast, for the worse, with the course followed in regard to the re-organization of 1861. The whole of the documents of that time were promptly published. The secrecy now practised can only be viewed as a planned mystery to cover something in the proceedings of the Commission necessary to be concealed from the scrutiny of many persons fully as qualified as were the Members of the Commission who advised these changes.

We have, however, this evening heard from the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) of some results of the new re-organization. We have been informed of an actual diminution of 11 batteries of horse, field, and garrison Artillery. These have been withdrawn from India after forming two mountain train batteries and adding men to each of the remaining garrison batteries. Therefrom is expected a diminution of annual charge of £80,000. This, indeed, is a very small item for such an important diminution in this powerful Army. At no previous time, during the past 60 years, has the Artillery of India been on so small a scale as at present.

We also learn from the Secretary of State for India that 18 battalions of Native Infantry, and four regiments of Native Cavalry, have been broken up; of these 18 Infantry battalions, eight are struck off from the unfortunate Madras Army, making up, with former reductions in that Division, no fewer than 20 of the 52 Madras battalions since the re-organization of 1861. Thus the branch of the Service of India—that of Madras—which stood loyal to a man during the Mutiny of the Bengal Army, has been the greatest sufferer, having had two-fifths of the battalions disbanded.

We are also told that liberal pensions, gratuities, and rewards have been offered, and inducements held out to the men of all these disbanded corps. But, if the reports in the newspapers can be relied on, it would appear as if the inducements to the men to remain in the Service had failed throughout all India. This, of itself, is a great political warning. No one who has had experience in India can fail to look on this fact otherwise than one of grievous import. From my personal acquaintance with the Madras Sepoys, I look on the extent to which the men of the disbanded corps have taken their discharge to be an augury of great danger.

I confess I am not astonished at such evidence of dislike to the Service; and I have no doubt my experience is applicable to all India. The Madras battalions now disbanded were, in my time, good serviceable corps. I have served with several of them. With one in particular—the 34th battalion of Light Infantry—I had personal experience in the field. I saw that battalion, weak in numbers, face one of the most formidable bands, 3,000 strong, ever collected in the Deccan. The band was composed of Arabs, and men from Central Asia. The former, wiry and brave men, the latter, stalwart and tall, with brown hair and faces, and light eyes. The band was bravely commanded and led by two experienced Native Chiefs, who both fell in the action. For right well did the gallant 34th Madras battalion bear itself on that day. If it had been a battalion of the Bengal Army, loud would have been the praises and liberal the rewards bestowed on the men and officers. But Madras had then, as now, no friends. The whole military administration of India is practically vested in Bengal officers. The old jealous feeling still exists of the kind created by the services of Clive, a Madras officer sent to Bengal from Madras, whereby the Madras Army is still, as always, kept in the background. Even the most obvious occasions on which Madras corps might have gained a name by being employed in the field have been denied that Army. The plea often urged of distrust of its bravery was not justified. The 34th battalion proved how well and willing the Madras Sepoy was to meet brave, warlike races such as I have mentioned; for, after the fight was over, I had the duty, as the Staff officer of the force, to examine the many prisoners. They were such fresh men from Central Asia that none could speak Hindostanee.

Then, as regards the Council which advises the Secretary of State. I appeal to the noble Marquess, as to the numerous Bengal civil and military officers on that Council, and how very few are the Madras and Bombay officers. Madras has certainly strong reason of urging partiality, by pointing to the neglect by the Government of India of the civil and military interests of that part of the Empire.

We have also been informed by the noble Marquess that the financial saving expected from disbanding 22 corps of Indian Cavalry and Infantry is only £120,000. In contrast with the great military and political evils from such vast changes, I unhesitatingly say that this is truly a miserable saving. I should be ashamed, even now, with the years heavy on me, if I could not easily effect a much larger saving in the Indian Army Expenditure of £16,000,000. Then, again, we are told that the object of disbanding these 22 corps is to increase the numerical strength of the remaining Native corps. Now, this question, as to the suitable numbers to form a Native corps, was fully considered in 1861 by Lord Canning and his Council, aided by his Military Advisers. With all the full experience derived from the great events that had resulted from the Mutiny of the Bengal Army, it was then considered that 600 Sepoys was a proper strength for a battalion. Now, one of 800 Sepoys is thought to have some virtue in it, unknown to the former statesmen, who certainly then had as full knowledge of the Indian military requirements as any of those of the present day, whose opinions are now taken as guides for making great changes.

Before great reductions in Artillery, Native Infantry, and Cavalry, are ordered, I urge far more careful consideration. If the measures be ordered on purely military grounds, then full weight should be given to the opinions of the best military experts. If for economical reasons, then the various modes of effecting such a small economy as that of £200,000, now expected to be obtained, should be discussed. Besides feeling confident in being easily able to save £200,000 out of £16,000,000, the present Military Budget of India, without the diminution of a gun or a private, I could have put forward other economical proposals for consideration. For instance, to form Artillery batteries, as in former years in India, into eight guns instead of six guns as at present, and thus have largely diminished the cadres of batteries, but kept up all the guns. Also to have largely added to the numerical strength of the garrison batteries, thus maintaining the existing number of gunners with only half the number of batteries. Then to have formed the Native Infantry battalions into six companies, each, of 100 men, instead of the eight companies of 75 men as at present. In this way, the full number of guns, gunners, and battalion cadres would have been kept up. Instead of cutting off only 144 companies of Native Infantry by disbanding 18 battalions, there would have been about 260 companies of Infantry struck off, without touching the number of cadres of battalions.

These changes could not have led to such violent and serious alterations as have been brought about by the mode followed. And I am certain that economies more than equal to those effected, and greater military efficiency, would thereby have been secured. I, however, greatly doubt the stated economical result from the reductions as ordered. For after deducting the pensions, gratuities, and rewards to the men of the disbanded corps, swelled up for the long series of years, which men of middle age will live, the estimated saving of £120,000 from disbanding 22 Native corps will be seriously diminished, if not entirely absorbed.

There is, however, another planned economy, which the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for India informs us has been resisted by the authorities of the War Office. It is one which has often been proposed and opposed. It is to diminish the number of cadres of European Infantry and Cavalry without decreasing the privates. This resistance to diminution of cadres might have been expected. In 1861, when the Indian finances were embarrassed, the Government earnestly desired a large reduction in the number of these cadres. Whereas, whilst a large decrease of privates in Cavalry and Infantry regiments was ordered by the Horse Guards, with the diminution of only one officer, the cadres were persistently maintained, with, necessarily, all the costly establishments and Staff allowances, which are so wisely attached to European corps in India.

As far as I could make out from the noble Marquess's Statement, the cadres of five European Infantry and three of Cavalry; in all, eight cadres, recently advised by the Indian Government to be withdrawn, would leave India with 45 Infantry and six Cavalry regiments; in all, 51. It was also proposed, in 1868 and 1869, that out of the then 63 cadres —namely, 52 Infantry and 11 Cavalry, 12 should be diminished; but only four Cavalry and Infantry, two of each, were withdrawn in 1870. The plea urged against the diminution of the other eight cadres was, that their cost would become a charge on the Imperial Exchequer. My own view is that the existing eight available cadres would, at present, be a useful addition to our Home Establishment. The present grounds of objection have not been fully stated by the noble Marquess; but if the plea of extra cost to the Imperial Government be again urged, I submit that it would be real economy to bring away from India the eight cadres, and pay their much smaller Home cost out of Indian Revenues. These cadres could be usefully employed, on behalf of, and form a Reserve for, India.

The strength of the 45 Infantry battalions and six Cavalry regiments then left in India should be increased on the plan followed in 1870. The 52 battalions of Infantry in India in 1870 were decreased by two; but the 1,500 privates in the two withdrawn corps were distributed amongst the 50 battalions retained. The Cavalry corps, 11 in number, also diminished in 1870 by two, had the number of troopers increased in each of the other nine cadres left in India.

Some useful changes in the remaining 51 corps of Cavalry and Infantry might now be made. I advocate all ranks being made effective in the ranks for which employed. For instance, there are, at present, bandsmen, pioneers, lance corporals, librarians, instructors, workmen, teachers, clerks, extra drummers, borne as privates, fully 80 in number, now withdrawn from the grade of duty privates. These should be made real effectives, and all returned separately in ranks suitable for the duties on which actually employed. The 39,000 privates of Infantry now nominally kept up in the 50 Infantry battalions cannot leave more than about 35,000 duty privates after deducting the 4,000 men withdrawn for these various purposes. This number should be made good by each of the 45 battalions having an extra establishment of 40 lance corporals, 12 pioneers, 20 bandsmen, and eight for the other duties. The total number so replaced would be about 3,600 in the 45 battalions. Each Infantry company should be also raised to 100 duty privates instead of, as at present, 97½ on the average; the battalion then being 800, instead of the nominal strength of 780, thereby making up 36,000 duty privates in the 45 battalions. The total number would be, with the employed men, above the present number of 39,000 privates. The six Cavalry cadres retained should also be increased to 480 duty privates, instead of at the present nominal 384. Then, with the present employed men—about 80 in each Corps—made effectives, the Cavalry would be as strong in privates as the nine cadres are at present. By these modifications, the Indian Establishments and the Staff, of eight cadres, would be decreased, and a considerable saving thereby effected.

But it is disheartening to urge economies in the Military Service of India, when extravagance and wasteful outlays in that Military Expenditure are incurred by rushing into useless and dangerous expeditions, such as were the late operations in Afghanistan. I have, on several occasions, given expression to an opinion that these operations have cost India to the full extent of £30,000,000 extra, instead of the often-repeated official statements of £18,000,000, £20,000,000, and now, I believe, £23,000,000. I am now prepared to prove, by figures taken from the Accounts, that my calculation of nearly £31,000,000 extra is nearer the correct charge. I have in my hand a statement of the Military Charge of India for a long series of years, also covering the seven years following 1875-6. These charges began to increase in the year 1876-7, and so continued for seven years in excess of the charges for former years. In that first year, the total amount was £15,792,112; whereas the Military Charge in 1875-6 was £15,308,460. For the seven years ending with the year 1882-3, the total charges, including therein the Frontier Railways, is £138,022,614; according to my statement, as follows:—1876-7, 15,792,112*l*; 1877-8, 16,639,761*l*; 1878-9, 17,092,488*l*; 1879-80, 23,047,212*l*; 1880-1, 30,237,048*l*; 1881-2, 18,862,993*l*; 1882-3, 16,351,000*l*; total, seven years, 138,022,614*l*. If we deduct seven years Ordinary Charges, at the rate, in 1875-6, of 15,308,460*l*, the total would be 107,159,220*l*, leaving a net excess of charge for the Afghan operations of 30,863,394*l*. I may point out that the figures used for five of the seven years are taken from the audited Accounts, and two are estimated. The great variations between estimated and actual expenditure may reasonably be urged as a caution in accepting the estimated sums for the two years as the minimum charge.

I admit that additions were made in the military system, during this period, somewhat increasing the cost of the Army. I have tried, but failed, to make out the exact sum by which these changes raised the military cost. I am, however, confident that, after allowing for a few economies, the actual net increase has been but a very small fraction of this extra charge. If one-seventh of the extra £1,000,000 above £30,000,000 be, as I believe it to be, the extreme average annual increased charge, then I have justified my assertion as to the £30,000,000 being the extra cost for the War beyond our Frontiers.

I do not now venture to enlarge on the possible economies in Indian Military Expenditure. It is a question of great complexity, because it involves considerations of such a varied character that few minds can grasp them. The most experienced authorities have been at sea as to how to base calculations of the suitable strengths of European and Native troops for the garrison of India. I remember well the vast European Army which a Committee of the foremost men at home considered necessary after the Mutiny for our security in India. I also well remember the large Army which the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Strathnairn, considered requisite. Then, again, the calm-minded statesman, Lord Canning, proposed, in May, 1860, a vast European force, but which, within eight months, he greatly diminished on the broad and avowed ground that no one could have foreseen the marked quieting down of the excitement from the Mutiny, which, in that very short period, had taken place. Holding these views, I am content to accept the strength in privates, which may at the moment form the Indian garrison; and, on that grade, base all calculations of cost, so that the largest economies may flow from that formation and distribution of all ranks into corps which experienced experts may decide on. The only fixed data on which Government can act is financial. After long consideration Lord Canning decided on the amount for the Army, which the finances of India could bear, with this instruction—that the largest Army that could be provided out of that sum was to be maintained. That condition was complied with in 1861, and an Army was then formed, in numerical strengths and in corps, larger than now maintained; but its charge was less than at present. I believe that considerable economies could be effected in the present Expenditure; but it involves considerable friction with the War Office and Horse Guards, and close and powerful check in India, and in the Home Office of India.

There is, however, one unnoticed opening for economies. I bring before the House the excessive Civil Charges as affording a great opening for effecting a diminution of Indian Expenditure. Whilst everyone is calling out to cut down military outlay, to enable Government to find funds to carry out those improvements which India needs, not only is reduction in the purely Civil Charges studiously left unspoken, but, on the contrary, augmentations are advocated. We have, even this evening, heard from the noble Marquess of augmentations to the pay of subordinate Civil Servants, and evidently more increases in that direction may be expected. But we never hear any advocacy of changes in the Civil Administration by which outlays may be cut down by improved organization, and so provide funds for improvements. No; the existing civil organizations are left untouched, without those independent inquiries being instituted as applied to the Military Service.

There are military officers fully as fit to preside over a Commission on the civil organization, and to wisely advise extensive alterations, as Sir Ashley Eden was supposed capable in respect of presiding over an inquiry into the military system. I do state that Sir Ashley Eden was less qualified than many other civilians to advise on military changes; his services, mainly in Bengal, having thrown him far less than other civilians amongst the Army. But with such an adviser in the Home Council of India, we have less reason than ever to expect economies in the purely Civil Charges. These, on the contrary, have been largely augmented during the last 14 years, and in a far higher ratio than have the Military Charges increased.

I hold in my hand a statement of the payments during 14 years, for realizing, as it is termed, the Revenue of the country, and for the purely Civil Departments under the Civil Services. In 1867-8 these two branches amounted to £18,943,974. In 1880-1 the like charges were £21,853,953, an increase of nearly £3,000,000. The items as follows are all taken from audited accounts:—

Years.	Payments in Realization of Revenue.	Civil Charges in India.	Total Civil Charges.
	£	£	£
1867-68	8,682,083	10,261,891	18,943,974
1868-69	8,800,803	10,307,185	19,107,988
1869-70	9,069,162	10,737,920	19,847,082
1870-71	8,973,892	10,238,781	19,212,673
1871-72	8,333,824	10,497,931	18,831,755
1876-77	9,808,436	10,495,519	20,303,955
1877-78	9,738,640	10,337,478	20,076,118
1878-79	9,606,319	11,337,672	20,943,991
1879-80	10,057,976	11,468,900	21,526,876
1880-81	10,358,735	11,495,218	21,853,953

During these 14 years, all other kinds of Civil expenditure in India, exclusive of the outlay on Public Works, but including Interest, Famine Relief, and Loss by Exchange, have largely increased. In

1867-8 the total charge in India for all these Civil purposes amounted to £22,640,749. By the last audited Accounts for 1880-1 this charge had swelled up to £29,088,147, nearly £7,000,000 increase. For some years of this period these charges have been higher owing to the extraordinary Loss by Exchange, and for Famine. Even after allowing for the additional loss by exchange, which has been the main item of increase in the Civil Charges since 1867-8, the often-asserted claim of the Government of India for credit in effecting a diminution of the Civil Charges is contradicted by the figures mentioned.

I now ask the attention of the House to the remarkable mode of exhibiting the capital set apart for Productive Public Works. The Accounts of 1867-8 show, for the first time, an extraordinary outlay for these works in the form of Irrigation, State Railways, and Miscellaneous Improvements. Up to 1879-80 the invested irrigation capital amounted to £11,851,193 spent in England and India; but the profits being very small, then, in 1878-9, for the first time, the Accounts divided the receipts from Land Revenue into "Ordinary," and into "Portions of Irrigation Land Revenue," and credited this last amount as derived from all the capital expended since 1867-8 in these special Irrigation Works. The amount of the Irrigation Revenue for the first year, 1878-9, was £126,934, exclusive of Madras. In the year following Madras was added on, and supplied £483,859; the total for all India being £602,398. In 1880-1, whilst the Irrigation Revenue for all India was £797,319, Madras supplied £552,160. This large sum, at 25 years' capitalized value, represents an investment in Madras Irrigation Works of about £14,000,000. That amount is in excess of the capital invested since 1867-8 in all the extraordinary works of irrigation. But, by including the Madras favourable results, the losses in other parts of India are covered. I cannot, from my inquiries, make out that there has been invested in Madras Extraordinary Works since 1867-8 a twentieth part of this sum. I, however, admit that the Accounts of 1879-80 exhibit an invested Productive Capital in Madras Extraordinary Irrigation Works of £774,027. Large as this sum appears to be, yet the portion of Madras Land Revenue credited to this investment actually represents an annual profit of 70 per cent. In 1880-1 the Accounts show a great jump in the amount of Productive Irrigation capital. The sum put down for Madras alone is there stated at £1,772,744. This increase of nearly £1,000,000 is by assigning to the previously exhibited Productive Capital all the Ordinary outlay spent only on the specially profitable Madras Irrigation Works prior to 1867-8, also by transferring Unprofitable Productive Irrigation Works commenced since that year to Ordinary Works. Such a mode of making an extension to the Productive Capital is opposed to all right accounting. The Accounts of 1880-1 show the invested capital on Productive Irrigation Works of all India at £16,049,774; whereas by the Accounts of the previous year, 1879-80, this capital is only £10,643,307. It is in the one year following suddenly increased by £5,406,467, of which £4,792,017 is the ordinary expenditure on Profitable Works made prior to 1867-8, of which Madras supplies nearly one-fifth. Not only are the past Accounts of these Extraordinary Works vitiated by this addition to the special fund commenced in 1867-8, but the mode of exhibiting the Interest on Debt is therefrom greatly modified. This is the more objectionable, because one claim made for good financial management in India is the diminution of the interest for what is called "Debt proper." But this is mainly effected by merely altering the figures in the Accounts, by debiting interest on the increased Productive Capital.

In 1875-6 the charge for all Debt in India and England is entered in the Accounts at £5,563,968. In 1882-3, the estimated charge is only £3,917,000. This remarkable apparent decrease is caused by separating the interest for "Debt proper" and interest on the yearly capital claimed to be invested in Productive Works. In the year 1876-7, the first year's ordinary interest after this division is in the Accounts £4,907,236, and the interest on the invested Productive Capital at £895,933. In 1879-80, the interest for ordinary Debt was £4,590,482, and on the invested capital £1,616,511. In the following Debt year, 1880-1, the ordinary interest is reduced to £3,669,195, and interest on capital increased to £2,381,745. So that in one year, whilst the ordinary interest is decreased by £921,287, the interest on the invested capital is increased by £765,234. These differences are still further increased in 1882-3, so as to make the interest on Productive Capital amount to more than it has ever been. This is the natural result from adding on the funds spent before 1867-8 for Ordinary Works.

I now mention to the House an example of the unfair mode of distributing this capital for Productive Public Works amongst the several Provinces of India. The expending of public money is well known to have an important useful bearing on the revenues of the districts in which spent. A largely-increased military expenditure in any locality is known to have a great effect on the revenue. This beneficial action is equally caused by an increased outlay for Public Works. Now, prior to 1867-8, the whole of the outlay on all Public Works was exhibited as "Ordinary" in the accounts of the several Provinces. In that year, and subsequently, this outlay was divided into "Ordinary," "Extraordinary," and latterly called "Productive." The Government of India, then, for the first time, distributed this extraordinary fund at its pleasure amongst the 10 Provinces of the Empire. In the 14 years, from 1867-8 to 1880-1, the fund so distributed in India for Irrigation Works and State Railways amounted to £31,772,859, of which Madras and Bombay received £3,901,373, and the rest of India £27,871,486. The ratios to all India of the population and areas of these two divisions may be stated to be more than one-fourth for Madras and Bombay, and less than three-fourths for the rest of India. The respective divisions ought, therefore, to have had assigned £9,000,000 to the one and £24,000,000 to the other division. Again, basing the proper division of this fund on the revenues and surplus income of the two divisions, after deducting expenditure, the fund ought to have been still more fairly apportioned. In 14 years, from 1867-8 to 1880-1, the total revenue of Madras and Bombay amounted to £258,085,276, against £508,735,683 for the rest of India. The expenditure has been respectively £209,029,078, against £414,107,810; leaving the surpluses of revenue over outlay for the two divisions £49,056,198 for Madras and Bombay, against £94,627,873 for the rest of India. On the ratios of these figures the fund for Productive Public Works ought to have provided Madras and Bombay with a share equal to fully £15,000,000, or four times more than the amount actually assigned. An examination of the division of the fund for even the Ordinary Public Works will also show that the sum now allowed to be expended by Madras and Bombay is far less than in 1867-8, the year in which capital for Productive Public Works was first formed. Such partial assignments as now stated is most unfair to the semi-independent Governments of Madras and Bombay, being calculated to retard the improvement of these districts, and to unfairly benefit the other eight districts under the more direct rule of the Viceroy.

One important part of this night's discussion has turned on the Opium Revenue, about which many opinions have been expressed, all mainly as to the risky character of the revenue. And, in now venturing to offer my views to the House, I urge that my experience as Consul in China entitles me to form, and, I hope, to express, an opinion. No doubt it is nearly 40 years since I was there employed; but the Indian Opium Revenue appears to be more secure at the present time than formerly.

At that period, opium was excluded from our Tariff, though openly sold outside our trading ports from vessels anchored in the waters of China. Now it is saleable within the limits of the trading ports. Formerly, no Opium Revenue was taken by the Chinese Government. That Revenue is now openly and legally levied. It was fixed on the distinct proposal of China, and, if recent Reports can be relied on, a higher rate of Revenue is now to be levied. In 1843, a definite proposal was voluntarily made by the Chinese Plenipotentiaries to legalize the opium trade, but rejected by Sir Henry Pottinger. And, in belief of its being my duty, under Treaty, to prevent British vessels from entering ports with contraband articles, such as opium, on board, I seized three vessels that had so violated these Treaty obligations. But when I offered the local Chinese authorities the opium so seized, I was distinctly told that they would not act. I can, therefore, justly say that, within my experience, the Chinese Government was not then, and, in my belief, is not now, zealous in opposing the opium trade. I admit that a Party in China has always there existed opposed to opium consumption; but whilst most active in crying out against imported opium, that Party was, and is, silent as respects the Native opium so extensively grown in different parts of the country.

Then, as respects the Opium Revenue, my hon. Friend the Member for Orkney (Mr. Laing) has freely avowed his opinion as to that revenue being more regular than any other Branch, and his experience entitles that view to confidence, the more so as the accounts of that revenue fully bear out the opinion. I find that for 14 years the net revenue from opium has been well maintained, having increased nearly £1,500,000 since 1867-8, as my statement shows.

The net Opium Revenue, after deducting all charges, is as follows:—In 1867-8, £7,049,415; 1868-9, £6,733,215; 1869-70, £6,132,387; 1870-1, £6,031,034; 1871-2, £7,657,187; 1872-3, £6,872,415; 1873-4, £6,323,395; 1874-5, £6,214,782; 1875-6, £6,252,026; 1876-7, £6,280,781; 1877-8, £6,521,337; 1878-9, £7,699,032; 1879-80, £8,249,808; and for 1880-1, £8,451,185.

The variations in the annual amounts are not owing to changes in the taste of the Chinese, but to the many fluctuations in Calcutta in the mode of disposing and storing the opium to suit the financial wants of the time.

One more, and the last, question I wish to submit for the consideration of the House is the Salt Tax. Long before I had a seat in Parliament I advocated the policy of freeing salt from taxation; and since I have been in the House I have urged, both inside and outside, free trade in salt throughout India. But, on this occasion, I shall confine myself to the question of the unjust bearing of the Salt Tax on Madras and Bombay. In 1868-9, out of a gross revenue of £5,588,240 from salt from all India, Bombay and Madras were called on to yield only £1,722,846. In 1880-1, that yield had actually been increased to £3,064,541 out of a gross revenue of £7,155,988.

I hold in my hand a Statement of the Indian Salt Revenue for 14 years as follows:—

GROSS SALT REVENUE.

Years.	The rest of India.	From Madras and Bombay.	From all India.
	£	£	£
1868-69	3,865,400	1,722,840	5,588,240
1869-70	4,124,564	1,764,143	5,888,707
1870-71	4,112,088	1,994,192	6,106,280
1871-72	4,001,465	1,965,130	5,966,595
1872-73	4,195,598	1,970,032	6,165,630
1873-74	4,120,705	2,029,957	6,150,662
1874-75	4,098,610	2,128,691	6,227,301
1875-76	4,010,185	2,234,230	6,244,415
1876-77	4,082,264	2,222,394	6,304,658
1877-78	4,189,622	2,270,460	6,460,082
1878-79	4,019,839	2,921,281	6,941,120
1879-80	4,240,043	3,026,370	7,266,413
1880-81	4,051,447	3,064,541	7,115,988
1881-82	4,289,497	2,923,503	7,213,000

The figures show that whilst the actual increase has been in total revenue from 1868-9, only £1,527,748. Madras and Bombay have furnished £1,341,701, and the rest of India only £186,047. This large increase has been brought about by unequal, if not unjust, additions to the tax on the salt of Madras and Bombay. In the ratio of population, the yield of Salt Revenue in these two divisions ought not to exceed £2,000,000, against £5,000,000 from the rest of India. In the earlier years of this century, Madras salt was practically free till 1805, and mainly so in Bombay till 1837. In these years a maund, or 82lbs. of Madras salt, was first taxed at 9 annas and 4 pie, and Bombay salt 8 annas. These rates gradually swelled up to 40 annas in Madras and Bombay, and recently lowered to 32 annas. The former large consumption in Madras has fallen off by reason of these large augmentations. I can only add a few words in warm support of the views of the right hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Committees (Mr. Lyon Playfair). I believe with him that vast beneficial results to the people, cattle, and traffic, would follow from the abolition of all duties on salt. The great cheapness arising from this freedom would insure a largely increased supply of salt for the people and cattle; at least 20lbs. per head might be the annual consumption, making about 60,000,000 maunds of salt consumed in all India, instead of one-half of that quantity as at present. Such an extension could not fail to improve the health of the people, and greatly benefit the cattle for agriculture. Free salt would also cause a wonderful extent of increased traffic. The salt sources of India are conveniently placed in centres from which traffic would easily spread throughout all India. I cannot too strongly urge on the noble Marquess the policy of free salt. No statesman has ever had so grand an opportunity as free salt offers of effecting so great a benefit to 250,000,000 of people. I can only express an earnest wish that the noble Marquess will avail himself of the opportunity by declaring salt free, and make the fame of our Empire extend throughout all Asia.

There are several other subjects I should like to mention; but I have too long occupied the attention of the House, and must therefore now close with my respectful thanks for having listened so long.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, it appeared, from a statement made by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington), in the course of his speech delivered that evening, that the Government of India had estimated the cost of the 6,000 or 7,000 men who were to form the Indian Contingent of the Army in Egypt at £1,800,000, which sum included transport and maintenance of the troops for three months. In other words, each man landed at Suez from India was to cost about £300 a man if only 6,000 were sent, or £30,000 for 100 men; whereas the 23,000 who were to be sent from this country were estimated to cost for the same period £2,300,000. Now, under those circumstances, he thought it right that the noble Marquess should have an opportunity of telegraphing to India to ascertain whether that statement was correct; because, if it were so, it would materially alter the opinion of many hon. Members of the House with regard to the cost of the Indian Contingent being made a charge upon the Revenues of India. The disproportion between the cost of the men to be sent to Egypt from India and the cost of those to be sent from this country was so great, that it was hardly possible to conceive the calculation of the Indian Government to be correct. The House would recollect that when, in 1878, 8,000 men were brought from India and landed at Malta, the charge was only £750,000, and that was considered by hon. Gentlemen opposite to be excessive; moreover, they said that so great a charge ought not to be placed on the Revenues of India. When the House re-assembled on the 24th of October next, the noble Marquess would have to state something more with regard to this matter; and hon. Members ought to have before them, when the time arrived, the actual cost of the Expedition from India. He was quite certain that the noble Marquess would not say that the whole of any such sum as had been named should be charged upon the Indian Revenues, seeing that India had nothing to do with the commencement of this war. With the permission of the House, he would read an extract from the despatch of Sir Edward Malet, the concluding words of which were remarkable. Sir Edward Malet said—

> "The garrison of Alexandria has been strengthened, and now amounts to about 10,000 men. This has been done upon the advice of Dervish Pasha, whose view is that the town and garrison can at any time be reduced to submission, and that, consequently, it is right to concentrate the resistance at this point so as to save the country by one decisive blow."

That was written immediately after the massacre of Christians at Alexandria, and one month before the bombardment; and, if there ever was a warning in this world, it was a warning to Her Majesty's Government that, if they had courage to place troops in Cyprus, ready to land, if necessary, at Alexandria, the Army of Arabi would have laid down their arms. If we had had the courage of our opinions, and had understood our duty at that particular moment, there would have been no necessity to send Indian troops into Egypt at all. That consideration alone ought to make them very careful of the apportionment of the charge for the Indian troops; and he would again venture to call the attention of the noble Marquess to the excessive amount which had been named in connection with them, because he believed that the taxpayers of this country, much as they regretted the amount they would be called upon to pay, would rather bear a considerable portion of the cost themselves than that the whole should be placed upon the Revenues of India.

Mr. R. T. REID said, there was one subject which had not been noticed in the course of this discussion—namely, the employment of Natives in the Civil Service of India. He was satisfied, from conversations had by him with gentlemen familiar with the subject, as well as from the documents in connection with it that had been placed in his hands, that the cost of the Government of India would be greatly diminished if a large number of Natives were employed in the Civil Service. These men had more sympathy with, and knowledge of, the people than Europeans, and their employment would tend, as much as anything he could think of, to popularize the Government, and would provide an opening for educated and aspiring Natives, who, under the present arrangements, were very inadequately provided for. In view of the enormous and increasing expenditure of the Indian Government and the easy means of diminishing it by the method which he advocated, he trusted the subject of the employment of Natives in the Civil Service of India would receive the favourable consideration of the noble Marquess.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, that he would reserve his observations on the matters of detail which had been discussed until they got into Committee; but at that time, with the leave of the House, he would reply to the general questions of policy which had been raised. The chief question raised by the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) and the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope) was with reference to the increased expenditure on Public Works. Both hon. Members seemed greatly alarmed at what they considered the tendency to an increased expenditure in that direction. He (the Marquess of Hartington) had already explained that no change had been made in the limit imposed by the Secretary of State, under the direction of Parliament, on the amount which might be borrowed for direct outlay on Public Works. With the exception of certain temporary assistance, which had been given to private Companies for limited purposes and which would be repaid, no extension whatever had been permitted to arise of the liabilities of the Government of India for the extension of Public Works. The increased Expenditure upon Public Works had taken place out of the Revenue of the year, mainly under the direction of the Local Governments out of the surpluses which they had accumulated in past years. It was an essential part of the system which had been adopted that the Provincial Governments should have greater control and interest in the Expenditure. That system was initiated by Lord Mayo, and had been followed by successive Governments, including that of Lord Lytton. It was an essential part of that policy that the Local Governments should be permitted to exercise some discretion in the expenditure of the funds. If, when they accumulated a balance, it was taken by the Central Government for the payment of debt, it would tend to prevent that policy being in any way carried out. If the Local Governments considered that in no way could they more thoroughly promote the prosperity of the district over which they ruled than by a wise expenditure on Public Works, it would be unwise to impose any stringent limits on that policy. He did not share with the noble Lord opposite (Lord George Hamilton) the fear as to an undue expenditure on Public Works. So long as the Supreme Government and the Local Governments confined themselves to the Revenue of the year, he did not think they could be said to be going into extravagance. With regard to the appointment of Mr. Hope, he was a man of experience in financial matters, and would be likely to restrict rather than encourage expense. The House was aware of the machinery that existed for the supervision of the construction of public works by public Companies in this country. They had officers of the Board of Trade and machinery of various kinds to watch over the management of enterprizes of that description; but in India no machinery of the kind existed; these enterprizes were under the control only of the Council. There was, at the present moment, increased activity in that direction, and the Government had numerous applications for assistance. It was extremely desirable, therefore, that these proposals should be dealt with by some skilled person. He did not question the ability of the Members of the Council who had to deal with these enterprizes. But the Government had come to the conclusion that they should be dealt with upon some definite line of policy, and that it was worth while to appoint some person of the Civil Service who had the requisite ability and financial knowledge to enable him to deal effectively with the proposals that were coming in upon them. He could assure the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope) that there was no intention on the part of the Government to make that a starting point for an increase of extravagance. The hon. Member had asked him a question on a subject of the greatest importance with reference to the Resolution of the Government of India on the question of Local Self-Government. That Resolution indicated, no doubt, a policy which the Government of India desired to pursue; but it did not indicate any settled intention on their part as to the extent that the Provincial and Local Governments should proceed in this matter. It merely laid down certain principles on which the Indian Government thought their policy ought to proceed. But the circumstances under which the development of Local Self-Government in India must proceed would necessarily differ widely in different parts of India. In the more advanced parts it might be possible to grant a larger share of Local Self-Government than could take place in the wilder portions of the country. No considerable change in this direction could take place without legislation, and there could be no legislation without the consent of the Indian and of the Home Government. The views of the Secretary of State in Council had not yet been communicated to the Government of India, as they were not yet in possession of all the Correspondence which had passed with the Local Governments. The subject had not been lost sight of, and he could not refrain from giving a general approval to the principle laid down by the Resolution published by the Government of India. Some persons of great Indian experience thought it indicated too rapid a rate of progression in the present state of India; but it only indicated the general lines on which it desired the Local Governments to proceed, and it did not sanction any particular measures in this direction. He did not think he need enter into any further details. The hon. and gallant Member who spoke just now (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) travelled rather far when he discussed the question of the garrison of Alexandria. The hon. and gallant Member suggested that he (the Marquess of Hartington) should telegraph to India for further information as to the War Expenditure. He had already telegraphed for information to the Government of India; but it was impossible that complete information on a subject of this kind could be transmitted by telegraph. If further information were required on the various points mentioned in the course of this discussion, he would supply it after they had gone into Committee.

MR. WARTON said, he wished to make just one observation to express his regret that the precedent of last year had been followed this year in the matter of bringing on the Indian Budget. He hoped it would not establish a fixed habit of the House to take the Indian Budget on the last Monday of the Session. The course they had adopted showed that the Government had not a proper sense of the relative value of certain kinds of Business. He hoped they would do better another year than waste the Session in attacks on the House of Lords.

Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

MATTER *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That it appears by the Accounts laid before this House, that the Ordinary Revenue of India for the year ending the 31st day of March 1881, was £63,178,192; the Revenue from Productive Public Works, including the Net Traffic Receipts from Guaranteed Companies, was £9,381,786, making the total Revenue of India for that year £72,559,978; that the Ordinary Expenditure in India and in England, including Charges for the Collection of the Revenue, for Ordinary Public Works, and for Interest on Debt, exclusive of that for Productive Public Works, was £67,344,896; the Expenditure on Productive Public Works (Working Expenses and Interest), including the payments to Guaranteed Companies for Interest and Surplus Profits, was £9,259,437, making a total Charge for that year of £76,604,333; that there was an excess of Expenditure over Income in that year of £2,044,355; that the Capital Expenditure on Productive Public Works in the same year was £3,238,070; and that there was also an outlay on the East Indian Railway of £418,435."

MR. R. N. FOWLER said, the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for India was good enough to say that he would answer any question that any hon. Member might think it desirable to put in Committee. He (Mr. R. N. Fowler) should like to know what provision had been made for the reduction of the duty on Malwa opium?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: No provision has been made for the reduction of the duty.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER: What is the alteration?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I am not certain what the reduction is —50 rupees a-chest, I think.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow.*

ELECTRIC LIGHTING BILL.

CONSIDERATION OF LORDS AMENDMENTS.

Lords Amendments *considered.*

Mr. WARTON said, that when the Bill was before the House of Commons in Committee, he moved several Amendments at the bottom of page 1 and at the top of page 2, which he believed to be essential for the purpose of removing obscurities; but his proposals were rejected. He had also taken the liberty of moving that the Bill be re-committed; but to no purpose. Now, however, the Amendments he had wished to see inserted had come down from the House of Lords.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) had somewhat misrepresented what had occurred. When the Amendments referred to were moved, he (Mr. Chamberlain) had promised, on the part of the Government, that they would be carefully considered, and, if found compatible with the drafting of the Bill, inserted at the next stage. There had been no next stage in this House, however, as there had been no Report. In the interval between the Bill leaving the House of Commons and its Committee stage in the House of Lords, the Amendments had been considered in detail, and introduced into the Bill at the instigation of the Government.

Lords Amendment in page 12, line 32, leave out ("fifteen years") and insert—

("Twenty-one years or such shorter period as is specified in that behalf in the application for the Provisional Order or in the special Act.")

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment."—(*Mr. Chamberlain.*)

Sir JOHN JENKINS said, he objected to the Lords Amendment. The question was very fully discussed on the occasion of the second reading in that House; and he understood that it was then agreed that the term "fifteen years" should be adopted as a compromise between the term proposed by the Government, and that proposed by the Electric Lighting Companies. The House in Committee, therefore, after very fully considering that question, fixed on 15 years as a mean average between the two. Electric lighting, undoubtedly, at the present time, was in an experimental stage; and he feared that, if they extended the term from 15 to 21 years, they would run the risk of creating monopolies such as those already given to the Gas Companies. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) had entertained this opinion himself when he brought forward the Bill for second reading. The right hon. Gentleman had said then that the term contained in the clause was the result of a compromise; and, accordingly, having fixed the period of 15 years as being midway between the two previous proposals, the Committee had considered 15 years amply sufficient to enable the Electric Lighting Companies to make the necessary experiments. The object of the Committee was to avoid throwing an obstacle in the way of the Companies, and to see that the interests of the public did not suffer from the creation of a monopoly similar to that in the case of gas. He believed that all the Electric Lighting Companies, with the exception of the Edison Company, had expressed their approval of the term fixed by the Committee, looking upon 15 years as sufficient time to enable the Companies to make proper experiments. That view was pretty generally entertained throughout the country, and amongst hon. Members who had given the matter their consideration. It was very unfortunate that a question such as this should be brought forward in the closing days of the Session, when a large number of hon. Members had left town, and were, consequently, unable to take part in the discussion. In Gas Bills and Water Bills there was some restriction as to the prices that were to be charged for the commodities supplied under their provisions. In this measure, however, there was no limitation whatever, and, moreover, he was assured, there was no means of accurately measuring the quantity of electric current which would be supplied to private individuals or for public purposes. There was no limitation as to profit which might be made;

consequently, he considered it very unwise on the part of the Board of Trade to have given way to one Company which was dissatisfied at what was fixed by the Government in the first instance. He trusted the Lords Amendment would not be agreed to.

Mr. DILLWYN said, he wished to support the view of the hon. Member who had just sat down (Sir John Jenkins). He considered it in the highest degree unwise to, as it were, crystallize the invention of electric lighting as it now stood. Fifteen years was a great deal too long a time, as everyone must see, when they remembered that the whole science of electric lighting was not 15 years old, or anything like it. To give a monopoly for 15 years would prevent improvements from being carried out during the whole of that time. Twenty-one years, however, was a still longer period, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade would stand upon the principles he had introduced into the Bill as a compromise. It was too late, in the last days of the Session, to extend the period to such a serious degree, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would persist in retaining his own Amendment.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) had correctly stated the circumstances under which he had recommended the term of 15 years to the Select Committee. It was a compromise, and at the time when the question was last discussed in that House he was of opinion that it was a fair compromise; but, since then, further information had been brought before him which had certainly made a difference in his opinion, and which he thought might alter that of his hon. Friend. At the time when this matter was discussed before the Select Committee, it was certainly the opinion of the Committee that, in the present experimental stage of electric lighting, there would not be any considerable expenditure of capital; and if it was proposed to try, in an experimental way, the lighting of a street, or a few houses, or a small district, a monopoly of 15 years would be quite sufficient to pay promoters for their investment of capital. But already, in the few months during which this matter had been under discussion, very great progress had been made with electric lighting, and it now seemed very probable that large installations would be made, in some cases involving hundreds of thousands of pounds of capital, and it did not seem to him that 10 or 15 years would, in all cases, be sufficient to justify such an outlay of capital, and that if the compensation were strictly confined to that short time they would not be induced to spend their capital, and give that development to electric lighting which was desired. Therefore, he was willing to reconsider the opinon he had formed with reference to this matter. An Amendment was proposed in the other House that in all cases the term of a Provisional Order—that was to say, the term after which the purchasing clause took effect — should be extended to 21 years. He objected to that, because it would have been a hard-and-fast line, which would have involved a period of 21 years, even in the case of small installations; and, therefore, he secured an Amendment to the Amendment in the other House, and as the Bill now came down the period was a maximum of 21 years; the local authorities being left in every case to come to an agreement, if they pleased, with the Company, or persons asking for permission to make an experiment, whereby they might consent to a shorter term than 21 years. Under these circumstances, he hoped no great grievance would possibly result, and he believed the clause would be found to work well in practice, and would not cause the creation of a monopoly which would in any way be dangerous to the public interests.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK denied that what was proposed could be called a monopoly. A local authority would have the option of purchasing an installation, and that was very different from a monopoly. When the period was settled in this House at 15 years, the Chairman of the Hammond Company protested against it, and the Chairman of the Swan Company took the same view. They both said they were not satisfied, and he thought, as the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chamberlain) had said, when it was a question of investing £250,000 or £500,000, and a Company was liable to be bought up in 15 years, without any compensation for goodwill, it was reasonable to extend the term. There was no doubt that in one sense it was true, as the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) had said, that electric lighting was still in an experimental stage; but, still they had had experience at Holborn Viaduct, and other places, which showed that electric lighting could be successfully and generally carried out, and the only question was as to which was the best system. He hoped, under the circumstances, the House would agree to the Amendment.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Mr. WHITLEY said, he wished to express his own obligations, and, he was sure, those of the right hon. Gentleman the late Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross), to the Secretary of the Poor Law Board (Mr. Hibbert), for the attention he had given to the Bill. The Bill was in a much better shape than it had ever been before, and he was sure it was owing to the exertions of his hon. Friend.

Remaining Amendments *agreed to.*

LUNACY REGULATION AMENDMENT BILL [*Lords*].

CONSIDERATION OF LORDS AMENDMENT TO COMMONS AMENDMENTS.

Order for Consideration of Lords Amendment read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Lords Amendment to the Commons Amendments made in this Bill be now considered."

Mr. WARTON said, he objected to the Motion on the ground that the promise made in that House in Committee to increase the number of visits to licensed places had not been carried out by the Government in the House of Lords.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Lords Amendment to Commons Amendments *considered,* and *agreed to.*

REVENUE, FRIENDLY SOCIETIES, AND NATIONAL DEBT BILL.—[Bill 260.]

(*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Herbert Gladstone.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Order for Consideration, as amended, read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill, as amended, be now considered."—(*Mr. Courtney.*)

Mr. MAGNIAC said, he was sorry to take up the time of the House at this late hour; but the proceedings with regard to the Bill under notice had been so unsatisfactory that he felt bound to make a few remarks at that stage. In the first place, the form of the Bill was most objectionable. The Bill had been brought in under the guise of a Money Bill; but it no more came within the definition of a Money Bill than the Bills they had been discussing that night. There were clauses referring to the ordinary transactions of trade, which ought to have had the fullest discussion either in the House or out; but they had not received that discussion—time had not permitted. He understood there was no precise definition of a Money Bill; but if the practice was to be followed of disposing of Bills in this way, because they were Money Bills, the sooner the point was decided the better. It was an abuse of the Forms of the House to bring in a Bill in the form in which this had been presented. The Bill contained many very important provisions, and it was introduced and passed through its stages a few minutes past 3 one morning. His hon. Friend the Member for the City of London (Mr. R. N. Fowler) was the only commercial man in the House at the time; and he attempted, to the best of his ability, which was not small, to get some information with regard to the Bill; but information abstracted at half-past 3 o'clock in the morning was not of a very satisfactory character. In consequence of the form in which the Bill was disguised and the perfunctory manner in which it had been brought before the House, no one connected with the commercial community really appreciated it to the fullest extent. He (Mr. Magniac) could not profess to be acquainted with all the technicalities involved in the Bill, and very important points had escaped his notice. Indeed, it was not until Thursday night that the persons greatly concerned by the Bill became aware of what was in store for them. The Warehousing Clauses of the Bill were highly technical, and if they had been passed a most unjust burden would have been cast upon a large class of the commercial community, a class upon whom depended what, he did not hesitate to assert, was the backbone and foundation of British trade and commerce. The commerce of the world was being competed for by every nation in the Eastern and Western hemispheres, and it had been an earnest desire to make England the emporium of the world. If the Warehousing Clauses of the Bill had been passed, a very considerable blow would have been given to the efforts in that direction. Fortunately, the point was discovered in time to cause the Government to alter the Bill. The commercial community had just ground to complain that Bills were introduced of so one-sided a character, that it was evident it was only the interest of the Department in the matter of trouble that was considered. It was evident these Bills would have to be much more carefully watched than hitherto; in fact, in future, he should certainly prevent their passing without they received the fullest discussion. The Prime Minister had said that Obstruction might be used for the enlightenment of the House. He (Mr. Magniac) was determined that if any instances of this kind occurred again, he should resort to Obstruction for the enlightenment of the House. He believed that in that course he would be supported by all the hon. Gentlemen who represented commercial communities, and who were acquainted with the circumstances and requirements of trade. The traders of the country ought to receive support from the Government instead of being confronted by them with obstruction and difficulty. He believed that if three or four men of business had been asked to meet the hon. Member (Mr. Courtney) and his Advisers, all the difficulties in the matter might have been settled in two hours. There were other extraordinary clauses in the Bill besides the Warehousing Clauses; for instance, there were the clauses providing that if a man could not be convicted of one offence he must be convicted of others. These were the Gun Clauses, and they provided that if a man could not be convicted of poaching he might be convicted of carrying a gun. He did not know how far that was within the principles of the present law; but he did not think any man ought to be punished for anything with which he was not charged. The 19th clause, which applied to the £140,000 which was the amount of the accumulated bonuses in the Bank of England, was also a most extraordinary one, and then again there was a clause making up a deficiency on the Friendly Societies Account. He believed £1,250,000 was the amount which was to be provided in the Bill. The voting of such an amount as that needed some more consideration than a perfunctory conversation between a few hon. Gentlemen at half-past 3 o'clock in the morning. Further, he had not heard any reason why the holders of the 2½ per cent Stocks were to have their dividends paid quarterly, and the holders of other Stock not.

MR. R. N. FOWLER said, he had no intention of detaining the House. He rose simply to thank his hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Magniac), in whose speech he thoroughly concurred, for the great pains he had taken in regard to this Bill. It was a measure which affected very disadvantageously a large class of warehousemen carrying on business in the City of London, and he was glad that the hon. Member had explained certain matters which required to be set right.

MR. COURTNEY said, he did not think it was necessary, at that hour of the night, that there should be a prolonged discussion upon the Amendments which had been introduced into the Bill. He had distinctly understood that the Amendments on all the points which had been in dispute had been accepted.

MR. MAGNIAC said, that his remarks were applied principally to the Warehousing Clauses.

MR. COURTNEY said, that practical difficulties had been found to exist in the Warehousing Clauses as they originally stood; but they were discovered while the Bill was before the House, and had been amended. He did not think that much time had been lost by the manner in which the Bill had been introduced, and all the points which the hon. Member for Bedford (Mr. Magniac) had raised as to the Warehousing Clauses would be satisfactorily settled by the Amendments which he was prepared to move. The Bill was an Omnibus Bill; and the questions raised by the other clauses had been discussed in former years. It was only intended to apply to Friendly Societies' legislation, which had been already passed, and to make provision for the allocation of the standing Debt of the Bank of England. His hon. Friend the Member for Bedford had entered into various calculations in regard to the quarterly payments of 2½ per cent Stock; but the matter was one which had been discussed by the House in former years, and it would involve a considerable waste of time to enter into every matter of detail again. Being an Omnibus Bill, the measure included a real variety of provisions which could only be discussed in a very discursive manner. The Warehousing Clauses had excited some alarm; but their effect had been much exaggerated, and the alarm had no real foundation. He hoped his hon. Friend would content himself with the remarks he had made, and would not further arrest the progress of the Bill.

Mr. THOROLD ROGERS said, that what had happened was really this—A deputation of gentlemen representing very large interests had waited upon the Treasury, and the Treasury explained why a considerable portion of these new clauses had been pitchforked into an Omnibus Bill at so late a period of the Session that it was impossible to discuss them. Persons of great business acuteness had, however, been able to detect a great blot in the Bill, by which serious consequences might have been brought about; and, by making representations to the Government, they had been able to induce the Secretary to the Treasury to extract most of the mischief these particular clauses originally contained. But, at the present moment, the House did not know how much more mischief might be contained in the Bill; and, if further mischief was discovered after the Bill became law, he hoped the House would remember that Her Majesty's Government were alone to blame for it.

Mr. DILLWYN said, he could not allow one remark of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) to go unanswered. The hon. Gentleman said that the blot in the Bill was discovered while the Bill was before the House. He (Mr. Dillwyn) presumed that it was discovered in the Lobby, and he, for one, very strongly objected to what he might term "Lobby legislation." There were many most unsatisfactory clauses in the Bill as it was originally introduced; but it would appear that the Government had effected a compromise with their opponents in the Lobby, instead of discussing and settling them in a proper way in the House. He ventured to enter a strong protest against the principle laid down by his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury, that it was a justifiable or advisable practice to adopt, in regard to the clauses of any Bill, to settle them outside the House. He was of opinion that all Bills that passed that House ought to be settled on the floor of the House.

Mr. WARTON said, he tried to attend to the Business of the House as carefully as he could, and he gave as regular an attendance as any hon. Member; but he confessed that he had been unable to understand the conduct of the Treasury Bench in regard to this Bill, or to fathom the precise bearing of some of its provisions. He had gone away originally with the impression that the Bill was merely a Bill that dealt with ordinary matters, and he had therefore been induced to view its provisions without the slightest suspicion. From what had occurred since, however, he was of opinion that such a Bill ought not to be introduced without a full explanation, and that it ought not to be passed until it had received full discussion.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

Clause 2 (Warehouse-keepers to provide accommodation for officers of Customs).

On the Motion of Mr. Courtney, Clause *struck out* of the Bill.

Clause 3 (Upon revocation of approval of a Customs warehouse goods to be cleared or removed).

On the Motion of Mr. Courtney, Amendment made, in page 1, line 17, by inserting, after "time," the words "not less than three months."

Other Amendments made.

Mr. COURTNEY said, he would now, with the permission of the House, move that the Bill be read a third time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. Courtney.*)

Mr. MAGNIAC said, he did not intend to oppose the third reading; and, as regarded the matter of which he had complained, he could only say he hoped his hon. Friend (Mr. Courtney) would never do it again.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

FISHERY BOARD (SCOTLAND) [SALARIES AND EXPENSES.]

COMMITTEE.

MATTER *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of the Salaries of the Chairman and Officers of the Fishery Board, and of any Expenses which may be incurred by the Fishery Board under the provisions of any Act of the present Session to establish a Fishery Board in Scotland.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow*.

FISHERY BOARD (SCOTLAND) BILL.

(*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland, Mr. Robert Duff.*)

[BILL 240.] COMMITTEE.

[*Progress* 12*th August.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 to 3, inclusive, severally *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Establishment and constitution of Fishery Board).

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) moved, as an Amendment, in page 1, line 26, to leave out the word "four," and insert the word "three."

Question proposed, "That the word 'four' stand part of the Clause."

MR. C. S. PARKER asked the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate if he had considered the question whether the word "Sheriff" in the clause should include the Sheriff-substitute? The principal Act mentioned in the Schedule—namely, the 25 & 26 *Vict.* c. 97—defined "Sheriff" to mean the Sheriff of any county, and to include the "Sheriff-substitute;" and under that Act the Sheriff-substitute also had duties to perform. He believed there was a good deal of feeling in Scotland that in some cases the Sheriff-substitute might more suitably act under this Bill than the Sheriff-principal. He therefore wished to know if "Sheriff" would include "Sheriff-substitute" or not?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, he would answer the question upon the Motion that the clause stand part of the Bill.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That the word 'three' be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

On Question, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill?"

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, that, in reply to the question which had just been put by his hon. Friend the Member for Perth (Mr. C. S. Parker), he had to say that it was not intended to include the Sheriff-substitute under the term "Sheriff."

MR. C. S. PARKER said, that he saw no reason why the Sheriff-substitutes should not be included, seeing that they had duties to perform under the Act.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, the question had been carefully considered; but it was thought that, as many of these gentlemen resided at a long distance from Edinburgh, it would be inconvenient to call upon them to attend the meetings of the Fishery Board.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Functions of Board. Herring fisheries. Deep-sea fisheries).

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he should like to hear from the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate what powers he proposed to confer upon the Fishery Board under the Salmon Fisheries Act? It must be borne in mind that hitherto the Bill had received no discussion. It was an important Bill in many respects, and a Bill which ought to have far more serious consideration than it had obtained. As far as he had been able to read the Bill, and to understand its provisions, it involved a direct interference with the rights of private property in Scotland in the salmon fisheries and the salmon rivers. He looked upon that as a matter of very great importance, and thought that some explanation ought to be given by the Government. The next clause provided that the principal Secretary of State for the Home Department should appoint an Inspector, and the Inspector so appointed would have the right to pry into everything relating to salmon rivers, whether they belonged to the Crown or to private persons. Strong representations had been made to him (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) that this would be a great grievance. The House, in his opinion, would never tolerate, and ought not to tolerate, the conferring of unlimited and undefined powers upon the Fishery Board as was proposed in Sub-section 2 of the clause. If the Salmon Acts required amendment, let the subject be brought before Parliament, by all means; but he objected altogether to the Board having general superintendence of all the salmon fisheries in Scotland, and instituting regulations, probably, for some peculiar purpose of their own. Such a proposal was unheard of, and had never been made in that House before. If it was thought necessary to give powers to the Board, the Bill should state what those powers were to be. Not only were the powers undefined by the Bill, but the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Lord Advocate had given the Committee no information whatever upon the subject. Under the clause as it stood, the owner of a private river might be examined as to the number of salmon he took in the season, and the value of them. No one liked to have people going about and inspecting their property, unless, of course, there was some good reason or absolute necessity for it. This portion of the Bill was so objectionable that he appealed to the right hon. and learned Gentleman to withdraw it, and to allow it to be considered by a Committee of the House, with a view, if necessary, to alter the Salmon Laws; but, under any circumstances, to state what the powers of the Fishery Board were to be. If that were done, he thought they would be justified in passing the Bill. He wished the right hon. and learned Gentleman to understand that his remarks applied exclusively to the proposed powers of the Board with reference to salmon fisheries—against their supervision of deep-sea fisheries he had nothing to say.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, the hon. and gallant Baronet who had just sat down (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) was inaccurate in saying there had been no discussion on the Bill. It had been discussed on Friday night last, and again on the following day; and his recollection was that the proposal to introduce salmon fisheries within the action of the Bill met with the unanimous approval of Scotch Members.

On the Motion of The LORD ADVOCATE, the following Amendments made:—In page 2, line 18, after the word "of," insert "without interference with any existing public authority or private rights;" and in same page, at end of sub-section (2), add "but without prejudice to the powers of district boards."

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, he wished to state, with reference to Sub-section 2, that it conferred two powers. The first of these was that the Fishery Board should have the general superintendence of the salmon fisheries of Scotland; the second was that they should have the powers and duties of Commissioners under the Salmon Fishery Acts. Now, he would state that the first of these declarations was precisely the same as that contained in the English Act of 1861, which provided that the general superintendence of fisheries in England should be vested in a Fishery Board. This portion of the clause, then, was to extend to Scotland the identical power given to the English Fishery Board by an Act of Parliament now 21 years old. Then, with regard to the second declaration of the sub-section—this simply transferred to the Fishery Board the duties already discharged by the Commissioners under the Fishery Acts. There was nothing new in that either; and, therefore, he thought the hon. and gallant Baronet opposite (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) could not, with respect to the two powers proposed to be given, successfully resist this portion of the clause. The Amendment which had just been agreed to by the Committee on his (the Lord Advocate's) Motion—namely, that the action of the Board should be without prejudice to, or interference with, the powers of district boards, had reference to the appointments which took place under the Acts of 1862 and 1868, which gave power to appoint district boards, who were elected by some fishery proprietors interested in the different rivers. It was by no means the case, however, that boards had been elected for all the rivers, and some of those which were at one time elected had since disappeared. The next sub-section provided that the Fishery Board should comply with any instructions which might be issued by Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, and should make an annual Report to him, containing a statistical account of the fisheries, and suggestions for their regulation and improvement, which Report should be presented to Parliament. That, of course, authorized the Secretary of State to issue instructions which the Board would be required to comply with, and carry out. The second part of the sub-section supplied that which had always been a great desideratum in Scotland—namely, the means of obtaining full information with regard to the Scotch salmon fisheries, and he trusted that the result of this provision would be to benefit those fisheries. It was stated by the hon. and gallant Baronet that salmon fisheries were in no different position from that of any other property of the kind; but that proposition he (the Lord Advocate) was unable to admit, either with regard to England or Scotland. Certainly, in Scotland, from the time of Alexander II. until now, salmon fisheries had been the subject of distinct legislation. On the whole, he thought there was nothing in the Bill which stood in need of any defence. There was no proposal to alter the law as applying either to sea or salmon fisheries. The Bill was simply for the purpose of constituting a Board to administer the law as it then existed, and, subject to any improvement which might be made therein, as they hoped it would exist for some time to come.

Mr. C. S. PARKER said, the thanks of the Committee were due to the hon. Baronet (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) for eliciting from the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate the explanation he had just given with regard to the powers and scope of the Bill. It was evident that a rather strong feeling existed amongst the local boards in connection with the Bill. They seemed to fear that some mischief would result to them from it. They were, in fact, somewhat jealous of the authority that was to be created. He had himself presented a Petition from the district board on the Tay, which showed the existence of those feelings; but he thought the words which the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate had just inserted in the clause would do much to remove apprehensions of the kind. He hoped he was right in understanding that the words "without prejudice to or interference with the powers of any district board" would not allow any interference with the present balance of influence between the lower and upper proprietors. That being so, he should not be disposed to oppose the Bill on behalf of the Petitioners.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 6 *agreed to.*

Clause 7 (Salmon fisheries).

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be struck out of the Bill."—(*The Lord Advocate.*)

Mr. BUCHANAN hoped there would be some explanation of the grounds on which the Tweed was to be exempted from the operation of the Act. If one river were exempted, he could see no reason why that should not also be the case with other rivers. He thought it was very much to be regretted that the Amendments which were being put from the Chair had not been printed in the usual way, so that hon. Members might have had an opportunity of seeing the alterations intended to be made in the Bill. With the exception of this Amendment, the rest were quite new to the Committee.

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) said, it was understood on a former occasion that the Tweed was to be exempted from the operation of the Bill. There were two reasons for that, as he had explained at the time. In the first place, strong objections had been expressed on the part of those interested in the Tweed fisheries to the inclusion of that river within the purview of the Bill; and, in the second place, the Tweed had always been the subject of separate legislation—it had never been brought under any Scotch Act. For these reasons, the course which had been long followed had been taken with regard to that river.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause *struck out* accordingly.

Clause 8 *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

COUNTY COURTS (COSTS AND SALARIES) BILL.

CONSIDERATION OF LORDS AMENDMENTS.

Lords Amendments to be considered.

MR. WARTON said, the Lords had had the good sense to do what he had urged on this House to do—namely, make the title outside the measure agree with that inside.

Lords Amendments *considered*, and *agreed to*.

MOTION.

PURCHASE OF RAILWAYS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. CALLAN, Bill to provide for the Purchase of Railways in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. CALLAN, Mr. COWEN, Mr. DALY, Mr. THOMAS DICKSON, Mr. O'SULLIVAN, Colonel NOLAN, and Mr. BERESFORD.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 278.]

House adjourned at half after Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 15*th* *August*, 1882.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—India (Home Charges Arrears) * (256); Revenue, Friendly Societies, and National Debt * (257); National Gallery (Loan) * (261); Fishery Board (Scotland) * (264).

Second Reading—Committee negatived—Corrupt Practices (Suspension of Elections) * (251); Passenger Vessels Licences (Scotland) (252); Expiring Laws Continuance * (253); Public Works Loans * (254); Royal Irish Constabulary (255); Prison Charities * (242).

Committee—Allotments * (248).

Committee — Report — Turnpike Roads (South Wales) * (226).

Third Reading—Reserve Forces Acts Consolidation * (224); Militia Acts Consolidation * (225); Artizans' Dwellings * (231); Parcel Post * (249); Merchant Shipping (Mercantile Marine Fund) * (241); Government Annuities and Insurance * (243), and *passed*.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE ADJOURNMENT.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I wish to give Notice that I propose on Friday to move the adjournment of the House until the 24th of October. I do so in consequence of the course to be pursued by the Government in the House of Commons, where the same Motion for adjournment is to be made. In the House of Commons it is not the intention of the Government to bring forward any other Business than that connected with the Procedure of that House. I might have taken another course. I might have, as is often the case, moved next Friday an adjournment until a later day than that on which the House of Commons will meet. But, on the whole, we thought it more respectful to your Lordships to ask you to meet on the same day, and on that day I shall ask your Lordships further to adjourn. With regard to the Business of the House, Her Majesty's Government have no intention of asking your Lordships to transact any. Should any emergency make it desirable that Business should be done, I shall feel bound to give your Lordships proper Notice of the fact. I understand that it has been suggested that I should state whether any Bill which has been rejected by the usual form of a Motion that it be read on that day three months might not be revived through the meeting of the House in October, notwithstanding the rejection. I think that practically this question does not arise, as there are no Bills which can be affected in that way. I have also been asked whether any Bills which have not arrived at a third reading can go on to their subsequent stages in October. A question of Order of that sort will rest with your Lordships; but it is not the intention of the Government to ask your Lordships to go on with any measures or to encourage any legislation in the month of October.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, there still remains the difficulty of any single Member pushing on a measure. His right to do so would, I presume, not be affected by the course proposed by the Government. I have no intention to enter into any discussion of the noble Earl's statement; but should public affairs at that time seem to require any discussion on the part of the Opposition, we are not to be precluded by the statement of the noble Earl from then entering upon a discussion.

PASSENGER VESSELS LICENCES (SCOTLAND) BILL.—(No. 252.)

(*The Earl of Rosebery.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that it had passed the House of Commons, where there had been no dissentient voice raised against it. It dealt with the question of licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors on board passenger vessels. These licences were now granted by the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, who were not the ordinary licensing authorities. It seemed that scenes of great scandal had occurred on some of the Glasgow Sunday boats owing to the sale of intoxicating liquors on board of them, and the object of this Bill was to give the Commissioners power to prevent such sale on Sundays.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Earl of Rosebery.*)

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly.

Committee *negatived;* and Bill to be read 3ª *To-morrow.*

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY BILL.—(No. 255.)

(*The Lord Privy Seal.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL), in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, the Bill had come up from the House of Commons. The Bill was in the interest of the officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary, with whom alone it dealt, and its object was to improve the pay and pensions of those individuals. Their allowance, as well as the allowances of the men, had already been dealt with; but for the purpose of increasing their pay and pensions it was necessary that an Act should be passed. The measure also proposed a scheme of compulsory retirement, to be applied to the officers of the Constabulary, which was similar to the scheme in force amongst officers in the Army. The subject had been carefully inquired into, and this Bill was the result.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Privy Seal.*)

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE said, he did not rise to object to the Bill, but to ask whether the position of the chief medical officers of the Force had been brought under the notice of the Government, and whether they would come under the operation of the Bill?

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) said, the point had been brought to his notice a short time ago; but he was informed that the House of Lords would have no power to include any other officer in the Bill, as that would imply an official character. He had been told that the question had been raised in the House of Commons, and considered by the Irish Government; but they did not see their way to include in the benefits of the Bill any other officers.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly.

Committee *negatived;* and Bill to be read 3ª *To-morrow.*

METROPOLITAN IMPROVEMENTS—HYDE PARK CORNER.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE MARQUESS OF AILESBURY asked Her Majesty's Government, Whether it is seriously intended to carry into effect the alterations proposed by Her Majesty's First Commissioner of Works at Hyde Park Corner; and, if so, when the said alterations may be expected to be commenced? The noble Marquess said, that in asking these Questions he had no intention whatever of finding fault with the scheme proposed by the First Commissioner of Works—quite the reverse; but what he wished was that the works should be commenced at once, as the nuisance was becoming every day more intolerable, even as early as 10 or 11 a.m., as well as 4 or 5 p.m. His reason, too, for pressing this on Her Majesty's Government was that as long ago as 1874 a Motion was carried and the sum of money required actually voted by the House of Commons on the proposal of the noble Lord at that time at the head of the Office of Works, then a Member of the other House for Chichester, and nothing more was ever done about it. When he (the Marquess of Ailesbury) made further inquiry, he found that the money had been repaid into the Treasury. He trusted that Her Majesty's Government would at once commence the works, as they would certainly take six or eight months to complete, or till Parliament should meet next year.

The Earl of MILLTOWN said, that he desired to supplement the Question of the noble Marquess by asking whether, in the event of these proposed improvements being effected, the Government would avail themselves of the opportunity thus afforded to throw open the roadway down Constitution Hill to the public? He asserted that if the contemplated improvements were carried out the exclusion of the public from the roadway in question would be more than ever a grievance. He was satisfied that this proposal would meet with the approval of Her Majesty, who throughout her long and happy Reign had ever considered the convenience of her subjects. Carriages and other vehicles had been allowed to pass in front of Buckingham Palace, and this road would run at the back of the Palace. The public use of it would be a great convenience, and at the same time no nuisance to anybody.

Lord SUDELEY said, that he had to state that immediately the Vote was passed by the other House steps were at once taken to commence carrying out the great improvement at Hyde Park Corner. The first thing that had to be done was to remove the reservoir from its present position to a suitable place in Hyde Park, and tenders had already been invited for carrying this out. The First Commissioner had not yet decided whether the Duke of Wellington's Arch could be moved in one block on rollers, or whether it would be necessary to pull it down and rebuild it; but it was hoped that this matter would be settled in a few days. The Government hoped that cutting off the corner of Green Park would entirely remove the congestion of traffic, which had for so long been a standing nuisance to that part of the Metropolis; and they believed that of the numerous schemes which had been suggested, this formation of a large "place" would be the boldest and happiest solution of a somewhat difficult problem. He could not give the noble Marquess an exact date when the works would be completed; but he could assure him that, the money having been agreed to by Parliament, and the Metropolitan Board of Works and all parties having given their consent, everything would be done to expedite the completing of the improvements as soon as possible. In reply to the noble Lord opposite (the Earl of Milltown), he had to say that it was not proposed at present to open Constitution Hill to the public. The question had not been under consideration.

The Duke of CAMBRIDGE said, that he was very glad that what was now proposed was to be carried out; but he was convinced that the block in the traffic at Hyde Park Corner would never be got rid of until a subway had been made from Hamilton Place, under Piccadilly, to Grosvenor Place. He was aware that the construction of such a subway would be a very expensive matter, and that all sorts of difficulties connected with water and gas pipes and sewers would have to be encountered; but, in his opinion, these difficulties ought to be overcome, because the block at Hyde Park Corner was really a disgrace to a great city like this.

The Earl of REDESDALE (Chairman of Committees) asked whether it would not be possible to place the statue of the Duke of Wellington on a pedestal opposite to Apsley House?

Lord SUDELEY said, that the First Commissioner had received a great many representations respecting what should be done with the statue of the Duke of Wellington. Among many conflicting opinions, he had not yet decided what would be best to be done; but if the Arch were obliged to be pulled down, then he would take care that experiments were made to see how the Duke would look on a pedestal in the middle of the proposed "place" or similar position. If the Arch were not pulled down, but were rolled into its new position without having to take down the statue, then it was probable it would be better to leave it alone. The matter was, however, still under consideration.

TRIPOLI—SAFETY OF BRITISH SUBJECTS.

MOTION FOR PAPERS.

Earl DE LA WARR, in rising to call the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the position of British subjects in Tripoli, and to ask whether any provision had been made to protect them in case of emergency, said, that while matters of the gravest importance in Egypt were engaging the attention of Her Majesty's Government, he should be very unwilling to bring under public notice any question which would embarrass them in the course which they had thought it right to adopt. At the same time, it was impossible to pass over in silence events which were of frequent occurrence, and which arose, it could not be doubted, from an increasing irritation among the Mussulman population of North Africa and elsewhere. There was evidence—abundant evidence—that the unhappy state of affairs in Egypt was not confined to that country only; it had shown itself in Syria, and in other Asiatic Mussulman States; it had shown itself in Tripoli; and wherever there was a Christian and Mussulman population together, if there had not been an open outbreak, there was a dormant feeling of irritation which might at any moment result in acts of violence. As regarded Tripoli, to which he desired to ask the attention of Her Majesty's Government, he had been assured upon reliable authority that the state of feeling there at the present moment was one which caused great anxiety and alarm. British subjects who had been able to do so had quitted the country, and many of the poorer class of the Maltese were being maintained in the Island of Serba, near the coast of Tripoli, at the expense, he believed, of the Maltese Government. Now, he did not think they need go far to discover the cause of that unhappy state of affairs. He was aware it was sometimes unwelcome to refer to the past; but the present in political matters was most often the result of the past, and he thought that anyone who had of late watched the progress of events in North Africa could not fail to see that what began in Tunis was the *fons et origo malorum.* It could only be described as an act of unprovoked aggression and violence against a peaceful country, which, unhappily, instead of being disallowed, was tacitly sanctioned, if not encouraged, by Her Majesty's Government, till a flame was kindled among the Mussulman population of North Africa, which had ended in a conflagration in Egypt. As regarded the future, Parliament was shortly to be adjourned, and the country would be left for some time with the dark and ominous intimation recently given by the Prime Minister in "another place"—that the object of this war was not to restore the *status quo ante* in Egypt. He therefore wished to ask Her Majesty's Government whether any provision had been made to afford protection to British subjects in Tripoli? He begged also to move for Papers on the subject.

Moved, "That Papers relating to the protection of British subjects in Tripoli be presented to the House."—(*The Earl De La Warr.*)

Earl GRANVILLE: In answer to the Question of the noble Lord, I have to say that the report arrived in this country during the last month, stating that there had been a considerable panic at Tripoli and at Benghadi, and that the European residents were fleeing to Malta. Her Majesty's Government sent a vessel of war to Benghadi, where the panic was said to exist. At the same time, they also sent instructions to Lord Dufferin to communicate with the Porte and with his Colleagues on the subject. They likewise communicated with the Governments of France, Austria, and Italy, and it appeared to those Powers that the reports which they had received did not lead to any alarm for the safety of the Europeans in Tripoli. At the same time, France and Austria agreed with us in pressing the Porte to take all necessary precautions; and the Porte promised to do so. At Tripoli the Vali issued a Circular to the Consuls, taking upon himself the responsibility for the security of the peace of the district. This has had a good effect in calming the apprehensions of the European residents; and there is no reason to believe that British subjects in Tripoli are in any danger at the present moment. The Papers on the subject contain nothing beyond what I have just stated to your Lordships.

The LORD CHANCELLOR: Does the noble Lord withdraw the Motion?

Earl DE LA WARR: Does the noble Earl object to produce the Papers?

Earl GRANVILLE: No.

Motion *agreed to.*

AFRICA (SOUTH)—CETEWAYO, EX-KING OF ZULULAND—PROBABLE RESTORATION.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

The Earl of MILLTOWN rose to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether Her Majesty's Government have yet arrived at any determination as to whether they will permit Cetewayo to return to Zululand or not, or as to what is to be his future fate; and, if so, whether he will communicate their intentions on the subject to the House? When a question as to Cetewayo's visit to England was mooted in July last, the Colonial Secretary had seemed undecided as to what was to be done with the ex-King. Cetewayo's visit had become a *fait accompli*, and the deposed Monarch had had an interview with the Prime Minister and the Colonial Secretary, and had had the high honour of an introduction to Her Majesty the Queen at Osborne. In spite of the fact that the noble Earl (the Earl of Kimberley) had said that nothing like an official reception would be given to Cetewayo, people both at home and in South Africa would look upon this as something like an official reception; and it was only right that the Government should give some explanation on that matter. He had no hostility to the ex-King. On the contrary, it was impossible not to regard him with a certain amount of sympathy and compassion. On the other hand, the Government, by their conduct towards him, were placed between the horns of a disagreeable dilemma. If they prevented his return to Zululand, they must dash to the ground the hopes they had excited in his mind. On the other hand, if they decided to restore him, they would fly in the face of almost everyone whose personal knowledge qualified him to give an opinion on the matter, and would be pleasing only Bishop Colenso, Lady Florence Dixie, and the ex-King himself. Should another Zulu war be the result of the restoration of the ex-King, the responsibility which would rest on Her Majesty's Government would be very serious. The noble Earl concluded by asking his Question.

The Earl of KIMBERLEY: My Lords, Her Majesty's Government have determined to consider the possibility of making arrangements for the partial restoration of Cetewayo to Zululand, with proper safeguards and conditions. Some portion of the country, to be hereafter defined, will be reserved, in order to meet obligations to those of the appointed Chiefs and people who may not be willing to return under Cetewayo's rule. A British Resident will be maintained in Zululand, and Cetewayo will be required to enter into engagements similar to those by which the 13 appointed Chiefs are now bound, which specially include a prohibition to revive in any form the military system formerly prevailing. No portion of Zululand will be annexed to British territory. I have made a communication to this effect to Cetewayo today.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: My Lords, it is impossible to hear the announcement just made by the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies without feeling that Her Majesty's Government have taken upon themselves a considerable responsibility—a responsibility not only towards the Colonists of Natal, whose lives and property may be endangered by the resolution to which they have come, but also a responsibility with respect to the general effect which their announcement will have on the estimation in which the policy, or continuity of policy, of Great Britain is held. This is another step in the process of reversal. It gives confirmation to the opinion of those who believe that England has no settled Foreign or Colonial policy, but that her policy veers about with the variation of political opinion at the hustings. And this, in an Empire where so much depends not on absolute force, but on the belief that is entertained in the stability of English resolutions and in the permanence of English policy and power, is a very grave decision to arrive at. As to the details of this matter, it is impossible, of course, to criticize them until we see them in more fulness than the noble Lord has been able to give them in his present explanation. But I cannot help observing that the prohibition to revive the military system will be a very idle threat unless Her Majesty's Government are prepared to maintain an amount of military strength in Zululand entirely inconsistent with their more recent policy towards the Colonies. With respect to the individual himself, it is, perhaps, impossible to say all that the documents in our possession would suggest to one to say; but the fact is that the man we are about to restore to power over a race whom we have affected to protect, and by the side of a Colony for whose safety we are responsible, has shown himself to be one of the most dangerous and most bloodthirsty of tyrants. Not so long ago the Party which supports Her Majesty's Government, and many of those who now form part of the Government, denounced the policy of this country with respect to Turkey, on the ground of crimes which were imputed to the Turkish Government. Some of those imputations were well-founded, and some were not well-founded; but even if they were well-founded, they would be trivial when compared with the crimes that have characterized the government of Cetewayo in the past. I do not know how far this policy of restitution is to go. The Gaekwar of Baroda is dead, and consequently Her Majesty's Government cannot restore him. Ismail Pasha still remains, and he is an angel of light compared to the candidate whom Her Majesty's Government have replaced on the Throne of Zululand. Of course, this policy must in a great measure be judged by its results. It is an undertaking little consistent, I think, with prudence, with the interests of the Colonies, with the prospective peace of Africa, and, above all, it will tend to create among all the populations whose destinies are affected by the decisions of the British Government a belief that in the policy of that Government there is no stability.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: My Lords, the noble Marquess can hardly expect me to enter on the present occasion into a detailed defence of the policy which Her Majesty's Government have thought it best to pursue towards Zululand; but there are one or two of the observations of the noble Marquess which I ought not to pass by without notice. In the first place, the noble Marquess says that this is a reversal of policy. No doubt it is; and though, my Lords, I quite agree that it is a misfortune when policies have to be reversed, it is a much greater misfortune to maintain obstinately a policy which we believe to be wrong. I need not repeat what I have often said before, that I believe the entire policy which dictated the late Zulu War was wrong from beginning to end. Further, I am of opinion that it has been abundantly shown, and those who have studied the despatches already presented must, I think, come to the conclusion that, whatever may be their opinion of the best policy to be pursued with regard to Zululand, the settlement which was made after the dethronement of Cetewayo has failed. Therefore, I think almost everyone—I am sure everyone in South Africa who is acquainted with the subject—is distinctly of opinion that a fresh policy might be adopted with advantage. Of course, I am perfectly free to admit that the question as to whether we have taken a right decision or not is a question quite fit to be canvassed, and one on which, no doubt, people will hold different opinions. At the same time, I have watched with very great care and attention all the indications of opinion in South Africa, and I am absolutely convinced that a considerable change of opinion has come about on this subject. As to the argument that we ought not to put Cetewayo over any part of this territory because he is a bloodthirsty tyrant beyond all experience, I simply deny the fact. I am quite aware that a number of stories were collected together for the purpose of justifying what I believe to have been a most unjust aggression on Cetewayo. It was erroneously thought that an attack was made on the British Colony by Cetewayo, whereas, in point of fact, we attacked him. I am aware that Cetewayo, in common, I believe, with every Chief in South Africa, committed many of what we justly call cruelties; but it is well to consider precisely what those cruelties were. In the first place, a considerable proportion of them took the form of what is called "smelling out witches." My Lords, I am not a believer in witchcraft, still less am I one who approves of the punishment of supposed witchcraft; but I cannot forget that it is not so very long ago that persons in Europe and this country —persons under far more enlightened Rulers than Cetewayo—imagined that there were witches, and punished them in a most cruel and barbarous manner. Although Cetewayo was, therefore, far behind his age, however we may disapprove his cruelties in this direction, it must be remembered that he was acting according to the customs which prevailed in the country. I admit that there is something behind of very much more importance. Cetewayo, no doubt, inflicted severe and sometimes wanton punishments on his people in order to maintain his sovereignty. But, against these facts, you must put this on the other side. If he was so cruel a Ruler, how was it that his people adhered to him as they did? Sir Bartle Frere thought his people would desert him; but, so far from that being the case, with the exception of one of his Chiefs, who came over to our side for special reasons of personal ambition, so completely were his people attached to him that, after he was defeated by our troops, and was a solitary fugitive through the country, not one of his people would betray him to our agents. Therefore, I come to the conclusion that he was not a specially bloodthirsty tyrant, as compared with men who have occupied similar positions. I agree with the noble Marquess that the step we have determined to take must be judged by the results. The whole question of dealing with South Africa is one of extreme difficulty. We have waited with great patience to allow an opportunity thoroughly to consider the position of affairs in that country, and we have deliberately come to the conclusion that the time has arrived when it is no longer safe, looking to the condition of Zululand and to the future, not to arrive at some decision for a new settlement, and the main provisions of that settlement I have announced to-night to your Lordships.

6.20 P.M. House adjourned during pleasure.

12.25 A.M. House resumed by the Lord MONSON.

NATIONAL GALLERY (LOAN) BILL [H.L.]

A Bill for enabling the Trustees and Director of the National Gallery to lend works of art to other public galleries in the United Kingdom—Was *presented* by The Earl GRANVILLE; read 1ª. (No. 261.)

House adjourned a half past Twelve
o'clock A.M., till half past
Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 15th August, 1882.

The House met at Three of the clock.

MINUTES.]—NEW WRIT ISSUED—*For* Halifax Borough, *v.* John Dyson Hutchinson, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds.

EAST INDIA REVENUE ACCOUNTS — *Resolution* [August 14] *reported.*

PRIVATE BILLS (*by Order*)—*Withdrawn*—Channel Tunnel Railway; South Eastern Railway (Channel Tunnel) *.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Resolution* [August 14] *reported* —Fishery Board (Scotland) [Salaries and Expenses] *.

Second Reading — Cathedral Statutes [232] [House counted out].

Committee—Report— Consolidated Fund (Appropriation).

Committee — Report — Considered as amended — Third Reading—Ancient Monuments [263]; Fishery Board (Scotland) [240], and *passed.*

Considered as amended—Third Reading—Married Women's Property [191]; Citation Amendment (Scotland) [267], and *passed.*

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

—⁂—

REGENT'S CANAL, CITY, AND DOCKS RAILWAY BILL (*by Order*).

CONSIDERATION OF LORDS AMENDMENTS.

Order for Consideration of Lords Amendments read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Lords Amendments be now considered."

MR. MONK said, that this was a Bill of so important a nature, that when it came before the House for a second reading, it was decided to take the unusual course with regard to it of sending it to a Committee of nine Members, instead of a Committee of four. When, after a most exhaustive inquiry by the Committee, it came down to the House in an amended form, strong objections were taken to it, and the third reading was only passed upon a division, in which 74 Members voted in the minority. The Bill had since been in "another place," where it was considered and evidence taken; and, after an inquiry which extended over 16 days, it now came back again to the House of Commons for the consideration of the Lords Amendments, and, upon examining it, he found that it was a totally different Bill from the one which had originally received the sanction of the House of Commons, so many Amendments having been inserted in it by the House of Lords. The Amendments themselves occupied no less than 85 closely printed pages, and if it was, as he presumed it was, the duty of the Clerk at the Table to read all the Amendments, and for the Speaker to put them separately to the House, it would take at least two hours to dispose of them, without in any way attempting to consider them; and this, too, on one of the last days of the Session. He hoped that his right hon. Friend the Chairman of Committees was present, although he did not at the moment see the right hon. Gentleman in his place. But if the right hon. Gentleman was absent, at any rate the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) was present, and would probably be able to give explanations, although the matter was one which came more immediately under the Department presided over by the Chairman of Committees. He was glad to see that his right hon. Friend the Chairman of Committees had now taken his seat. He wished to ask his right hon. Friend if it was at all right or natural that Amendments extending over 85 pages should be considered by the House of Commons on one of the very last days of the Session? It was utterly impossible even for hon. Members to read through them; and what he desired to put to his right hon. Friend was this. Ought not the Bill, coming back as it did with such a considerable body of Amendments as those which had been introduced by the House of Lords, to be referred to the same Select Committee which originally considered the Bill, and which reported to the House some five or six weeks ago? It was utterly impossible, and he would not presume to take up the time of the House by attempting even, to go through the Amendments. He would not deny that many of the Amendments were improvements of the Bill; but, passing that by, he came to the main features of the Bill; and he asked whether it was right that a measure, amended and altered to so considerable an extent as this Bill had been, the object of which was to take over one of the principal water communications of the country, and to place that water communication in the hands of a speculative Railway Company which had just been formed for the purpose of purchasing it, should receive the sanction of the House of Commons at the extreme fag-end of the Session? When he presumed to bring the case of the Regent's Canal under the attention of the House, on the third reading of the Bill, at that time the Select Committee on Railways and Canals, which had been sitting for two years in that House, had not made its Report. Since then the Report of the Select Committee had been presented, and he would venture to state to the House what the nature of the recommendations of the Committee, in reference to the connection between Railways and Canals, was. The Report of the Committee, which was presided over by his hon. Friend the Under Secretary for the Colonies (Mr. Evelyn Ashley), was as follows:—

> "Serious complaints have been made by traders and Canal Companies against Railway Companies in respect to the working of Canals owned by them, or of which they control the navigation. Cases have been adduced where Railway Companies, having acquired possession or control of a Canal, have ceased to work it, or allowed it to fall into disrepair, or charged excessive tolls, especially in the case of through rates, and that, in consequence, traffic is diverted to the Railways, where higher rates are exacted, to the injury of traders and the public generally. Your Committee are of opinion that these complaints are not unfounded."

Well, what were the recommendations the Committee made?—

> "A Railway Company owning or controlling a Canal may think it profitable to lose the revenue of the Canal, in the expectation of deriving a greater revenue from the Railway, to which it is a competitor, and where the Canal forms part of a through competing route, it is obviously its interest, as a general rule, to discourage through traffic."

The Committee wind up as follows:—

> "Your Committee are, therefore, of opinion that it is impolitic that Railway Companies should have the control, either directly or indirectly, of Canal navigation; and that where Canals are already under the control of Railway Companies, Parliament should endeavour to insure their use to the fullest possible extent."

And yet, in the teeth of this recommendation of the Committee, which had been sitting for two years, and had most carefully considered the subject, the House was now asked, at the end of the Session, to allow a newly-formed Railway Company to acquire possession of the Regent's Canal. He thought the House would agree with him that that would be a most improper proceeding; and he would appeal to his right hon. Friend the Chairman of Committees whether it was right that these Amendments, which the House had barely had time to look through, and which it was impossible they could properly consider, should be hurried through almost on the last day of the Session? He would ask his right hon. Friend whether it was not possible to refer the Bill back to the same Committee which had already considered the measure, or to another Select Committee when the House re-assembled on the 24th of October? He believed that such a course would be perfectly in consonance with the intimation conveyed by the Prime Minister as to the character of the Business they would be called upon to transact when the House reassembled after the adjournment. He understood his right hon. Friend to say that he did not intend to interfere at all with private legislation; but he did not accurately gather whether the right hon. Gentleman referred only to Bills introduced by private Members, or whether he referred to Private Bill legislation. He would, however, put it to the right hon. Gentleman and to the Chairman of Committees whether there was not a very strong case for referring these 85 pages of Amendments to the same Select Committee which considered the Bill when it was first introduced, or to another Select Committee to consider the measure in its altered form, and inform the House whether it was right that it should pass into law or not? He should not propose, at the present moment, to move the rejection of the Bill. He had no desire to take that extreme course; but he was certainly of opinion that it was most desirable the Bill should be reconsidered by a Select Committee, and reported upon at a later period of the Session.

Mr. SPEAKER: Does the hon. Gentleman make no Motion?

Mr. MONK: No, Sir; I do not make any Motion.

Mr. SPEAKER: Then the Question I have to put to the House is that the Lords Amendments be taken into consideration.

Mr. W. M. TORRENS said, that, before his right hon. Friend the Chairman of Committees answered the appeal of the hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk), he should like to say a few words upon the subject. He should be very sorry to countenance any hurried or hasty legislation upon important questions of this kind; but really he had listened with surprise to the speech of his hon. Friend, who was not only an old Member of the House, but a Member well acquainted with the Forms of the House; nevertheless, his hon. Friend had failed altogether to dig out of this large mass of additional clauses and extended clauses a single ground, as far as he (Mr. W. M. Torrens) could gather, or the slightest substantial reason why the House on this occasion should depart from its usual course. He would remind the Speaker that from that Chair he had twice already in the course of the present Session called upon the House to record its opinion in regard to the objections of his hon. Friend. When the Bill was before the House for a second reading, on the 2nd of March, his hon. Friend objected altogether to its being allowed to proceed, and upon an Amendment moved by the hon. Member for Warwick (Mr. A. Peel) the measure was discussed for an hour or more. At the end of that time the House divided, and, by a majority of 5 to 1, declared that the Bill ought to be allowed to go on. He (Mr. W. M. Torrens) on that occasion made a proposal of a special nature—namely, that the Bill should be referred to a Hybrid Committee, and he had the honour to be supported in that proposition by Her Majesty's Government. The House deliberately affirmed the recommendation of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) that the Bill should be referred to a Hybrid Committee, and a Hybrid Committee was accordingly appointed. That Committee sat for 17 days to consider the Preamble of the Bill, and examined 75 witnesses. No fewer than 10,000 questions were put to the witnesses, and at the end of the evidence the Committee decided that the Preamble had been proved. After that the Committee proceeded to consider and discuss the clauses, and some more days were occupied in the consideration. In the end the Bill came back again to the House, and after the Report of the Committee was agreed to, it was submitted for a third reading. What happened then? The late opponents of the measure, who had stoutly resisted its progress, upon the ground of jealousy of the Railway interest, objected to the third reading of the Bill. Another debate took place, and another division, when, by a majority of 4 to 1, the House decided that the Bill ought to be read a third time. It could not, therefore, be said that the merits of the Bill in every essential particular had not been thoroughly discussed. The measure then went up to the other House. What took place there? The Chairman there—he (Mr. W. M. Torrens) had no delicacy in stating what was notoriously the fact—the Chairman of Committees in the House of Lords (the Earl of Redesdale), seeing the importance of the Bill, hesitated to appoint a Committee to inquire into it until he could secure the nomination upon it of noble Lords who were well acquainted with such matters. Some delay occurred in consequence; but, eventually, Earl Beauchamp was appointed Chairman, with four other Members of the House of Lords to act with him, one of them being a noble Lord (Lord Derwent) well known to hon. Members as a former Representative of Scarborough in that House. The Select Committee of their Lordships spent a whole week of working days in inquiring into the matter, and discussing the merits of the Bill *de novo*, and at the end of that time the Committee, without a division, decided in favour of the Preamble of the Bill. They then proceeded to discuss the clauses which had been fully considered by the Commons Committee. They introduced a variety of new clauses, and amended many of the existing clauses. He held in his hand the Amendments inserted by their Lordships, and he challenged his hon. Friend the Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk), or any other hon. Member, to point out any new matter introduced by the House of Lords which was not in the direction of securing the advantage of the general public. He ventured to say that any hon. Member, looking at the Amendments with impartiality and without prejudice, would see that they were extremely developing clauses, expanding in certain particulars, in the interests of the public, the clauses passed by the House of Commons, and introducing others which were rather protective than otherwise of the Canal as against the Railway interest. One of the allegations made by those who took the same view of the question as his hon. Friend the Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk) was that the transfer of the Canal to a Railway Company would result in the shutting up of the Canal and the removal of all competition, so that the whole of the traffic would in future fall into the hands of the Railway Company. The object of some of the Amendments introduced by the House of Lords was to prevent the possibility of such a condition of things; and he would put the question plainly and candidly to every hon. Member who had considered the Amendments inserted by the Lords, whether they did not effect a great improvement of the Bill as it originally stood? The Lords Committee, in his opinion, had fully carried out, he contended, the principles and intentions of the House of Commons when that House passed, by such an overwhelming majority, the second reading of the Bill. Among other things, the Committee of the House of Lords required the promoters of the Bill—of whom he wished the House clearly to understand that he was not one—to widen the Canal. In point of fact, they had placed upon them the obligation of increasing the width of the Canal from 35 feet to 40 feet. They had also inserted in the Bill a clause which he would venture to say was unexampled in the whole history of Private Bill legislation—namely, a clause giving power to the Canal Company to come in after the Railway was made, and be in the position of being able to buy the Railway if they were not satisfied with the arrangements made. He would put it to the House whether, without destruction of class interests or locality, it would be a light matter to throw out this Bill at the eleventh hour, and after the labours of the Select Committee which had been sitting upstairs during a considerable period of the Session to improve the facilities to enable the working classes to obtain dwellings out of town? His right hon. Friend—who was not at that moment present—the late Home Secretary (Sir R. Assheton Cross) was Chairman of the Artizans' Dwellings Committee, and if the right hon. Gentleman had been present he would doubtless have borne testimony to the accuracy of what he (Mr. W. M. Torrens) was about to say. After a careful investigation which had extended over two Sessions, the Committee had agreed to a Resolution that everything that had hitherto been done, or could be done, either by the Bill of the late Home Secretary or in any other way, to provide healthy and comfortable dwellings in the Metropolis for the working classes, would be insufficient unless Parliament was able by some means to increase the facilities of exit into the suburban districts. Now, he ventured to say that that was entirely a railway question. It was not a class question; but a question of the health and respectability and the good order of this great Metropolis. After long consideration, the Committee upstairs had recommended in the strongest terms that encouragement should be given to every scheme which would afford facilities for the working classes in living out of town, and they were anxiously looking around to see what would best aid the running of cheap trains to bring people in and take them out of town. Surely, then, the House of Commons would not at this eleventh hour throw out a Bill which afforded these advantages in a hitherto unexampled manner. The Bill, as it now stood, provided, for the first time, that a working man and his family, before 7 o'clock in the morning and after 6 o'clock in the evening, should have the privilege of travelling four miles for 1*d.*, six miles for 1½*d.*, and eight miles for 2*d.* Was this a moment at which the House, at the last moment, should be asked to reject a measure which made so great a concession to the working classes, who were panting for better and more healthy dwellings? What was the House asked to do? Were they to constitute themselves a Court of Appeal upon the details of every Private Bill, how was the private legislation of the House to be conducted? He trusted that the House would ratify the wise improvements which had been introduced into the Bill, and he believed that the advantages conceded by the promoters of the Bill should not be passed by and ignored except for more weighty reasons than had been adduced by his hon. Friend the Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk).

Mr. LYON PLAYFAIR: The hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk) desires that the Lords Amendments should be submitted to the same Committee which considered the Bill when before the House of Commons. Now, I do not say there is no precedent for such a course; but it is a very unusual one to take, and the nature of these Amendments does not appear to me to be such as to require any further examination by a Committee of this House. No doubt, the Amendments inserted by the Lords are exceedingly bulky; but they mainly consist of clauses for the protection of private rights, the rights of the Crown, of various Railways and Canals, and of the Victoria Docks. All the other Amendments are in the interests of the public. One of them requires the width of the Canal to be increased from 35 feet to 40 feet, another has reference to the running of cheap trains, and there are others of a minor character, but all of them introduced in the interests of the public. Therefore, although the Amendments are bulky, they are not of a nature to require re-examination by a Select Committee of this House, as they are mainly in the interests of the public; and I hope my hon. Friend will be satisfied with pointing out the great care the Lords, as well as the House of Commons, have taken in considering and amending the provisions of the Bill, and will allow the Bill to be proceeded with without further delay. It would be a great injustice to the promoters of the Bill, if, after the lengthened examination the measure has received from both Houses of Parliament, they should now lose the Bill.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Lords Amendments *considered* and *agreed to.* [Special Entries.]

CHANNEL TUNNEL RAILWAY BILL (*by Order*).

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: It will be in the recollection of the House that the Government have pledged themselves to lay Papers on the Table upon this subject, and that they would at a later stage make a recommendation to the House as to the course it ought to take with respect to these Bills. I have this day presented to the House the Papers in question. They are very voluminous, and they will be found to contain a full history of the Channel Tunnel project, commencing from 1867, and including the communications which have passed between the English and the French Governments, the evidence taken by a Departmental Committee appointed at the instance of the Board of Trade, and the Report of the evidence of the Scientific Committee, appointed by the Secretary of State for War, to inquire into the practicability of rendering a tunnel, if constructed, absolutely useless to an enemy in case of war. It also contains the Reports of the Surveyor General of Ordnance, the Adjutant General, and His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief. Another set of Papers will be presented, containing all the Correspondence between the Submarine Railway Company and the Board of Trade, with respect to the experimental borings carried out by the Company, the further progress of which has now been prohibited by the Board of Trade. The Government have carefully considered all these Papers, and, having regard to all the circumstances of the case, they have come distinctly to the conclusion that they cannot advise that the two Bills now before the House should, at all events in their present form, be allowed to proceed any further; and, consequently, I propose to move that both of the Orders now on the Paper should be discharged. The Government have also come to the conclusion that it will be their duty, early next Session, to propose a Joint Committee of both Houses to consider the whole matter, and to this Committee they propose to refer all the Correspondence on the subject. I beg to move that the Order in the case of the Channel Tunnel Bill be discharged.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Order for the Second Reading of the Bill be discharged."—(*Mr. Chamberlain.*)

Sir EDWARD WATKIN said, he only desired to say one word. He was very glad indeed, and he congratulated the House and the Government, that the Government had come to something like a conclusion upon this question at last. They were told that all the Papers had been laid on the Table, and he should like to ask whether certain letters were included. In 1872 there was a letter written by the Board of Trade to one of the other Departments of the Government, which letter was revised by the present Prime Minister. That letter, he believed, by some error on the part of the late lamented Lord Frederick Cavendish, was mislaid; but he (Sir Edward Watkin) knew that there had been such a letter in existence, and it contained the views of the Liberal Government of that day, and of the present Prime Minister. He should like to ask whether it was included in the Correspondence to be produced, as showing what the opinion of a Liberal Ministry was in that day as to the question of a Channel Tunnel? There was another letter, which at present was in private hands, but which seemed to him to be a public document, and ought to be in the possession of the Board of Trade. It was a letter written by the late Lord Derby to the late Lord Beaconsfield, and handed by Lord Beaconsfield to the late Baron Lionel de Rothschild. In that letter the late Lord Derby stated his views of the Channel Tunnel project. The noble Lord believed that the carrying out of the project would be attended with very great advantages, although probably with some disadvantages; and, while it was doubtful whether it ought to be assisted by the State, it ought not to be discouraged by the Government; and, further, that the scare and alarm about the invasion of the country, through the Tunnel, was idle and weak, and ought not to be considered for a moment. In regard to that letter, he (Sir Edward Watkin) had seen it, and it had been seen, at all events, by one of the officials connected with the Board of Trade—Mr. Calcraft—and he had no doubt that Mr. Calcraft communicated the nature of its contents to the President of the Board of Trade, and the fact that such a letter was in existence. He was sure that the hon. Member opposite would agree with him that this was an important declaration of opinion by a man who really deserved to be called a statesman—the late Lord Derby—to another man whose predictions in a different line of statesmanship were now being very rapidly verified. For the information of the country this letter ought to be published with the other Correspondence. With regard to the general question, he thought it was to some extent to be regretted that the Government had not made up their minds somewhat sooner. Private persons had been put to considerable expense in the matter, and had been very greatly harassed by the President of the Board of Trade. If the right hon. Gentleman had been gratified by harassing them, all he could say was that the individuals in question had borne it with the greatest possible equanimity and with some consolation in knowing that they had proved that they were engaged in a very great experiment, and they were satisfied with having made it. They only regretted that the Board of Trade did not permit them to prove it to a still greater extent, in the interests of what they believed, rightly or wrongly, to be one of the greatest works of the kind that any country, in this or any other time, had ever attempted. They were quite satisfied with what they had accomplished; but, in the meantime, he would certainly make an appeal to the Prime Minister, that now the Government had practically approved the principle of the construction of a Tunnel by allowing the two Houses to appoint a Joint Committee to consider the circumstances, the Government should no longer vexatiously delay or obstruct that which was simply a scientific experiment—the obstruction of an experiment without any benefit to anybody. If there was any benefit in obstruction it would be for the Government to state what it was. He maintained that the experiment involved no encroachment on the rights of the Crown. The Company had offered over and over again to place the whole of the rights they possessed in the hands of the Government for the Board of Trade to do what they pleased with them, and the President of the Board of Trade had no excuse for acting in a manner that was unusual and arbitrary towards men who, at their own risk and expense, had been endeavouring to solve so important a problem and in carrying out a work which had received the undoubted approval of the Prime Minister, who, if he were present, would not deny what he had practically said—"Do not talk to me about traffic; only show me that it can be done." The proposal to build a Tunnel had received the support and sanction of the late Prince Consort—one of the most sagacious men of our time—of the late Earl of Derby, of the Earl of Beaconsfield, the Earl of Clarendon, and Mr. Cobden. It was, therefore, a scheme which could not be dismissed lightly, and he was glad that the Government had at length arrived at some conclusion in regard to it. In conclusion, he hoped that the President of the Board of Trade would give an assurance that all the letters on the subject would be laid before the House, and that the scheme would no longer be the subject of useless, factious, and vexatious opposition, which could do no good whatever, but would merely irritate individuals, and sow in their breasts a rankling sense of injustice.

Mr. GREGORY said, it was pretty well known that legal proceedings had been commenced against the Channel Tunnel Company, and he thought it would be satisfactory to the House if the right hon. Gentleman, before the discussion closed, availed himself of the opportunity of stating what, so far, had been the result of those legal proceedings. He wished to know whether an injunction had been issued to restrain the further prosecution of the work, or whether the experimental borings were still going on? He knew that the matter had been under the consideration of the Court; and if the Court had pronounced an opinion upon it, it might go far towards disposing of the question raised by the hon. Gentleman who had just addressed the House — namely, the oppression to which the Company the hon. Member represented had been subjected. He took it that if there had been any oppression on the part of the Crown the Court would have expressed an opinion upon the attitude which had been taken by the Government against the Company. A statement as to what had actually taken place, and of the result of the legal proceedings, would, he thought, be satisfactory to hon. Members, and place them in possession of valuable information.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, he could not but think that there was some ground for the complaint which had been made by the hon. Baronet who represented the Channel Tunnel Scheme (Sir Edward Watkin), that the Company had been unduly interfered with in carrying out what, on the whole, was a valuable experiment. So far as the experiment had gone at present, he really did not see why the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade should not allow the borings to be continued, if necessary, for some miles further, as an experiment merely. It would be quite as easy to put a stop to the Channel

Tunnel when it had advanced 10 miles under the sea, as when it had advanced only 100 yards; and if some engagement were given by the Company under which the Channel Tunnel Company could be permitted to continue their borings, but which would in no way confer on them any rights in regard to the future, or interfere with any subsequent action on the part of Her Majesty's Government, he did not see why the hon. Member for Hythe (Sir Edward Watkin) should not be permitted to carry his experiment some miles further. The works, it must be remembered, would be carried on at the expense of the hon. Baronet's Company and at the expense of those who had confidence in the result of the experiment. If such permission could be given the cause of Science would doubtless be advanced, and there could be nothing whatever done that was injurious to the safety of the country, because, as he had already said, after the Channel Tunnel had been driven under the sea for five or six miles it would be just as easy for the Government to destroy it, if it was considered necessary to destroy it, as it was to stop it now. If the hon Baronet the Member for Hythe (Sir Edward Watkin) would really give a guarantee that the Channel Tunnel Company only wanted permission for experimental purposes, and that no claim would be made against the Government for damages if the scheme were hereafter knocked on the head, in the interests of Science the necessary permission might be given. Such a course would certainly put an end to all idea of a grievance on the part of the Company. He threw out the suggestion for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, and if there were no practical objection to it, he hoped it might be accepted.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: In answer to the question addressed to me by the hon. Baronet the Member for Hythe (Sir Edward Watkin), I have to say with regard to one of the letters to which he referred, that it appears to have been a private letter from the late Lord Derby to Lord Beaconsfield, and, as such, it consequently cannot properly find a place in this Correspondence; but as regards all the public documents, we have included every shred and scrap of correspondence we have been able to find. Amongst other documents, there will be found the papers and communications to which, I imagine, the hon. Baronet refers. But perhaps, to insure greater accuracy, I may state what the papers will be. In July, 1873, this question was raised by the Board of Trade, who informed the Foreign Office that, while opposing any monopoly, it would gladly see any improvement carried out in the communication between England and the Continent by means of a Channel Tunnel, and it would therefore be satisfactory to hear that the British railway system was likely to be connected with the European system by means of a Tunnel between France and England. The Board of Trade then presumed that Her Majesty's Government would not be inclined to offer any objection to a concession being granted to the promoters of the Channel Tunnel Company on the usual terms upon which they were granted to public Companies in France, provided there was no reason to fear that a monopoly would be secured. These views were forwarded to the British Ambassador in Paris, in order that he might listen to any representations that might be made to him. A note was attached to the letter by the late Lord Frederick Cavendish, stating that the draft was in exact accord with the wishes of Mr. Gladstone. All I need add to the communications, which will appear in the Papers, is that it is certainly rather a singular thing that throughout the Correspondence at this time there appears to have been no idea whatever that the formation of a Tunnel under the Channel could raise any question of National security. That question, however, was raised when the present Bills were brought before the House, and it was a question of such importance that it was evident it was quite impossible that the Government could allow the Bills to proceed until a decision should have been arrived at with regard to it. The delay which followed, and of which the hon. Baronet complained, was a delay that was inseparable from the inquiries which the Government thought it necessary to make. As soon as they received the Report of the Scientific Committee appointed by my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War, it was referred to the military authorities, and again, as soon as we received the Report of the military authorities, the Government at once arrived at the decision which I have officially made known to the House. The hon. Baronet has said a good deal about what he is pleased to call the harassing action of the President of the Board of Trade. The hon. Baronet has always endeavoured, although I think entirely without success, to separate me in my personal and individual capacity from the action taken by Her Majesty's Government in the matter. I may observe that the action which I have taken on behalf of the Government has not been of a personal character, and I disclaim all personal feeling in connection with this matter. The hon. Baronet, in describing the action of the Board of Trade as harassing, has, however, omitted to refer to circumstances which I have on various occasions explained to the House, but with which, I am afraid, I must trouble the House again. The facts of the case are briefly these. We found that the experimental boring was being carried through the foreshore, and we claim the foreshore on the part of the Crown. We admit, however, that this is a question which will have to be decided by a Court of Law, and the hon. Baronet may be able to adduce evidence entitled to consideration. As we considered that there was not the slightest possible doubt as to the rights of the Crown when once the foreshore had been passed, and the territorial limits reached, we did not think it necessary to stop the works as long as they did not reach beyond the foreshore; but we gave the hon. Baronet full notice that, whenever he should reach the three miles' territorial limit, we reserved to ourselves the right of taking such steps as we might think advisable; and when we found, from the plans submitted to us, that he had nearly approached to this limit, we gave him notice that the works must be discontinued. What did the hon. Baronet do? He gave me a personal assurance by letter that the works should be stopped, and that the wishes of the Board of Trade would be complied with. But, in spite of that assurance, I afterwards discovered, when at last I was enabled under an order of the Court to make a full inspection of the works, that they had been carried on for a distance of 600 yards beyond the limit at which the hon. Baronet had pledged himself that they should stop. I think the hon. Baronet, under these circumstances, has very little reason to come to this House and complain of the harassing action of the Board of Trade. My hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Gregory) has asked me to state what is the present position of the matter. We had, in the first place, to go to the Court to obtain an order for inspection, the inspection which we had been constantly promised having been again and again evaded without sufficient reason by the hon. Baronet and the Company he represented. We accordingly obtained an order from the Court, and an *interim* injunction pending the settlement of the questions affecting the rights of the Crown to the *solum* under the three-mile territorial limit. I caused an inspection to be made in compliance with this order, and the result was that which I have stated. After what had passed, I felt I could not place the slightest confidence in the assurances I had received, and accordingly I determined to have periodical inspections of the works in order to see whether they would be stopped, at all events, at this 600 yards' limit; and I found, on the occasion of the last inspection, that, in defiance of the order of the Court, the works had been carried a distance of 70 yards further. Under the circumstances, further application will be made to the Court on Wednesday next. It would not be right for me to say anything more on that point pending the decision of the Court. The hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) has suggested that these works might be carried on to some further extent; but, as the continuance of the experiment on the terms proposed by the hon. Member would be a question of confidence, I must say that, for myself, I should very much distrust any experiment which would be made by parties who have dealt with the Government in the way the hon. Baronet has dealt with us; and I certainly think it is better, in the interests of the Crown, of the public, and also in the interests of the shareholders, that no further expense should be incurred by a continuance of the works at present, until the question whether the tunnel shall be made or not has been finally decided by Parliament.

Sir EDWARD WATKIN said, that, with the indulgence of the House, he might, perhaps, be permitted to make a remark upon the speech of the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman had not fairly and justly represented the state of the case. He would ask hon. Members to read the Papers about to be laid before the House, and then to judge between the right hon. Gentleman and himself. With regard to the proceedings which the Board of Trade had taken, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would endeavour to show what good to anybody could arise from the course which he had adopted. The right hon. Gentleman knew very well that, over and over again, the control of the works below the sea water-level had been offered to be placed in his hands; and it was his own fault if, at this moment, the Government had not the control of everything below low water mark.

Mr. NEWDEGATE said, he was of opinion that, whenever a question of National safety was involved, it was the duty of the House to support Her Majesty's Government in any action they took. It was, therefore, their duty to support the President of the Board of Trade in arresting these experimental works until the great National question had been solved. He felt very strongly the force of the last observations made by the President of the Board of Trade—that it was especially unfair to the shareholders of the Channel Tunnel Company to allow them to spend another shilling upon the works until it was finally settled whether or not it might be necessary hereafter to arrest the progress of the works. Personally, he did not profess to have any particular knowledge upon the subject; but he was quite ready to believe that it might hereafter turn out to be a very grave National question, and when such important interests were at stake the more absolute the action of the Government was the more consistent it would be with their duty.

Mr. CALLAN said, he thought the Government were allowing themselves to be frightened by a mere bogey, and that there was not the slightest danger to the safety of England in permitting the construction of these experimental works, even if a war with France were to break out, because the works could readily be stopped, and even destroyed, unless there were reason to fear that already some concealed tunnel from the French shore existed which might be suddenly opened. If that were so, there might be some reason for all this indignation; but, knowing the incorruptibility of a Liberal Government, and the influences which specially actuated a Government that prided itself on not being founded upon the traditions of an old aristocracy, but a Government interested in the development of commercial relations, and ready to lend the full force of its power in support of the Egyptian bondholders, or of any other National speculation, he thought that all this indignation was wasted. He regretted to see so much feeling displayed from the Treasury Bench in putting down a scientific enterprize which had already proved its practicability; and he was afraid that the interests of another Company, of which one of the Government Whips was the Chairman, had something to do with the matter.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Order *discharged;* Bill *withdrawn.*

QUESTIONS.

—:o:—

POST OFFICE (SAVINGS BANK DEPARTMENT)—FEMALE CLERKS.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT asked the Postmaster General, Whether it is his intention to entrust the whole of the work of the Savings Bank Department to female clerks; what steps he proposes to take to compensate the existing male staff for the inevitable injury they must sustain by the abolition of their establishment; and, whether the cost of such compensation would not outweigh the slight economy alleged to be effected by the employment of female labour?

Mr. FAWCETT: Sir, in reply to the hon. Member, I have to state that there is no intention of dispensing with the services of those who are now employed on the male establishment of the Post Office Savings Bank; and, therefore, no question of compensation arises.

PERU—MURDER OF MR. ROSE.

Colonel ALEXANDER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government has taken steps to discover and bring to justice the murderers of Mr. James Taylor Rose, assassinated in Peru on 26th July 1881; and, if so, whether those steps have been attended with success?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: The murder of Mr. James Taylor Rose has occupied the attention of Her Majesty's Minister at Lima for some time past; but, owing to that part of the country where Mr. Rose was assassinated being entirely in the hands of guerillas, no successful result has as yet been arrived at. The matter, however, is still engaging the attention of the Legation at Lima.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—POSTMASTERS AT BALLYFARNON, CO. ROSCOMMON, AND CLEGGAN, CO. GALWAY.

Mr. O'DONNELL (for Mr. Sexton) asked the Postmaster General, Whether he has come to any decision in the case of the Ballyfarnon (county Roscommon) post office; whether he is aware that the postmaster at Cleggan, county Galway, has been fined by the local bench for an assault on a man who came on business to the post office, and that the postmistress at Cleggan has been fined by the local bench for an assault on a woman, Mrs. Molony, who came on business to the post office; whether it was proved that the postmistress had, without authority, opened a letter addressed to Mrs. Molony, and abstracted a cheque from it; whether he will cause the postmistress to be prosecuted for theft, and will dismiss the postmaster and postmistress; whether he is aware that in numerous cases in Connemara, as, for example, at Kingstown and Errislanin, county Galway, the post offices are established in proselytizing schools, and directed by paid officials of proselytizing societies; and, whether he will disconnect the business of the post office from places and persons repugnant to the bulk of the population?

Mr. FAWCETT, in reply, said, he had answered two parts of the Question already. As he had already stated, arrangements were being made, with regard to the postmaster of Ballyfarnon, to separate the post office entirely from the business he is carrying on. With regard to the post office of Cleggan, the postmaster and his wife had both been warned, and if ever again there was any cause of complaint, the post office would be placed in other hands. With regard to the last part of the Question, although he had asked for it, he had not yet obtained information; but as soon as he obtained it he would write to the hon. Member on the subject.

FISHERIES (IRELAND)—BALLYSHANNON BOARD OF FISHERY CONSERVATORS.

Mr. O'DONNELL (for Mr. Sexton) asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, If it be a fact that the Inspectors of Irish Fisheries lately audited the accounts of the Ballyshannon Board of Fishery Conservators, and found a large deficit existing; if they made any report and remonstrance to the Board on the subject; and, if so, whether he would lay a copy of their report upon the Table; if it be a fact that a good deal of the money thus found deficient was received by the clerk of the Board from many poor persons, in the shape of licence duty for fishing for salmon; if, notwithstanding the report of the Inspectors, the said Board have taken no steps to correct these abuses, or to compel the clerk to refund the money; and, as the Law requires that all money collected this year is to be handed over to the Board to be elected next October, whether he will direct the Inspectors of Fisheries to enforce this provision of the Law; and, whether he will bring in a Bill to empower the Inspectors to dismiss clerks who have acted in such a manner as the clerk of the Ballyshannon Board has done?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson): Sir, the facts are as stated in the first three inquiries in this Question, and if the hon. Member moves for the Report there will be no objection to letting him have it. As to the fourth query, the Inspectors of Fisheries, on the 21st of July last, sent to the members of the Ballyshannon Board of Conservators a copy of their Report, and requested their immediate attention to it, and that a special meeting of the Board should be at once convened to consider the state of the books and accounts of the district; but no such meeting has, so far as I can ascertain, yet been held. Care will be taken to see that the provisions of the law which require the outgoing Board to hand over the funds to the new Board (which will be selected in October) shall be enforced. The hon. Member will see that it is impossible at this stage of the Session to take the steps suggested in the last part of the Question.

EJECTMENTS (IRELAND)—THE LISSONURE ESTATE.

MR. MOLLOY (for Mr. HEALY) asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether it is the fact that, on the Lissonure Estate, county Tipperary, ejectment notices were served upon Christmas Eve on four tenants of the Endowed School Commissioners; whether the Irish Secretary and the Lord Chancellor are ex officio members of the Endowed School Board; and, if, therefore, the Chief Secretary will cause proceedings to be stayed until the tenants can obtain the benefit of the Arrears Bill, so as to enable these tenants to obtain the benefits of its provisions?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): Sir, there was a combination against rent on this estate, and ejectments were, therefore, brought against four of the tenants, and decrees obtained. The Chief Secretary and the Lord Chancellor are two official members of the Board; but, as such, cannot, of course, overrule the action of the Board as a collective body. The ejectment decrees do not appear, as far as I can ascertain, to have been executed, and if the tenants make use of their opportunity the advantages of the Arrears Bill are still open to them.

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—ARMS LICENCE.

MR. MOLLOY (for Mr. HEALY) asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to a refusal by the resident magistrates at Cork police office to grant a licence to Mr. John Sullivan because he was an ex-suspect; whether he has any control over the action of the resident magistrates; and, whether he approves of their decision?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): Sir, the two Resident Magistrates by whom this arms licence was refused inquired carefully into the application, and refused it in the exercise of the discretion which the law vests in them, and which the Chief Secretary has no legal authority to review.

SUEZ CANAL—THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL—M. DE LESSEPS.

MR. BUXTON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, What position M. de Lesseps holds with regard to the Administrative Council of the Suez Canal; three members of which Council are representatives of Her Majesty's Government; and, whether M. de Lesseps, while in Egypt, controls, or is controlled by, the Council of the Suez Canal?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: M. de Lesseps is President of the Council of Administration of the Suez Canal Company, and has been annually re-elected to that post by the Council under the powers given to them by the Statutes. I have no reason to suppose that M. de Lesseps' position, in reference to the Council, is different in Egypt from that which he occupies in Paris. No special power appears to be conferred upon the President by the Statutes, except that he has a casting vote in case of equality of voting by the Council.

MERCHANT SHIPPING—THE WRECK OF THE "MOSEL."

MR. DILLWYN asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether, on the occasion of the wreck of the North German Lloyd Mail Steamer "Mosel," when that vessel went ashore in a fog close to the Lizard Lighthouse, the fog signal of that station was in operation; and, whether the officers of the "Mosel" heard it?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, that the fog horn was in operation when the *Mosel* struck; but he did not know whether the officers of the vessel heard the signals.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT—PROCLAMATION OF EMATRIS, CO. MONAGHAN.

MR. O'DONNELL (for Mr. SEXTON) asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, If he can assign any reason for the proclamation of the parish of Ematris, county Monaghan, under the Crime Prevention Act; whether it is true that no grave offence, either agrarian or other, has been committed in that parish for a very considerable period; and, whether it can be alleged that there is any "apprehension of crime and outrage," with reference to the parish of Ematris?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): Sir, the only answer I can make to this

Question, is that the Executive in Ireland had sufficient grounds in their possession for proclaiming this district.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—POLICE STATION AT MULLAGHMORE.

MR. O'DONNELL (for Mr. SEXTON) asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether it is the intention of the Government to discontinue the special police station established at Mullaghmore, in the county of Sligo, last October; whether the great majority of the occupiers in that district were, within the last two years, dependent on benevolence for the barest necessaries of life; whether any grave offence has been committed in the district since the establishment of the special police station, or for a considerable time before, and whether the condition of the district has not been uniformly peaceable; and, whether, under all the circumstances, the Government propose to charge any part of the cost of the special police station on the occupiers of the district?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): Sir, this protection post must be continued at present for individual safety; but I am in hopes that His Excellency will shortly be able to order its discontinuance. The district is admittedly poor, and at present this police post is not charged upon it; whether that state of things shall continue must depend on the state of the district.

ARMY (INDIA)—CONDUCTOR BENNETT.

MR. SEXTON asked the Secretary of State for India, Whether he is aware that a Warrant Officer of the Indian Army, Conductor J. J. Bennett, of the Bengal Ordnance Department, was recommended by three general officers, in consequence of services rendered during the Afghan War, to receive an honorary Commission as Deputy Assistant Commissary, and whether that distinction has been refused to him; and, if so, why; whether there are any instances of a Warrant Officer similarly recommended being refused the honorary Commission; and, whether he will consider the case of Conductor Bennett, and lay upon the Table a Copy of any correspondence which has taken place with reference to his case?

The Attorney General for Ireland

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON, in reply, said, that there was no Correspondence affecting Conductor Bennett except a letter from himself urging his claims to the award of a commission as honorary lieutenant. That request would not, however, be complied with in the absence of any recommendations in his favour from the proper military authorities in India. It did not appear necessary to him that the India Office should take any further steps in the matter.

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—ALLEGED DISCONTENT—THE LORD LIEUTENANT'S CIRCULAR.

MR. TOTTENHAM asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether the circular communication, made under the direction of the Lord Lieutenant on the 6th instant by the Inspector General to the men of the Royal Irish Constabulary, and which has been read to the House, was supplemented by any simultaneous, prior, or subsequent intimation, either directly to the men, or privately through their officers, calculated to lead them to believe that the Government was willing to inquire into their claims on the cessation of the movement which had commenced?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): Sir, the information which has been furnished to me is as follows:—The Circular which has been read to the House was not at any time supplemented by any such intimation as is suggested in the Question prior to the date upon which His Excellency was informed that the agitation had ceased.

THE PARKS (METROPOLIS)—THE ENCLOSURE IN REGENT'S PARK.

MR. D. GRANT asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether any deed or document exists by which the lessees under the Crown, of the houses which face the enclosure in Regent's Park, have any special rights over the enclosure itself; and, whether the Law Officers of the Crown have expressed any legal opinion as to the rights or powers of the lessees to exclude the public from the use of the enclosure?

MR. COURTNEY: On behalf of my right hon. Friend the First Commissioner of Works, I have to say that there are no covenants in the leases of

Crown property in the Regent's Park which bind the Crown to keep the enclosure in question as a private garden. But it will be obvious to my hon. Friend that lessees may have rights which are not represented by covenants in their leases. Viewing the importance and difficulty of the question, I have directed a case to be prepared for the consideration of the Law Officers of the Crown.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS) — SUPPLY OF RUSSIAN CATTLE—PRECAUTIONS AGAINST RINDERPEST.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the statement in a letter in the "Times" of August 14th, and written by Mr. George Fleming, F.R.C.V.S. is correct, that 300 head of Russian cattle had been sent from Odessa to Limasol for the use of the Troops in Cyprus and in Egypt; and, considering the terrible character of the rinderpest, and that it usually, if not invariably, follows the free import of Russian cattle, steps are being or will be taken to prevent so great a calamity to Cyprus and to Egypt as the introduction of that fatal disease?

Mr. CHILDERS: Sir, in reply to my hon. and gallant Friend, I have to say that since 1878 all supplies of beef for the troops in Cyprus have come from Odessa. The arrangements for this purpose were made in the time of the late Government, and great care has been taken to prevent any ill-results such as the introduction of rinderpest. The measures adopted for this purpose have been completely successful, and I have no doubt will continue to be so.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—THE MILITARY CONVENTION WITH TURKEY.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If the Military Convention between the English and Turkish Governments has yet been concluded; and, if so, what are its terms?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: No, Sir.

POST OFFICE (SAVINGS BANK DEPARTMENT)—PROMOTIONS.

Mr. MOLLOY asked the Postmaster General, What means are usually taken by the Controller of the Savings Bank Department to secure the fittest men for promotion; and, whether the safeguards against favouritism recommended by the Committee of Inquiry into the state of that Department in March 1875 are still in existence; if not, on what grounds the practice of consulting the principal clerks was abandoned in the case of the promotions announced on Tuesday last?

Mr. FAWCETT, in reply, said, that the responsibility for the recent promotions in the Post Office Savings Bank rested entirely with himself. He had spared no pains to obtain information as to the merits of those qualified for promotion, and he believed that those who had been promoted were those who were best entitled to promotion.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—CONTEMPT OF COURT—"THE QUEEN *v.* HYNES."

Mr. O'DONNELL asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the accounts of the conduct of the jury in the recent murder case of the Queen *v.* Hynes, while at the Imperial Hotel previous to the verdict, which have appeared in the "Freeman" and the "Evening Standard" of Monday; and, whether he proposes to take any steps in the matter?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson): Sir, this matter occurred after I left Dublin. My attention has been called to it, and very effective steps are in contemplation in reference to it.

EGYPTIAN LOANS, 1862 & 1864.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he can state the particulars and items of the amount of £10,539,545, mentioned in Sir Stephen Cave's Report (Blue Book 1425, of 1876, page 8) as having been spent in "extraordinary expenses, some of questionable utility, and others under pressure of interested parties;" and, if he can inform Parliament who these "interested parties" above-mentioned were?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: I must give the hon. Member the same answer which I returned to a Question he asked me yesterday—namely, that it is not advisable that Her Majesty's Government should make statements in regard to matters on which they have no information that is not in the possession of this House and the public.

PARLIAMENT — PUBLIC BUSINESS — BALLOT ACT CONTINUANCE AND AMENDMENT BILL.

Mr. CRAIG asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to reintroduce the Ballot Act Continuance and Amendment Bill next Session; and, if so, whether he will meet what is believed to be a very general desire on the part of electors, by extending the application of the Bill to elections for Local Boards and Town Improvement Commissioners?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: In reply to the hon. Member, I may state that it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to reintroduce this Bill next Session. It is impossible to apply the present form of ballot to elections at which there is plural voting.

EGYPT—RIGHT OF VOTING THE BUDGET.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, as the right of the Egyptian people to vote its own Budget has been stated by the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to be a matter still pending, steps will now be taken to ascertain from the de facto Egyptian military authorities if they will not at once lay down their arms on the English Government undertaking to allow them the constitutional rights which they demanded in January last?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, in answering this Question, I cannot speak in better terms than those which have been already used. My hon. Friend himself says in his Question that the right of the Egyptian people to vote its own Budget has been stated by the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to be still pending. The truth is that it is very difficult to raise in a naked or abstract form the right of the Egyptian people to vote their own Budget, and this for several reasons. My hon. Friend knows very well that the Egyptian people are the population of a Province of a particular Empire, and are subject, in the first place, to the immediate rule of their own local Ruler; in the second place, they have obligations arising out of matters connecting them with foreign countries, which rest upon rights long incorporated with the institutions of Egypt; and, lastly, with the Sovereignty of the Sultan of Turkey. All that has been said by my hon. Friend the Under Secretary or by myself is this—that as we have always approached this question, so we always shall, with the desire for the promotion and the development of institutions in Egypt which shall give to that country, with due regard to international and other existing rights, the full benefits, so far as we can secure them, of local self-government. It would be idle to speak of our obligations to the Egyptian military authorities, because those authorities, I must say, so far as I have been able to perceive, have only made use of the questions which arise from the rights of the Egyptian people as a pretext. They have been aware of our position with respect to the promotion of freedom and good government in Egypt, and I do not think that we have any question that can be addressed to them at the present moment except the question whether they will lay down their arms, which is a point of fact which it is not for me, but the proper authority, to determine.

AFRICA (SOUTH)—CETEWAYO, EX-KING OF ZULULAND—PROBABLE RESTORATION.

Mr. J. G. HUBBARD wished to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, If he could inform the House whether Her Majesty's Government had come to any decision to restore the ex-King Cetewayo to Zululand; and, if so, what means it was proposed to adopt to prevent civil war and to secure the appointed Chiefs in the rights secured to them by Sir Garnet Wolseley's settlement?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY, in reply, said: Her Majesty's Government have determined to consider the possibility of making arrangements for the partial restoration of Cetewayo to Zululand, with proper safeguards and conditions. Some portion of the country, to be hereafter defined, will be reserved in order to meet obligations towards those of the appointed Chiefs and people who may not be willing to return under Cetewayo's rule. A British Resident will be maintained in Zululand, and Cetewayo will be required to enter into engagements similar to those by which the 13 appointed Chiefs are now bound, which specially include a prohibition to revive in any form the military system formerly prevailing. No portion of Zululand will be annexed to British territory. I may add that a communication to the effect of the foregoing was made this morning to Cetewayo by the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

CRIMINAL LAW—JUVENILE DEPRAVITY.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been directed to the evidence taken before a Committee of the House of Lords to the effect that juvenile vice is increasing to an "appalling extent" in England and especially in London; whether the attention of the Government has also been called to the fact that the unchecked sale of cheap publications of an immoral nature, and even of cheap manuals professing to give instruction in immoral practices, has been carried on to a large extent, especially in London; and, whether he will cause inquiries to be made as to the influence which the wholesale dissemination of cheap tracts and pamphlets, through the agency very often of young boys and girls in the streets, have had, and are calculated to have, upon the "appalling" increase of juvenile depravity described before the Committee of the House of Lords?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, that he was very sensible of the gravity of the evils to which the hon. Member referred, and he hoped that in the next Session of Parliament something might be done on the basis of the very valuable Report of the House of Lords. With reference to that part of the question referring to the employment of children in the streets, he believed that that was one of the greatest sources of evil that could be imagined. He was very glad to hear that in many large towns in England measures had been taken to restrain that species of employment, and he hoped that something more would be done in that direction.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—CONTEMPT OF COURT—"THE QUEEN *v.* HYNES."

MR. CALLAN said, he wished to ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland a Question of which he had given him private Notice, and would conclude with a Motion. ["Oh, oh!"] He heard the Prime Minister say "Oh, oh!" and thought the right hon. Gentleman could not be aware of the nature of the Question, for if he had, he (Mr. Callan) had no doubt he would have exercised that natural restraint which was so becoming in so eminent an Official. His (Mr. Callan's) attention had been drawn to *The Daily News*, a Radical paper, and a supporter of the Government, and in it he read that yesterday in the Commission Court, Dublin, attention was drawn by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland to certain articles that had appeared in *The Freeman's Journal;* and Mr. Justice Lawson said he was glad to hear that statement, and hoped the attention of the Attorney General for Ireland would be directed to the outrageous article, which was published for the purpose of prejudicing and defeating the administration of justice in the Court, and which he had read with feelings of horror and indignation. It would appear only natural that anything published in *The Freeman's Journal* should excite the horror of Mr. Justice Lawson, when it was remembered that that eminent Whig Judge was appointed by the Party now in power, and was the pet of the Prime Minister. Since that Court first sat, there were two articles which were published in *The Freeman's Journal* of August 11th and 12th; and he (Mr. Callan) must state the reason why these articles were written, and call upon the Attorney General for Ireland here to justify the course of procedure in that Court. He gave the right hon. and learned Gentleman private Notice, and he said he would explain and answer the Question across the floor of the House. That was the way he (Mr. Callan) preferred to have an answer coming from the Irish Executive for many reasons. He found in *The Freeman's Journal* of August 11th this statement of fact:—On the swearing of the jury, the following were ordered to stand by—namely, 20 gentlemen, and these 20 gentlemen were Roman Catholics, each and every one, and amongst them he (Mr. Callan) had a half-dozen of private friends. ["Hear, hear!"] Probably the Radical who said "Hear,

hear!" considered that a sufficient justification that they were his friends. He accepted it as a testimony for the Radicals. The prisoner only challenged six; and what did *The Freeman's Journal* say to that challenge? It said—

> "The Crown exercised their right to challenge on a wholesale scale, and no less than 19 persons, some of them amongst our most respected citizens, were ordered to stand aside."

That was the comment it made upon it. That was one of the arguments which had struck Mr. Justice Lawson when he read the articles with feelings of "horror." The second article stated that another prisoner was tried the following day, when 11 jurymen were objected to by the prisoner, and 26 by the Crown. All of the 26 were Roman Catholics, and this was the other comment of *The Freeman's Journal*, and which that eminent Judge, promoted by the present Government, stated created such feelings of "horror" in his mind—

> "We are unwilling to credit the rumour that the Crown have resolved that juries exclusively, or almost exclusively, Protestant shall determine in some cases the liberty, and in others the lives, of the prisoners on trial at Green Street, yet colour is lent to the reports by the fact that yesterday, in the capital case—just as on the previous day in the Whiteboy case—Catholic gentlemen, of admitted respectability and position, were ordered to stand aside when they took the book to be sworn. To the gentlemen in question no stereotyped 'trade' objection can be made; and the inference, therefore, is that they were shoved aside from their duties as jurors simply because they are Catholics. The Attorney General was present and ordered them to 'stand aside,' and if he could advance any tangible reason for so doing we should be quite content. If this is true, an odious, and, it was hoped, obsolete practice has been renewed; and the course taken, as unnecessary as it is injudicious, must naturally cause indignation and resentment in Catholic circles. The notion that such men as Edward Lenehan, of Castle Street; William Dennehy, of John Street, and others whom we could mention, should not be trusted to find a true verdict, according to evidence, in country cases brought to Dublin for trial, which is the simple and only inference, is offensive in the extreme."

He (Mr. Callan) had known Edward Lenehan for upwards of 20 years. He was an extensive leather merchant in Dublin—a man of great wealth and high position, who had never interfered actively about the Land League, but who had always devoted himself to his duties; and to ask such a man to "stand aside" required, and necessitated, very considerable justification. There could by no possibility be any other reason but that he was a Roman Catholic. The same must be said of William Dennehy. To say that these men and others would not conscientiously return a true verdict was indefensible in the extreme. The article proceeded—

> "The representatives of the Crown would not venture to make such a declaration; yet the names of the gentlemen specified appear in the published list of the rejected. The matter is one that calls for inquiry and explanation."

These were the comments which has startled Mr. Justice Lawson, the pet of the Prime Minister, and who was shocked with horror. The article continued—

> "For the present, we will only express our regret that the representative of the Crown should deem it necessary and expedient to 'Boycott' Catholic special jurors of the city and county of Dublin."

Again, they caused horror in the tender breast of Mr. Justice Lawson. Mr. Hugh Vaughan, a gentleman of independent means, was also objected to because he was a Catholic, and that at the instance of a Liberal Government and a Liberal Prime Minister, whose creed was that no man could owe Civil allegiance to the Crown and be a Catholic. What had occurred was, in his (Mr. Callan's) opinion, not only invidious, but insulting, and ought to be resented. All the jurors ordered to stand aside were most respectable men. One of them hunted with the Ward Union, and owned a number of hunters, one of which was always at his (Mr. Callan's) service whenever he visited Ireland in the winter, and the animal invariably managed to keep him well to the front, although he rode 14st. 10lb. [*Cries of* "Order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is really trifling with the House. If an hon. Gentleman thinks it right to put a Question he is entitled to do so; and if he thinks it right further to interrupt the Business of the House by moving the adjournment, he is also within his limits. But he must confine himself to the Question.

Mr. CALLAN said, he had intended that his observations should be to the Question, and he was pointing out that with regard to these trials, in one case 26 gentlemen, and in another 20, were ordered to stand aside simply because they were Roman Catholics. In deference, however, to the Chair, he would cut short his observations. He must call the attention of the House to the fact that not a single Protestant was ordered to stand aside. There was also Peter Aungiers, who for 50 years had been one of the principal salesmen in Dublin, and other men, each of whom could buy out the whole jury, lock, stock, and barrel, as far as their worldly position went. Such proceedings were a disgrace to the English administration of justice; and it was necessary that the right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland should explain the proceedings. To give him the opportunity of doing that, he (Mr. Callan) would move the adjournment of the House, as the whole business appeared disgraceful and discreditable to the present century.

MR. O'DONNELL said, that, considering the very great importance of the Question asked by the hon. Member for Louth (Mr. Callan), he should have much pleasure in seconding the Motion, with the view of raising the subject to which he had referred, and giving the Government an opportunity of satisfactorily explaining this matter. *Primâ facie* he had revealed a state of facts which was grave in the extreme. The Government had a new Coercion Act for Ireland of exceptional severity. One of the provisions of that Act provided for the trial of offences by special jurors; and there was another, providing for a change of venue, by which cases could be brought to Dublin from all parts of Ireland, presumably because there was there a class of jurors of higher culture and responsibility; and yet the facts brought before the House by the hon. Member for Louth showed that in the very first trials under the new Act—trials of great importance, and in respect of agrarian crime of great seriousness—the Government did not proceed with any regard to law or equity, for they found that man after man—all of them most respectable Catholics, and some of them bearing the most respectable names appearing on the special jury lists of Ireland—were ordered to stand aside; and, finally, the Crown so managed the matter that not a Catholic juror was called upon to serve; but that in a Catholic city—the metropolis of a Catholic country—every one of the Catholic prisoners was tried by Protestant juries. If he (Mr. O'Donnell) were a Protestant, he should certainly protest in the strongest manner possible at his co-religionists being thus picked out. The action of the Government in thus ostracizing the Catholics was doubly inexcusable; because they found that, under that Act, where the Special Jury Act failed, there still remained trial by the Judges. He trusted that some explanation would be given in order to remove the bad impression created in the minds of the people; for if it was a fact that the Government were about to try men for their lives by juries from which all men professing the same religion, and the religion of the Irish people, were excluded, then the universal opinion must be that they were being put to death, not by any system of justice, but by a system of judicial assassination.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Callan.*)

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): Sir, I think I shall best consult the dignity of justice and the time of the House, and certainly the dignity of the distinguished Office which I hold, by not entering into any vindication of my action before a tribunal other than that before which that action took place. Therefore, it is not my intention to do so; but it is my intention, so long as I hold the Office of Attorney General for Ireland, to take care, by the honest exercise of every power with which I may be invested by special Act of Parliament or otherwise, by the discretion of the law, that crimes shall no longer go unpunished in Ireland; and no matter what may be stated in this House or out of it, I, at all events, will not shrink from discharging my duties; and I expect that, whilst I am the official head of the administration of the law in Ireland, I may depend upon and be seconded in this respect by those acting under my orders. I was present when the two trials referred to took place, and personally gave directions; but the paper in which these articles were published may probably have something more to say of the case after to-morrow is over. Therefore, I shall say nothing about *The Freeman's Journal*; but the House will credit me when I state, if I carefully abstain from answering what I have no information about, that I did not ask what was the religion of a single person called to serve on those juries. The Crown Solicitor acting under me, I know of my own knowledge, is a very conscientious Catholic. The only instance in which I intervened personally in Court with reference to the juries was in the case of a gentleman, with whom I am personally acquainted, and who appealed to me not to call upon him to serve in a capital case, he having conscientious scruples against returning any verdict involving the sentence of death. [Mr. CALLAN: Name.] No; in open Court I shall not give any name whatever. Independent counsel got up and appealed to the Judge to excuse, I think, four or five jurors, whom they named, on different grounds which they stated; and on legal objections I stated that, to save time, for time is of great importance to the public, I would on my own responsibility yield to their wishes, and those gentlemen accordingly were ordered to stand on one side. Two or three other gentlemen connected with the Press appealed to me not to be allowed to serve, and I at once acceded to their request, and allowed them also to stand on one side. I myself was perfectly ignorant of the religious opinions of every person trying the cases, and this, I am sure, the House will give me credit for when I assure them that the religious element during the trials alluded to was never present to my mind the whole time, and did not appear, except in those articles which were published in this paper in order to inflame public opinion against the administration of justice.

MR. CALLAN: There were 46 Catholics objected to, and not a single Protestant.

MR. DALY said, the manner in which these prosecutions had been managed had created the greatest distrust in the mind of every Catholic in Ireland—persons who viewed crime with as much horror and as great an abhorrence as one possibly could do. They felt that justice would not be done, and that they were not to have fair play. He had hoped that the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland would have afforded some explanation, some reason for this extraordinary action. The right hon. and learned Gentleman said that he had no knowledge of the religion of the persons ordered to stand aside; but it was a fact that, in his (Mr. Daly's) own city of Cork, 41 Catholics were ordered to stand aside, and it was also a fact that upon the jury lists there were marks against Catholic names. Thus it came that Catholic prisoners were to be tried with a great and powerful Government arraigned against them, and without even the sympathy of their co-religionists. Such proceedings did not give fair play, and he should be untrue to his own convictions if he did not state that the conduct of these particular trials had done much to destroy public confidence in the administration of justice. To order such men as had been mentioned to "stand aside" was to brand them in the eyes of the public by proclaiming that in the eyes of the Crown and the Attorney General for Ireland they were not to be believed upon their oath to be capable of rendering fair and impartial verdicts. If the hon. Member (Mr. Callan) had done nothing else, he would have done good in calling attention to a subject which required careful consideration at the hands of the Government.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 2; Noes 88: Majority 86.—(Div. List, No. 333.)

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY BILL

[*Lords*].—[BILL 191.]

(*Mr. Osborne Morgan.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

MR. GREGORY said, he rose to move the following New Clause:—

(Power to husband to apply to court for settlement of wife's property.)

"Where there is no settlement of a wife's property the husband may apply at any time to the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice in England or Ireland, according as such property is in England or Ireland, where such property amounts to or exceeds the sum of five hundred pounds, or to a county court in England, or to the chairman of a civil bill court in Ireland respectively, where such property is under that sum, for a settlement of the same; and it shall be lawful for the court to direct a settlement to be made upon such terms and such trusts for the benefit of the husband and wife and their children, or any of them, with such powers and provisions, and upon such conditions, including a condition for a contribution by or a settlement on the part of the husband as the court shall think fit, and the court may order and direct the execution of such settlement by all proper parties, and may give and enforce such directions as may be necessary for vesting in the trustees of such settlement any property which may be made subject to the same."

New Clause (Power to husband to apply to court for settlement of wife's property,)—(*Mr. Gregory,*)—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN said, he could not accept the clause. The principle of the Bill was to put the wife on an equal footing with respect to her property as the husband; and if the proposed clause was inserted they ought also to insert a clause giving power to the wife to apply to the Court for a settlement of the husband's property. As no one would propose to do that he could not accept the clause.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Clause 1 (Married woman to be capable of holding property and of contracting as a feme sole).

On the Motion of Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN, Amendment made, in page 1, line 11, after "shall," by inserting "in accordance with the provisions of this Act."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Property of a woman married after the Act to be held by her as a feme sole).

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 11, to leave out the words "a married woman," and insert the words "every woman who marries after the commencement of this Act,"—(*Mr. Warton,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN said, that the hon. and learned Member had raised the same point on a former occasion. As he had failed at that time to convince the hon. and learned Member that the Amendment was objectionable, he did not suppose that he could convince him now; and he, therefore, should not repeat his argument.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 6; Noes 79: Majority 73.—(Div. List, No. 334.)

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 3 to 5, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (As to stock, &c. to which a married woman is entitled).

On the Motion of Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN, Amendments made, in page 3, line 3, by leaving out from "interests," to "industrial," in line 4, and inserting "of or in any Corporation, Company, or Public Body, Municipal, Commercial, or otherwise, or of or in any;" and in line 21, by leaving out "Company," and inserting "Corporation, Company, Public Body."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 7 (As to stock, &c. to be transferred, &c. to a married woman).

On the Motion of Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN, Amendment made, in page 3, line 27, by leaving out from "interests," to "which," in line 28, and inserting "of or in any such Corporation, Company, Public Body, or Society as aforesaid."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 8 (Investments in joint names of married women and others).

On the Motion of Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN, Amendment made, in page 4, line 7, by leaving out from "interests," to "respectively," and inserting "of or in any such Corporation, Company, Public Body, or Society as aforesaid."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 9 (As to stock, &c. standing in the joint names of a married woman and others).

On the Motion of Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN, Amendment made, in page 4, line 25, by leaving out "in any such Company," and inserting "of or in any such Corporation, Company, Public Body."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 10 (Fraudulent investments with money of husband).

On the Motion of Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN, Amendments made, in page 4, line 31, by leaving out the second "of," and inserting "in;" and in line 33, by leaving out "incorporated or joint stock Company," and inserting "Corporation, Company, or Public Body, Municipal, Commercial, or otherwise."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clauses 11 to 16, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 17 (Questions between husband and wife as to property to be decided in a summary way).

On the Motion of Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN, Amendments made, in page 7, line 38, by leaving out "Company," and inserting "Corporation, Company, Public Body;" and in page 8, line 40, by leaving out "Company," and inserting "Corporation, Company, Public Body."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 18 (Married woman as an executrix or trustee).

On the Motion of Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN, Amendment made, in page 8, line 41, by leaving out "in any Company," and inserting "of or in any such Corporation, Company, Public Body."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed,* with Amendments.

ANCIENT MONUMENTS BILL [*Lords*].

(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

[BILL 263.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

MR. BERESFORD HOPE said, he trusted this was the last time when the venerable words "Ancient Monuments Bill" would be in the Paper. He congratulated his hon. Friend the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) on his great success, won by such perseverance and such tact. For years he had fought by the side of his hon. Friend. There had been a great deal of misunderstanding about his hon. Friend's and the present Bill. He thought the most ridiculous of all arguments raised against it was that it was a destructive measure, whereas it was absolutely the most conservative measure ever brought before Parliament. It would preserve monuments of immense value from the effects of the wilful ignorance and selfishness of those who ought to be their guardians, and create the most beneficent of entails. The Bill had made its way slowly, but surely, and he was certain that when it was put in the Statute Book it would be hailed with satisfaction.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Short title) *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Power to appoint Commissioners of Works guardians of ancient monuments).

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he had to move a purely formal Amendment at the end of this clause, which, through inadvertence, had not been placed upon the Paper. The clause provided that the expressions "maintain" and "maintenance" should include acts necessary for repairing a monument or protecting it from decay or injury; and he proposed to add, at the end of the clause, a further provision that the cost of maintenance should be provided by Parliament, subject to the approval of the Treasury.

Amendment proposed,

At the end of Clause to add the words "The cost of maintenance shall, subject to the approval of Her Majesty's Treasury, be paid from moneys to be provided by Parliament."—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

Question, "That those words be there added," put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Power of Commissioners to purchase ancient monuments) *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Power to give, devise, or bequeath ancient monuments to the Commissioners) *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Duty of Commissioners to cause ancient monuments to be inspected).

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he should have several Amendments to propose, which were rendered necessary in consequence of the decision which had been come to by his right hon. Friend at the head of the Government to rest the responsibility upon the Treasury rather than the Commissioners of Works. He proposed to bring up these Amendments when the clauses of the Bill had been gone through, in the shape of a new clause in substitution of Clause 5.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Clause *struck out.*

Clause 6 (Penalty for injury to ancient monuments) *agreed to.*

Clause 7 (Recovery of penalties) *agreed to.*

Clause 8 (Description of Commissioners of Works, and law as to disposition in their favour).

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE moved, in line 7, to leave out "England," and insert "Great Britain." The object was to define that the expression "the Commissioners of Works" should mean the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Works and Public Buildings in Great Britain, and the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland.

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 7, leave out "England," and insert "Great Britain."—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

Question, "That the word 'England' stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Words *inserted.*

On the Motion of Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE, Amendment made, in lines 8 and 9, by leaving out "as respects Scotland the Board of Trustees for Manufactures in Scotland;" in line 12, by leaving out from "England" to "Scotland" in line 13, both inclusive, and inserting "Great Britain;" and at the end of the Clause, by inserting, as a separate paragraph—

"In the case of an ancient monument in Scotland, a duplicate of any report made by any inspector under this Act to the Commissioners of Works shall be forwarded to the Board of Trustees for Manufactures in Scotland, and it shall be the duty of the Commissioners of Works, in relation to any such monument, to take into consideration any representations which may be made to them by the said Board of Trustees for Manufactures."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 9 (Description of owners for purposes of Act).

On the Motion of Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE, Amendment made, in page 4, line 22, by inserting—

"And where the owner of any land, being the site of an ancient monument, is a tenant for life or in tail, or heir of entail in possession in Scotland, having a power of sale over such land, either under the terms of a will or settlement or under an Act of Parliament, any deed executed by such owner in respect of the land, being such site as aforesaid, of which he is so tenant for life or in tail, shall bind every succeeding owner of any estate or interest in the land."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 10 (Definitions) *agreed to.*

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE moved a new clause in substitution of Clause 5, vesting the appointment of an Inspector of Ancient Monuments in the Lords of the Treasury instead of the Commissioners of Works.

Clause read a first and second time, and *added* to the Bill.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK begged to move, in page 4, after Clause 9, to add the following Clause:—

(Additions to Schedule by Order in Council.)

"Her Majesty may from time to time, by Order in Council, declare that any monument of a like character to the monuments described in the Schedule hereto, shall be deemed to be an ancient monument to which this Act applies, and thereupon this Act shall apply to such monument in the same manner in all respects as if it had been described in the Schedule hereto. An Order in Council under this Section shall not come into force until it has lain for forty days before both Houses of Parliament during the Session of Parliament."

The Schedule was taken from the Act which his right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Beresford Hope) had alluded to. The Schedule, however, though carefully prepared, was never regarded as complete, and he believed it was generally conceded that there ought to be power given by the Bill to enable the authorities to deal with other monuments than those specified in the Schedule. He understood that Her Majesty's Government were good enough to accept the clause.

New Clause (Addition to Schedule by Order in Council,)—(*Sir John Lubbock,*) —*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he quite approved of the clause, and should be glad to add it to the Bill. The clause, however, as it stood, applied only to monuments of "a like character" to the monuments described in the Schedule; and, of course, it might be desirable hereafter to make provision for the preservation of monuments of a more recent date. At present it would only refer to the monuments mentioned in the Bill; and if the principle was hereafter to be extended, perhaps it would be better that it should form the subject of fresh legislation.

Mr. WARTON said, that, by a clause which had already been passed, they had provided that the ancient monuments to which the Act applied should be the monuments specified in the Schedule; and at the end of Clause 10 they had the Schedule referred to. It was now proposed to make additions to the Schedule, and he apprehended that it would be irregular to do that without altering Clause 10.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK said, he thought the hon. and learned Member was mistaken. The clause now proposed seemed to him perfectly regular.

Mr. WARTON would appeal to the Chairman, as a point of Order, whether the clause ought not to follow Clause 10 instead of Clause 9?

The CHAIRMAN said, the clause was quite regular as proposed; but if the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) consented to propose its insertion after Clause 10 he could do so.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK said, he would defer to the opinion of the Government upon the matter.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE remarked that Clause 10 was simply a definition clause, and the clause now before the Committee would more properly come in after Clause 9.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause *added* to the Bill.

Schedule.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) had given Notice of an Amendment, but was not in his place to propose it. He would, therefore, move the Amendment of which his hon. Friend had given Notice—namely, to include in the Schedule the stone known as "Cross Macduff, Fifeshire." At the same time, while making that Motion, he confessed that, although he had been born and bred in Fifeshire, he knew nothing about the Cross Macduff; but although that was so, he thought it would be hard that Fifeshire should not have her ancient monuments preserved.

Amendment proposed, in page 6, after line 14, add, "The stone known as Cross Macduff, Fifeshire."—(*Sir George Campbell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the only objection he had to the Amendment was that the description contained in it was insufficient. It contained no definition of the parish.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he was sorry that he was unacquainted with the parish in which Cross Macduff was situated; and, under the circumstances, he would not press the Amendment.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK moved, in the Schedule, page 7, line 8, insert—

> "The earthern and stone inclosure known as Grianan of Aileach, Donegal County, Burt parish, West Innishowen barony."

He moved the Amendment in the absence of the hon. Member for the County of Donegal (Mr. Lea).

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Schedule, as amended, *agreed to.*

Bill *reported,* with Amendments; as amended, *considered.*

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE hoped he was not asking too much when he requested the House to read the Bill a third time.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed,* with Amendments.

CITATION AMENDMENT (SCOTLAND) BILL [*Lords.*]—[Bill 267.]

(*The Lord Advocate.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Order for Consideration, as amended, read.

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) said, the Bill stated it was to come into operation on the 1st October, 1882. When the Bill was in Committee, a suggestion was made that its operation should be to some extent delayed, because it might operate with a certain degree of hardship upon a very meritorious class of persons—namely, the messengers-at-arms and other officers—whose emoluments would be curtailed materially by the Bill. He did not then see his way to assent to the proposal; but it had since been represented to him that some of these officers were under arrangements of some duration with assistants and otherwise, and it might be a hardship if the Bill were brought into operation immediately. He would therefore ask leave to substitute the 1st January, 1883, for the 1st October, 1882. The Amendment would be proposed on Clause 2.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now taken into Consideration."—(*The Lord Advocate.*)

Mr. WARTON said, he rose to move that the Bill be considered that day three months. He felt bound to protest against the manner in which this Bill—the object of which was to deprive many highly respectable persons in Scotland of part of their income—had been forced through Parliament. It had not even been heard of until yesterday week. It had been almost smuggled through the House of Lords, and it came upon the people of Scotland with very great surprise. The Bill had been brought into this House in such a form that the Lord Advocate had found it necessary to set down no less than 34 Amendments. He thought it the most disgraceful specimen of hasty legislation which had happened during the Session. The persons affected by the Bill were the Queen's messengers, whose office was one of great antiquity, dating from the 14th century. On a person being appointed to the office, he had to find security for £500, and to pay £20 in fees, and had also to pay an annual fee of 17*s.* 8*d.* It was now proposed to substitute law agents, which might, perhaps, have the effect of cheapening justice, but would cause great injustice. He very much doubted whether the ends of justice would be attained by the proposed change; for, whereas summonses were now served by the Queen's messenger, who was an independent person, the service might in future be intrusted to the clerk of the plaintiff's solicitor, or might be made by registered letter—modes of service which might open the door to fraud and collusion. He held in his hand a letter from one of the most respectable solicitors in Glasgow (Mr. Murray), who had written to the Lord Advocate on the subject of this Bill. It was not the messengers alone who complained of this Bill, but the Legal Profession in Scotland. The Faculty in Glasgow had not been consulted, and all those solicitors who had been consulted were opposed to the Bill. Mr. Murray, in his letter, pointed out the frauds which might be committed should the Bill pass, by means of dishonest law agents acting in concert. He granted that in some cases the service of citations by these messengers might, perhaps, be a little more expensive than the system proposed; but that was no reason for their abolition. The service of citation by post would be less secure, for he held in his hand no fewer than 99 registered letters which had never reached the persons for whom they were intended. All the respectable solicitors were against this Bill. If it passed, these officers would be impoverished to the extent of two-thirds of their income, and they would have no compensation. Moreover, an opportunity would be afforded to dishonest persons to trump up charges against their innocent neighbours. If the change was so very urgent, why had they not heard complaints before? He moved that the Bill be read that day three months.

Colonel ALEXANDER, in seconding the Amendment, said, he only rose for the purpose of thanking the right hon. and learned Gentleman for the concession he had made with regard to the extension of time he had allowed to these messengers before the Bill came into operation. There was one other thing he desired to allude to. He thought it was perfectly certain the Bill would tend to fraud. In Glasgow, for example, the large majority of the people lived in flats, and, just as in London, many letters were returned with the inscription—"Not known at this address." So it was doubtful, in many cases, whether these posted summonses would ever reach the persons for whom they were intended. He hoped the Lord Advocate would delay the Bill altogether till next year.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Mr. ANDERSON said, he did not wish to delay the Bill, but desired to correct some mistake that had been made. With regard to safety of the citation, the letter containing it required to be a registered letter, of which care was taken in delivery, and receipt being got both when the letter was posted and when it was delivered; and, therefore, there was not the smallest risk of fraud on that ground. The hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) said that all the respectable solicitors in Glasgow were opposed to the Bill. He (Mr. Anderson) had never found that the respectable solicitors in Glasgow were averse to expressing their opinions to him when they were opposed to a Bill, and he had not seen one letter from a solicitor complaining of the Bill. The only letter he had received from a solicitor was in favour of the Bill. The Bill was a great improvement in practice. He did not believe the Bill would be so destructive to the interests of the messengers-at-arms as the hon. and learned Member supposed. Though it might in some cases deprive the messenger-at-arms of a certain number of services, on the other hand, those who continued in the service could do it a great deal cheaper. It would cost him a great deal less to post a registered letter than to walk four or five miles away to serve a summons. There was, therefore, some compensation to the man for what he lost. He thought the Bill was an extremely good one, and it only extended a provision which was found to work well in small debt cases.

Mr. HENDERSON said, that, instead of there being no demand for legislation of this kind, he was two years ago instructed by several of his constituents to bring the matter before the Lord Advocate of the time, and to press upon him the necessity of bringing in legislation to cheapen the cost of the process, especially in country districts, where Sheriff's officer and messenger-at-arms were a long way off. He knew the subject had been under the consideration of the Government since that time, and he agreed that the Bill was a good Bill, and ought to pass. At the same time, he sympathized with the messengers; but it was reform, and in many just reforms individual interests might suffer. He was glad, however, the Lord Advocate had postponed the operation of the Bill until 1st January, which would be some relief to those men as giving them more time to consider their arrangements. There was something to be said in favour of registered letters, because it appeared that summonses were sometimes served open as a means of extorting money. He might mention the case of a most respectable man who had gone to the country, and his servant, who was left in the house, received an open summons against her master for a particular offence. The servant, of course, read it, and the solicitor for the gentleman had not the slightest doubt that summons was served generally for the purpose of extorting money. The new system would make it impossible for those designing persons to extort money from respectable people by this practice of serving open summonses.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 78; Noes 6: Majority 72.—(Div. List, No. 335.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

Clause 2 (Commencement of Act).

On the Motion of The Lord Advocate, Amendment made, in page 1, line 11, by leaving out "October one thousand eight hundred and eighty-two," and inserting "January one thousand eight hundred and eighty-three."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Execution).

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 1, to leave out the words "twenty-four hours after."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill," put, and *agreed to.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause A (Fees).

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 36, after the word "taxation," to insert the words "except when a Messenger at Arms or any officer of Court is obliged to travel to effect such service, when his customary fees shall be allowed."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) said, that, as the Bill provided for the posting of registered letters, the question of travelling expenses did not arise. The allowance of fees was provided for at the discretion of the Judges by Clause 6.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed,* with Amendments.

FISHERY BOARD (SCOTLAND) BILL.

(*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland, Mr. Robert Duff.*)

[BILL 240.] COMMITTEE.

[*Progress 14th August.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 to 7, inclusive, *agreed to.*

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, he desired to move the following Amendment, providing for the duties of the Fishery Board in detail:—

"That the Fishery Board shall have the following powers, for developing and extending the Scotch sea and fresh water fisheries generally, including herring, white fish, salmon, trout, and other species of fish; to inquire, to institute inquiries, to report, on the state of all harbours already aided, or to be aided, with public money, and on all harbours generally, as to their financial condition, their fitness or otherwise for fishery purposes, and their needed improvements; likewise as to the boats employed in sea fishing, their suitableness or otherwise for the ocean work, and specially for deep sea and distant fishing; as to the best modes, seasons, and conditions for fishing for different kinds of fish; as to the parts of the ocean and coasts where fish abound, and as to the conditions which regulate or guide the movements of fish; as to providing increased facilities for the transport and rapid distribution of all kinds of fish, to the many markets, throughout the Kingdom; as to the control to be exercised over, and in, the use of steam-tugs, of trawling vessels, and their employment, and over their uses and abuses; as to the grounds to be provided on the coast for hauling up boats, for drying and exposing nets and lines; as to the provision or supplies of bait, and the facilities for laying down beds of mussels; as to the regulation and checks in the use of the measure known as the 'cran,' fixed for measuring out of fish; as to the extension of the telegraphic and postal communication, so essential for conveying information along the coasts, both as respects the shoals of fish, state of the weather, temperature of the seas; as to the use of storm warnings to the creeks, as well as to harbours; as to the dues, taxes, rents, tithes, &c. levied on fishing places, for the dwellings of fishermen, on grounds used for fishing purposes, and on the beaches between high and low water mark; as to regulating, selecting, and salting suitable herrings, packing and filling barrels, ensuring uniformity in the standards at the several ports; as to generally providing for improving the present practice of branding and passing the barrels of herrings, and for guarding against abuses; and that, in order to provide for further legislation likely to be needed, Provisional Orders may be applied for; also that copies of general instructions which may from time to time be issued by a Secretary of State for the performance of the general duties of the Fishery Board shall be laid before Parliament within three weeks after meeting, and the annual Report of this Board shall be promptly laid before Parliament, furnishing full and useful information on the duties above detailed, and, further, on all other branches of the fishing business, such as the police of the seas for the protection of British fishermen against the increasing numbers and aggressions of the Foreign fishermen; as to the state of the markets in connection with the Home fishing interests, in Foreign Countries as to the measures in progress for effecting reduction in the import dues, and securing facilities for the fish trade abroad; all these being included in the business of a new Fishery Board."

THE CHAIRMAN asked where the hon. and gallant Gentleman intended to put the Amendment?

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, he desired to put it after Clause 7.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. and gallant Member has placed what he calls an Amendment on the Paper without mentioning where it is to be introduced. It can, consequently, neither be moved as an Amendment, nor as a separate clause. It is not an Amendment; but it is an account of what the Fishery Board ought to do, and what their duties ought to include. It might be the subject of a new Bill, or even the subject of this Bill, if the Government had taken all these subjects into its consideration. I do not see that it can be moved as an Amendment, nor as a clause, nor even as a new clause.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR submitted that other Acts of Parliament were full of instructions.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member might be worked into a Bill in separate clauses; but in the form in which it is here it is quite irregular and out of Order, and the hon. and gallant Member cannot move it.

Remaining clause *agreed to.*

Schedule.

On the Motion of The LORD ADVOCATE, Amendment made, by leaving out from "enact," in line 3, to "Tweed," in line 6.

Schedule, as amended, *agreed to,*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill, as amended, be reported to the House."

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, they were creating a special Fishery Board, at great expense, and they had abstained from giving to the Board those full instructions connected with their duties which were necessary for the public convenience and interests. It was a lamentable thing that this Bill should be pushed through the House, at this last Sitting, without its containing some of those detailed orders so essential for their guidance in the performance of the work connected with the growing important fisheries of Scotland. He regretted the Lord Advocate should have associated himself with a Bill of this kind, for, when passed, all efforts to amend it would be unavailing.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, *considered;* read the third time, and *passed.*

EDUCATIONAL ENDOWMENTS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

CONSIDERATION OF LORDS AMENDMENTS.

Lords Amendment *considered* according to Order.

Lords Amendment, in page 3, line 5, after "endowments," insert "including the power of investing the funds thereof."

Mr. BUCHANAN, in calling attention to the Amendment, which provided that the scheme to be prepared by the Commissioners might include the power of investing the funds of educational endowments, asked whether the Amendment was intended to widen or to limit the power of the trustees in regard to investments? As far as he could observe, no such power was given in any English Endowed Schools Act, and he regarded the Amendment as unnecessary.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, it was possible the Amendment might be unnecessary; but it was considered by a very able lawyer to be necessary. Its object really was to widen the power of the trustees. It was represented that the clause, as it stood, was doubtful as affecting many trusts in Scotland, and that it would be necessary to give these powers in order that the trusts might be turned to better account. With respect to this provision not being in the English Endowed Schools Act, that was quite true, because these funds were vested in the Charity Commissioners, and the Endowed School Commissioners had to appeal to the Charity Commissioners before they could obtain authority to invest the funds of a trust. There was no corresponding authority in Scotland, and it was, therefore, desirable that the Commissioners should have power to invest such funds.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE said, the apprehension he and others had regarding the Amendment was that it not only gave power to extend the authority of Governing Bodies in investing money, but it also restricted the powers the Governing Bodies now had. The Governing Bodies in Scotland generally had invested their funds to the best advantage; but what they felt was that the Commissioners might decide that the Governing Bodies should cease to invest money in land. Had that been so originally, many trusts, instead of being now large, would have remained comparatively small. Heriot's Trust, for instance, was originally £23,000; and if it had not been invested in land, instead of being now £26,000 annually, it would have been a very moderate amount.

Lords Amendment *agreed to.*

Lords Amendment, in page 3, line 7, leave out "and," and insert "or," *agreed to.*

Page 3, line 33, leave out "one-half," and insert "the existing proportion on the governing body of persons deriving their qualifications as aforesaid," the next Amendment, read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment."—(*Mr. Mundella.*)

Mr. HENDERSON rose to object to the Amendment. He said, when this clause was introduced it contained distinct directions to the Commissioners as to the constitution of the new Governing Body. The original clause contained only two provisions as to representation. The first related to Governing Bodies, where representatives of popularly elected Bodies either constituted wholly the Governing Body, or were in the majority; and it was proposed, in cases of this kind, that the Governing Bodies should consist only of a majority who were popularly elected. The second provision was, that in cases where, at present, the popularly elected representatives were in the minority, the Commissioners, in constructing the new Governing Bodies, should only give such a proportion of popularly elected representatives as they might determine. On the part of a great many Scottish Members, who desired that this Bill should rather extend the principle of popular representation than restrict it, this clause gave great dissatisfaction, and the consequence was that before the second reading there were no less than eight Notices of objection to it. Between the introduction and the second reading, the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council reconsidered the whole matter, and, on the Motion for the second reading, he announced, in a very full House of Scottish Members, that he was prepared to accede to their wishes to such an extent as he thought would amply satisfy them, and he then proceeded to explain the nature and extent of the concessions which he said the Dapartment were prepared to make. So generally satisfactory was the statement which he made as to the nature of the concessions, that none of the hostile Motions were pressed against the second reading of the Bill; and the attitude of the Scottish Members generally was very considerably modified. One of the concessions made was, that in cases where the existing Governing Body consisted wholly of popularly elected members, or where they were in a majority, it would be provided in the Bill that, in the future, on the new Governing Bodies they should be represented to the extent of two-thirds. But under the 2nd sub-section of the clause, the right hon. Gentleman provided that where, in existing Governing Bodies, there were less than a half of the Governors popularly elected, in the new Governing Bodies they would be raised into a majority. [MR. MUNDELLA: No; not a majority.] They would not be less than half of the Governing Body. It was to that concession that they attached the very greatest importance, and now it had been taken away from them in the other House. The consequence of that would be seen when he stated that in 85 endowments the popularly elected representatives of the Town Councils constituted the whole Governing Bodies, and in 23 cases they constituted three-fourths of the Governing Bodies, so that in 108 cases out of a total of 190 nearly £60,000 annually were administered by Boards, composed either wholly or to the extent of three-fourths of popular representatives. Those Members who wished to extend or maintain popular representation on the Governing Bodies gave way in response to the appeal of the right hon. Gentleman, and consented to his proposal that in the new Governing Bodies in respect of these trusts only two-thirds of the members should be popularly elected. The effect of the Lords Amendment on the class of endowments whose Governing Bodies at present consisted of one-half, or less than one-half, of popular representatives would be that they would remain as they were originally in the Bill when it was introduced. In 21 endowments there was one-half of the members of the Governing Bodies popularly elected; but in 60 there was less than one-half so elected; and there were, he thought, 10 cases in which the Provost of the burgh was the sole popular representative on the Governing Body. The effect of the Lords Amendment would be to leave them precisely as they were; so that while on the one hand, in order to conciliate the right hon. Gentleman and facilitate the passing of the Bill, they had sacrificed in 108 cases popular representation, they had got nothing on the other hand if the Lords Amendment were accepted in favour of the principle of extending popular representation. He did not blame the right hon. Gentleman for that. The noble Lord who was in charge of the Bill in the other House (Lord Carlingford) said that, in accepting the Amendment of the Duke of Richmond and Gordon on the spur of the moment, he went somewhat beyond the intention of the Scottish Education Department, and the promises which were made in this House. Lord Rosebery stated that if it had not been for the Duke of Richmond and Gordon's absence, it would have been the duty of the Government to move the reintroduction of the original words on Report; but, as the noble Duke was not present, and as his Amendment had been accepted by the Government on the previous day, it would be breaking faith with him if any Motion of that sort were made in their Lordships' House; but the consideration of the Amendment of the noble Duke must be left to be dealt with by the House of Commons, on the clear understanding that the Government had done nothing intentionally to frustrate the intentions expressed by the Government in the House of Commons. That was the situation of the matter. He (Mr. Henderson) completely absolved the right hon. Gentleman or anyone in this House of any intention to depart from the pledge made, and on which the Bill was allowed to go through all its stages with much greater ease than if the concession had not been made. At the same time, those who felt strongly on this point should not now be called upon to make the sacrifice simply because there was neglect somewhere in the Lords in insisting on what was done here. While he quite understood and appreciated the reason why Lord Rosebery did not move on Report to restore the original words, he thought the reason which the Government gave—the absence of the noble Duke—applied with ten-fold more force to the Vice President of the Council, who, on the second reading of the Bill, in the presence of nearly the whole of the Scottish Representatives in this House, gave them the assurance that this concession would be made, and that the whole force and authority of the Government would be devoted to carry it through. He thought, therefore, they had a right to expect that the right hon. Gentleman would really, in justice to those who had left, stand to the concession he had made, and which so greatly facilitated the passage of the Bill through the House, and that he would accept the clear invitation which Lord Rosebery gave in "another place," and restore the original words. He moved that the House disagree with the Lords in this Amendment.

Mr. SPEAKER said, the hon. Member could not move, but could meet the Motion to agree with the Amendment with a negative.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE said, he rose to support the hon. Member who had just spoken in his appeal to the Vice President of the Council. He did not blame the right hon. Gentleman for what had taken place in the House of Lords. He believed what took place there was entirely without the right hon. Gentleman's knowledge; but he thought they had a right to blame him if, after knowing what had taken place there, he did not restore the Bill as it was. He thought Lord Rosebery took a correct view of the position of matters in the speech he made, and it was a very great disappointment and surprise to him (Mr. Dick-Peddie) when it was moved by the right hon. Gentleman that the Lords Amendments should be accepted. He would remind the House that while the right hon. Gentleman made the concession on the second reading, he resisted both in Committee and on Report the attempts that were made to induce him to depart from the arrangement he had formerly made. Having stood by what he said then, why should he now depart from it? If the mistake were not irretrievable, why should he propose that that mistake should stand? It was on the ground of the concession that they withdrew a great part of their opposition to the Bill. He observed that the only reason given in the House of Lords for the change was that they should trust the Commission. But they should trust in local government. Was there to be no trust in that? He had as much confidence in the Governing Bodies as in any Royal Commission. He had no doubt they would do their best; but he had no less confidence in Governing Bodies composed of men representing local communities, and he should deprecate anything which would show on the part of the House, and especially of a Liberal Government, any distrust of local government of any kind. The Amendment was proposed in the House of Lords by a Tory Duke, and it was at once acceded to, which was not, he thought, very creditable to the Government. If the House of Lords had carried it by a majority, he should not say anything about it; but there was no vote upon it, and after what had been said by Lord Rosebery and Lord Carlingford, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would stand by what he had intended.

Mr. ANDERSON said, as he never approved of tying up the hands of the Commissioners in the way in which they were tied up by the clause as it left this House, he was very thankful to the Lords for having altered it; and when hon. Members spoke of this being a pledge on which they withdrew a great part of their opposition, it would be in the recollection of the House how far they did withdraw their opposition. It appeared to him that the course they took was to accept the concessions, and then to do their best to destroy the Bill.

MR. HENDERSON said, he was one of those who had a Motion on the Paper against the second reading bearing on this particular point, and when the right hon. Gentleman made his statement on the second reading, he (M. Henderson) expressly stated that he was so satisfied with the concession on the point referred to, that he would not press his Motion.

MR. ANDERSON accepted the explanation for the hon. Member himself; but he was alluding to the Party generally known as the Heriot Ring, who opposed the Bill in the most obstructive manner. [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!"] He said the course they took was to accept the concessions, and then to do their best to destroy the Bill. Therefore, he did not think the right hon. Gentleman owed them a great deal on that point. But when they said they made such a sacrifice, he could not see it. They seemed to forget that the words "not less" were still in the Bill. It did not follow that the Commissioners could not make the number of elected members a great deal more than it was before. It was in the power of the Commissioners to do so, but it was not in their power to make them any less than the existing number. That, he thought, was abundant security. More than that would, he thought, spoil the Bill, and he hoped the House, having got the Bill improved by the Lords, would not from any foolish sentiment give way and reject his Amendment. But there was another reason he had to give. If the clause stood as it now was it would do absolute damage to some endowed institutions, and he should be obliged to move at the end of the section—

> "Provided this sub-section shall not apply, where its application would, in the judgment of the Commissioners, be inconsistent with the intentions of the founder, or the purposes of the endowment."

Supposing the House rejected the Lords Amendment, it would put the clause in a mischievous condition, and would require these words added to the sub-section, in order to prevent injustice being done. He would agree with the Lords Amendment.

DR. CAMERON said, he must repudiate the statement that the Scotch Members were pushing their views beyond the most moderate bounds. They did not divide in Committee on the points in dispute; and by the course they had taken of discussing the principles to which they took objection, with the Speaker in the Chair instead of wrangling over details in Committee, he maintained that they had effected a saving in the total time occupied in the discussion of the measure. There was no doubt that the Bill, as altered by the Lords, had a very different effect from what it would have had under the concessions made by the Vice President of the Council. In regard to the provisions with respect to the proportion of elected members, the right hon. Gentleman had again and again, in the course of the discussion, dwelt upon the words "not less," and had pointed out that these provisions were a distinct step in the matter of popular representation. In Governing Bodies in which there were no elected representatives, as the Bill left this House, the new Body would require to have in it a third of that element; but in the Bill as it now stood it required no elected representatives whatever. [MR. MUNDELLA: No, no!] Well, it was to be to such extent as the Commissioners should determine. The right hon. Gentleman had made a distinct bargain with the House. He had laid down certain concessions which he was willing to make. He had made these of his own accord without encountering any opposition, and he dwelt on these concessions at every recurrent stage of the Bill, when the matter was before the House. They were told that the Amendment had been made through inadvertence in the other House, and they had that not on mere hearsay, but from noble Lords representing the Government; and how, in the face of what the right hon. Gentleman had said, and in the face of the admissions of Lord Rosebery and Lord Carlingford, the right hon. Gentleman could now consistently turn his back on his own promises, he could not conceive. He did not think it was worth while to divide; but, in any case, he wished to make a protest against that which appeared to him to be a lapse in consistency on the part of the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. MUNDELLA: I very much regret that at the last stage of a Bill like this—a Bill which has come down from the Lords later than any Bill of this sort ever came down before—a Bill which is the largest and most liberal measure of this kind that ever was put upon the Statute Book—this opposition should have arisen. The Bill contains provisions which I feared the Lords would eliminate, and which I am thankful to say they have not eliminated; and on one of the strongest and most liberal measures ever passed, we are here engaged in what seems to be a squabble on a feeble and trivial Amendment. I say so, because this Bill has been passed with the consent of five-sixths or nine-tenths of the Scottish Members. Hon. Members have every right to oppose the Amendment; but I do not attach great importance to the change that has been made in the House of Lords. It is rather an improvement, I am bound to say. If it were not so, I should at this moment have moved that we disagree with the Lords Amendments. Will the House allow me just to state what has taken place, and then I will appeal to hon. Members whether I can do otherwise than move to agree with the Lords Amendments? I proposed that where the majority of the Governing Bodies derived their qualification from election, that majority should be two-thirds; that where the elected members were less than one-half, they should in future be not less than one-half; and that where there were none, there should be one-third; and in that state the Bill went up to the House of Lords. When I heard of the change made last Thursday night, I confess I felt that it was my duty at once, when this Bill came down, to move to disagree with the Lords Amendment. But when I got the printed Bill, I found that all of the words "one-half" and "one-third" had been taken out, and other words had been inserted, which left the substance and the spirit of the provision still in the Bill. I appeal to the House whether it is not so; and, being so, we feel it our duty to consider seriously whether, on the last day or two of the Session, we should run the risk of sending this Bill back to the Lords with the prospect of its coming back again too late to be dealt with, and whether on a mere verbal Amendment we should run the risk of imperilling the most important Bill, I say, of this Session. What are the facts? The Lords have inserted this—"That the Governing Body shall consist of not less than the existing proportion." The Commissioners cannot reduce the number of popularly elected members in a Governing Body; but they may increase it to any extent they please. Now, is it fair with a Commission for which every Scotch Member, I think, has thanked the Government, and which is fairly entitled to the confidence of Scotch Members—is it fair to assume that the Commission will not act in concurrence with the feelings and sentiments of their fellow-countrymen, and import a sufficient proportion of the representative element into these Governing Bodies? It is said there is nothing in favour of extending the principle of popular election. The very reverse is the case. In any case it will not be less than it is now. In the next clause, in regard to where there are no elected members on the Governing Body, a direct instruction is given to the Commissioners that there shall be some on the Governing Body. The clause says—

> "Where the governing body of any educational endowment, as at present constituted, includes no persons deriving their qualification as members, either directly or indirectly, from their election to be members of the town council or any branch of any other public body, provision shall be made in any scheme under this Act relating to such endowment that the governing body, as altered by such scheme, shall consist to such extent as the Commissioners shall determine of persons elected."

I appeal to any man whether there can be any doubt that the meaning of these words is—that every close body in Scotland must be opened up, and members of town council or school board introduced into it, unless they come under the operation of the latter portions of the clause? After all, this is a question of substance and spirit, and not merely words. My hon. Friends have acquitted me of any breach of faith in the matter. Knowing that this Bill was a sort of red flag in the eyes of some of the Scotch Members, I asked the Lord Privy Seal to divide upon it rather than accept any change; but the Lord Privy Seal said, in the first place, that he believed it was an improvement; and, in the second place, he said he knew they were going to be beaten, because the noble Lords who had spoken, both before and after him, were against him on the point. I say there is comparatively nothing in the change. I should have been thankful if my own words had been allowed to stand, because hon. Members would have been satisfied; but if I had introduced these words at first, they would have been accepted with avidity. I will tell you why. I hold in my hand the Bill with the Amendments introduced by my old Friend Mr. Duncan M'Laren. Here is his view. Speaking as the representative of Heriot's Trust, and on behalf of Heriot's Trust, he says that—

> "Where the governing body, or the majority of the governing body, of any educational endowment derive their qualification from election, it shall consist of the same proportion as now; that, in the second place, where there are more than one-half, or less than one-half, the scheme, as altered, shall consist of the same proportion."

Now, in the present Bill, we say "not a less proportion." And Mr. M'Laren's third point is—that where there is no popular representation it shall be adequately provided for. We have done better than that. We say Clause 6, as amended by the Lords, is a more liberal provision for the Governing Bodies and a more absolute direction to the Commissioners than the clause as amended by Mr. M'Laren. It is a little hard that we should be charged with want of courage and with not keeping faith, because, on the last day but two of the Session, I do not move to disagree with these comparatively trifling Amendments. I do ask my hon. Friends to have some little faith in the Commission; and I say again that no man can look at this measure without being astonished that it should have passed the Lords at all. Such a Bill could not be passed in 1880, and it has passed in 1882. Its operation has been brought down to 1872; it has opened up the Governing Bodies; it has swept away all religious tests from teachers; it has given a number of advantages such as I only wish I could live to see passed in an English measure; and I do hope that, instead of this discussion degenerating into a squabble about a few words, we shall have some regard to the important educational measure which is before us.

MR. BUCHANAN said, that in the speech they had just listened to, the right hon. Gentleman had wandered somewhat wide of the Amendment which was before them. He did not wish to follow him into the general discussion in which he had indulged; but he would just deal with one small point which he had raised towards the end—namely, the comparison of the Bill as it now stood with the draft Bill drawn up by Mr. Duncan M'Laren. The right hon. Gentleman said Clause 6, as it stood, was a better clause than that drawn up by Mr. Duncan M'Laren; but let him remind the right hon. Gentleman that he had not accepted the 1st sub-section of Mr. Duncan M'Laren's clause, and that sub-section was the most important and the widest in its scope. As this clause returned from the House of Lords, the protection of the representative element was limited to those Governing Bodies in which that element amounted to exactly one-half, and the hon. Member for Dundee (Mr. Henderson) had pointed out that there were only 51 such institutions in Scotland out of 189. The difference between the clause as it was sent up to the Lords, and as it returned to this House with the Amendment of the noble Duke (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon), was that, instead of making it compulsory on the Commissioners to have at least one-half of the new Governing Body elected from the Town Council and other public bodies—instead of that applying to 80, it now only applied to about 20; so that there was a very substantial difference. Everyone would regret that the right hon. Gentleman had not seen fit to follow the distinct statements of Lord Carlingford and Lord Rosebery. After those statements, he appealed to the House whether it would not be well for the reputation of the Government for maintaining what he might really call good faith, that they should disagree with the Lords on this particular Amendment, so as to restore the clause to the state in which it was originally presented to them by the right hon. Gentleman, and in which it was sent up to the other House?

MR. MUNDELLA: I hope I may be allowed to explain, with reference to the statements made by the noble Lords, that these speeches were made at my request to exonerate me from any charge of departing from the statement I had made.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, it seemed to him perfectly clear that these were substantial Amendments, and made a very substantial change in the Bill. He did not wish to discuss the question on the merits; but he must express his surprise that in a matter of faith the Government had not felt themselves bound by the most emphatic declarations of their organs in the House of Lords to stand to their guns. Lord Rosebery represented the Government in the House of Lords, and nothing could be stronger than the words he had used. He understood the result of the present action of the Vice President of the Council was that he threw over the Representative of the Government in the House of Lords, and denied and repudiated his statement. What was of supreme importance in this matter was, that there should not be the slightest doubt on or reflection cast upon the faith of the Government in dealing with this Bill. Lord Rosebery might be wrong; but he (Sir George Campbell) did most emphatically say that in the course the Government were now taking they were repudiating the words of Lord Rosebery. But it seemed to him that Lord Rosebery was right, and that the Government should have stood to their guns. He admitted that though this was a substantial and important Amendment, it was not one of supreme importance. At the same time, he could not help thinking that if they had been Amendments in which the Government were supremely interested, they would not have been so much afraid of the House of Lords. They had bearded the House of Lords before now.

Mr. LYON PLAYFAIR asked whether his hon. Friend wished to have a second Government crisis in connection with the conduct of the House of Lords on a matter which he admitted was not of very great importance, and on which he and his Friends did not represent anything like a majority of the Scotch Members? Many hon. Members wished to see this Bill become an Act this Session, and it should not be jeopardized by differences as to minor Amendments. The question was, whether they could trust the Commissioners in regard to the creation of the popular representation on the Boards? The Commission which had been appointed had given entire satisfaction in Scotland. It consisted of men of great weight in educational matters. He was as sorry as hon. Members that the Lords had altered the Bill in the form in which it was sent up to them; but these Amendments did not substantially alter the measure, because the Commissioners were not tied down. The words were "not less than before," and he believed the Commissioners would construe them in no narrow spirit. He appealed to hon. Members whether it was worth while to waste time over the point and jeopardize the existence of the Bill?

Mr. C. S. PARKER said, he hoped they would be able to settle this matter without going to a division. There were two points on which he should like the English Members to understand the position. The first was, that language had been used by some hon. Members as if the pledges given by the Government had been given to the whole of the Scottish Members, instead of to a minority of them. He thought it should be distinctly understood that these promises had been given to a minority—he thought he might say a small minority—of Scottish Members, who had for the last three years done much to keep this Bill back from discussion, by attempting to make bargains beforehand with the Education Department. It was in order to disarm the opposition of this minority that the Government, without sacrificing anything substantial, had been willing to depart a little from their own views of what was best. The opposition, however, from certain quarters was continued, and the adjournment of the House was moved by the son of Mr. Duncan M'Laren, who was the chief representative of the Heriot Hospital Trust. That attempt to throw out the Bill was not supported by one single Scottish Member. But, secondly, he wished to remind the House how small the point was between themselves and the Lords. It only amounted to this—that, having a Commission in whom great confidence was generally placed, there was a difference of opinion as to restrictions to be placed upon that Commission. It was not that the Lords proposed to put any further restriction on the Commission, but that they proposed to remove something of the restriction which the House of Commons had put upon the Commission. And how small was the difference! He thought his hon. Friend the Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan) made a mistake upon one point. He thought the hon. Member was wrong in saying that the 2nd sub-section related only to cases where the representative members were precisely one-half of the Governing Body. The hon. Member would find, if he looked at the Bill, that it applied to all cases where they did not exceed one-half. He appealed to the House whether what the Lords had done was not very equitable? On this point they said that where one-half, or less than one-half, of the Governing Body were elected by popular representation the Commissioners should have no power to go below that proportion. There was nothing to prevent their going beyond it. They might propose to make the whole Governing Body representative; but this sub-section would restrain them from diminishing by a single member the proportion between the elected part of the Governing Body and the rest of the Governing Body. He thought the House might gracefully yield the point to the Lords without a division.

Question put.

The House *divided:* — Ayes 55; Noes 9: Majority 46. — (Div. List, No. 336.)

Lords Amendment, in page 4, lines 3 and 4, leave out "being not less than one third."

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with The Lords in the said Amendment."—(*Mr. Mundella.*)

Mr. DICK PEDDIE said, he did not rise to oppose the Motion, as it was evident the House was prepared to support the Government. The question was not whether the Amendment was important or not. The most important question was whether the Government would carry out their promise on the second reading of the Bill. He had been surprised to hear from two right hon. Gentlemen arguments to the effect that the pledge was of no great consequence, because it was not to a majority, but to a minority, and because the Amendments were of no great consequence. He thought a pledge was a pledge, whether it be given to a majority or minority. He was surprised to hear the Chairman of Committees talking of the great waste of time on this Bill. The second reading of the Bill only occupied two and a-half hours, the Committee stage 10 hours, and the Report about three hours. If no more time had been wasted on important Bills than that, there would not have been much to complain of. The hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson) had spoken of the "Heriot Ring." That remark might apply to the hon. Member for Edinburgh. [Mr. Buchanan: No, no!] It might also apply to himself as a citizen of Edinburgh, for the remark could certainly not have been applied to the other hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron), who said several things rather disrespectful of Heriot's Hospital, nor to the hon. Member for Dundee (Mr. Henderson). It came ill, he thought, from a Gentleman who had been engaged in correspondence with the Edinburgh papers, where he had been charged with being a bitter opponent of Heriot's Hospital. That charge had been denied; but it was well known that he had been as bitterly hostile to that endowment as any Gentleman could possibly be. [*Cries of* "Question!"] He did not intend to enter into the question of the importance of the Amendments. He thought it vain to say nothing was taken from the Bill in respect to popular representation on the Governing Bodies. He did not propose to divide the House, but he could not refrain from recording his protest against the manner in which some important matters had been met.

Mr. ANDERSON said, the hon. Member had charged him with hostility to Heriot's Hospital. He had no hostility to Heriot's Hospital; but he had great hostility to everything like jobbery and abuse, and so far as these existed in Heriot's Hospital he was opposed to them, and wished to see it improved.

Mr. BUCHANAN said, he agreed with the hon. Member for Glasgow in being opposed to jobbery and abuses, wherever they might be found. He begged to disclaim what the hon. Member for the Kilmarnock Burghs (Mr. Dick-Peddie) had said about his representing the "Heriot Ring." As for the "Heriot Ring," it only existed in the columns of *The Scotsman.*

Mr. HENDERSON said, if this Bill was essentially different from the Bill which the right hon. Gentleman introduced in 1880, they were indebted for its improvement and character, and for its being one of the most liberal educational measures that had passed the House, not so much to the right hon.

Gentleman himself as to a small minority of Scottish Members who had steadfastly, since 1880, stood up for the principles to a large extent embodied in the Bill.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Subsequent Amendments *agreed to.*

CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

(*Mr. Playfair, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Courtney.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Lyon Playfair.*)

EGYPT (POLITICAL AFFAIRS)—POLICY OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT.

RESOLUTION.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT, in rising to move, that—

> "This House condemns Her Majesty's Government for their neglect and mistakes which have brought about the War in Egypt, and especially for the Bombardment of Alexandria without a landing force sufficient to have saved life and property, and considers that the Foreign Policy of the Government has alienated the Allies, and weakened the influence and power of the country,"

said: Sir, the country is now fairly involved in a war in Egypt. There are some 25,000 troops, British and Indian, in that country, or on their way to the valley of the Nile. The estimated cost of a three months' campaign is already over £4,000,000 sterling. Such estimates are generally far under the real cost. Ministers cannot bear to forecast the full consequences of their blundering. It will be well if the country escapes with a fresh debt of £10,000,000. Now, there are reasons why, even at this last moment of a weary Session, a criticism of the foreign policy of the Government should be made, and there are especial reasons on this present occasion. Events move rapidly in our age. The causes of catastrophes are often forgotten in the panic of defeat, or amid the tumults of victory. Much is forgiven to a Ministry that can struggle out of a serious crisis, even if those troubles be of its own creation. But there are other reasons why some reference should be made to the general policy of the Government. The real difficulties and problems of this Egyptian crisis are but beginning. No one doubts the ability and power of England to crush the adventurous soldier—be he self-seeking rebel or unselfish patriot—who has centred in himself the forces of the ancient land of the Pharaohs. But when you have chased Arabi from his entrenchments your worse embarrassments will begin. You will have to settle the future of Egypt. You will have to decide the control of the Suez Canal; and here you will encounter ambitions more resolute and unscrupulous and forces more potent than the arms of Arabi, or than the opposition of the Ottoman Government, whom you have been alternately bullying and cajoling, according to the most approved methods of a Liberal Ministry. No one will envy the Cabinet the task of settling the various claims and rights which they have professed to have in view—the Sovereignty of the Sultan, the power of the Khedive, the aspirations of the Egyptian people, the rights of the bondholders, and, let us add, a fifth, which the Prime Minister always omits if he can, the interests of the British Empire. Will you be able to pare away, as you no doubt hope to do, the Sovereignty of the Sultan? Can you bolster up on his Throne an unpopular Khedive whom the bulk of his own people detest because of your support? Can you give a fanatical and ill-educated nation the control of their own destinies and finances, which you have already refused them? If you do, what will become of the Khedive, your *protégé*, and of the bondholders, your countrymen? How will you settle the vast claims from European and Native owners of property which will arise out of the destruction of Alexandria, brought about by your bombardment, and other wider claims which will arise if the Egyptian Army, in despair, should destroy, as it undoubtedly is able to destroy, the whole of the accumulated property of every kind in the Delta of the Nile? Is Egypt, already impoverished and drained by usurious engagements, to be further saddled, when she can least bear them, with the charges arising out of these losses? Above all, what are you going to do with that white elephant of your own creation which you have conceived, nourished, petted, resuscitated, and brought to a monstrous development of mischief, which has hung like a millstone round your neck, hampering you at every step, embarrassing you with suggestions, plans, modifications, and control—I mean your Conference, fit emblem of your

"Concert of Europe?" You are already realizing some of the consequences of these imaginative escapades of an incoherent genius; but I will venture to prophecy that in another six months' time you will be as sick of your "concerted action" as you have become of your boasted "joint action," and as anxious to wriggle out of your Conference as you have lately been to get rid of your entangling co-operation in doing nothing with France. Nothing is more amusing than the steady discomfiture of the Government in every dodge they have resorted to. I use the word advisedly, for there has been no policy in the whole business, but merely a succession of pitiful dodges, each taken up rashly, tried with feebleness, and abandoned with haste and without dignity, as the Ministry have been made to realize its impotence. "Joint action" with France was the first of these weak expedients. That was meant to free the Ministry from the necessity of that co-operation with the "anti-human Turk," which had been the traditional and successful policy of English statesmen. "Joint action" had a varied and a troubled existence. It was from the first a sickly bantling, though M. Gambetta's force of character and clearness of aim, dragging, as it did, your helpless shiftlessness along with it for several months in leading strings, gave it a temporary appearance of life, which soon faded away when dread of a European war caused the fall of that aggressive politician. "Joint action" received its death-blow when the French Fleet steamed away from Alexandria and left you to do the work alone. Its funeral service was the refusal of the Vote of Credit by the French Assembly and the fall of the Ministry of M. de Freycinet. Her Majesty's Government had from time to time kept up a kind of sham flirtation with the Ottoman Government, which took the form of pretty speeches as the warm fit came on, accompanied by a steady current of underhand abuse and of intrigue and counter action on every question of moment. When, however, "joint action" became an awkward embarrassment, they had recourse to an old love, "the Concert of Europe." This myth, which the ridicule and *asbestos gélos* of Dulcigno had all but exploded, was now trotted out, and eulogized before the British public as a magnificent resource. There was in the Conference more than the mere pomposity of the idea and theatrical display of "the Concert." Her Majesty's Government, who never think or see more than a fortnight, if so far, ahead, thought they might rid themselves of the troubles of their impracticable "joint action" behind the shield of their Conference. But they only exchanged the whips of France for the scorpions of concerted Europe. In a month's time they got weary of their second artifice, and tried to cut the Gordian knot with the unsheathed sword of England alone. The Concert bothered, baulked, delayed them, so they bombarded Alexandria—that is, they had resort to "independent" and, more or less, "resolute" British action. This is one-half the policy I urged upon them six months ago, in February last, when they scoffed at my advice and ridiculed my predictions, all of which have been verified. The other half the Government profess to be about to adopt, though with reluctance—I mean, "co-operation with the Ottoman Government." However, as usual, the Ministry adopt even the right policy at the wrong time, and without any provision or precautions. They commenced hostilities without securing any allies, in the way most ingeniously chosen to give offence to everybody and to benefit no one. They irritated the Egyptian Army, without intimidating or overwhelming it, and they destroyed the forts without protecting the town or the life and property within its walls. They insulted the Conference they had summoned by beginning war without its mandate or even its consent; they injured the Porte by a flagrant contempt for its Sovereignty; and they give Arabi, by their ill-judged action, tenfold greater force, and turned him from a mutineer into a National hero. But this is not the last of their expedients. Isolated action is all very well for the guns of our iron-clads; but when it comes to a war, and a war which threatens to arouse the furious religious passions of Islam against England, the largest Mahomedan Power in the world, the Government begin at the twelfth hour to realize the importance, nay, the absolute necessity, of an understanding and co-operation with the Porte. So they are now professing to carry out the second half of the policy, which even so inexperienced a Member of this House as myself urged upon them in February last. The irresistible logic of facts has forced upon the Government slowly, reluctantly, and at a terrible cost, the only policy which, from the first, could settle the question, bristling as it does with the gravest dangers. That policy cannot be better described than in the words of a resolution which was passed at a great meeting of the Patriotic Association lately held in this City—"A resolute and independent British policy in co-operation with the Ottoman Government." But, I repeat, at what a terrible cost has the present Ministry found its way into the right path, which lay equally open to them in August, in October, in February, even in June and July last. All might then have been settled easily, without bloodshed and without expense. Reckon up the danger and agitation, the immense destruction of material wealth in Egypt, and the injury to her creditors; the cost of this unnecessary and ill-omened war in human life and in money; the infinite complications arising out of it, the danger of a European war not yet by any means past; and the sum of the charges which we advance and can prove against the Government will be, in some measure, arrived at. In a word, we charge the Government with having caused this war by their incredible neglect and still more incredible mistakes, and with beginning it at the wrong time and in the way most fruitful of danger. The excitement of the combat, the National pride in the display and valour of the Queen's Forces by land and sea, the desire to support the Government at a crisis, may drown for a time the recollection of these truths; but when the cool time of reflection comes, when the bill for the follies of the Cabinet has to be paid, then truth will be acknowledged. I am not referring to these points as a mere matter of criticism. The past is gone, and cannot be recalled. But the same errors will be repeated unless the Government listen to wholesome advice. They must reverse their whole European policy if they are to free the country not only from this war, but from greater perils. They must revert in their general policy, as they have already been forced to do in so many important details, to the far-sighted and statesmanlike policy of their illustrious Predecessor, Lord Beaconsfield. I make bold, Sir, to say this, and feel justified in doing so, inasmuch as I warned the Government, both in August and February last, of the dangers they were provoking, and my warnings have in all respects been borne out by subsequent events. The Prime Minister answered me in a contemptuous formula, "affirming everything that I denied, and denying everything that I affirmed." It was a convenient form of reply for the moment, but it does not read quite so well now. I affirmed that "the Concert of Europe" was a delusion, and that any reliance on it could only embarrass and entangle England in her foreign relations. That has come true. I affirmed that the attempt to politically co-operate with France in the affairs of Egypt and of the Mediterranean in general was impracticable, and could only lead to weakness and dissension. That has been proved ten times over. I affirmed that the Prime Minister was committing a deplorable mistake in his policy of injustice and persecution towards Turkey, and that the only way in which we could secure our power and influence in the East was by a recurrence to the friendly alliance of Lord Palmerston with the Ottoman Empire. The Ministry, by their present action, are admitting this. I referred to the value of Cyprus, a subject on which the Prime Minister was at the time quite ecstatic in his ridicule, and I called attention to the immense gain to the country by the statesmanlike purchase of the Suez Canal Shares. These have both been demonstrated. But the question upon which I laid most stress was that of alliances, and this has been the principal blunder of the Government, and very largely the cause of all their troubles and humiliations. The late Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster preferred, he once said, "friends to allies," and from him such a sentiment is at least comprehensible. The Home Secretary, with his charming capacity for adopting any side of a question, said that he did not think very highly of allies, which, coming from a Minister whose Government was completely isolated, was at best a "fox-and-grapes" kind of statement. But there was something that the right hon. and learned Gentleman did value, and that was the "sympathy of emancipated peoples." It is interesting to note how effective such random talk as this is with the mass of the followers of the Party opposite. It was, no doubt, accepted as a noble and philanthropic sentiment in accordance with the highest behests of that moral law whose principal apostles have of late had a slight divergence of opinion. But, Sir, when you consider of how little practical value to this country is the sympathy of the races to which the Home Secretary referred—the savage and cruel Bulgarian, the wild Montenegrin, the treacherous Greek, or the unlovely Armenian—compared with the alliance of two intelligent and powerful nations such as those of Austria and Germany, the measure of the right hon. and learned Gentleman's statesmanship may be obtained. But the Government subsequently showed that they were not insensible to the advantage of alliances by the Mission which they sent to Germany, in the person of the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), with reference to the Dulcigno Question.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: There was no Mission.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I think the hon. Baronet is disorderly in interrupting me. He will have an opportunity of replying afterwards.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: I consider it better that these mis-statements should be denied at once.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Of course, there was no formal Mission; but——

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: No Mission at all.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Then, I will say the communications which the hon. Gentleman held with the German authorities upon that question. It may even be that the right hon. Gentleman did not conduct negotiations at Berlin at this precise date; but he went there on at least two diplomatic Missions. My belief is that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) endeavoured to bring his Government to a fuller appreciation of the advantages of a German alliance. Now, however, they are quite isolated and alone in Europe, and that is the principal cause of their present troubles in Egypt. I beg the attention of the House very briefly to this question of alliances. It is in this point that the Government most conspicuously reversed the policy of Lord Beaconsfield, and, I repeat, this has led them into their principal difficulties. Alliances are necessary to England. As compared with other nations, we are an unwarlike nation, and it is necessary for us to secure stable allies. The Treaty of Berlin was based upon the arrangement between the German Powers and England, which compelled Russia to modify her pretensions, and to yield up more than half the fruits of her barbarous crusade. Lord Beaconsfield found Europe almost helpless before the Kaiserbund. It was his greatest achievement that he isolated Russia from her two powerful allies, and put England in the place of England's most dangerous foe. The alliance of England, Germany, and Austria was an invincible combination. It not only secured the fulfilment of the Treaty of Berlin, but it was a guarantee for the peace of Europe and for the interests of Great Britain, for it gave England an active voice in the counsels of the master spirit of European statecraft. There was this further and most important recommendation, that in itself such an alliance possessed all the elements of stability and permanence. The interests of Germany, Austria, and England are very largely harmonious and coincident; at least, they are identical in a sense in which the interests of England are not coincident with those of any other European State. All three Powers want peace. None are now aggressive. All have a common interest in checking the ambition of those two great disturbers of public peace—the military despotism of Russia on the one side, and the restless and unsettled democracy of France on the other. After all, mutual interest is the best guarantee of international alliances, and this bond exists between England and the German Powers. But, Sir, none of these things affected the Prime Minister and his Colleagues. When he took Office he had but one purpose in view, and he moved onwards, to use a phrase of his, "marching, as if to drum and fife, *ohne hast und ohne rast*," to his end. That end was to reverse everything Lord Beaconsfield had done. The state of Ireland, the state of Egypt, the agitation in the East, the isolation of England, all show now how well he has succeeded. The insult to Austria gave the key-note to a complete change of policy and of European combinations. The British Cabinet, flushed with victory at the Elections, unhampered with knowledge, and reckless of results, rushed with light heart into counter plans. The pride of Germany should be humbled. Prince Bismarck should be taught to keep his "hands off." Was there not "Free Italy" and "Republican France"—Italy, the darling of the sentimental associations of the Prime Minister; France, the Democratic Republic so dear to the President of the Board of Trade and to the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs? Would not these, together with the Colossus of the North, the true ideal of all crusading enthusiasts and pseudo-humanitarians, be a match for the German Powers, and enable you to do without the allies chosen by your hated rival? For a few months all went merrily. The full measure of your incapacity was not taken even at Berlin. You held your Conference, and outvoted Austria and Germany there to your heart's content. You signed away the territory of the "anti-human" Turk to Greece and Montenegro, as if you were sporting with an Indian Budget. You heeded not the remonstrance of the German Chancellor, who told you that you were demanding impossibilities. In a few months you had brought Europe to the verge of a general war. You had to recede from nearly half your demands, and to reflect that your ill-advised schemes had cost Greece some £7,000,000, a distressing mobilization, and a Ministry, in order that she might be forced to accept that which she might have had six months before without expense. You were only saved from a general conflagration by the refusal of Republican France to participate in your piratical schemes against Smyrna and the Dardanelles. That was the first blow. The second came in 1881, when Italy, with her usual sagacity, deserted your bootless friendship and went over to the German Powers. Russia, to a certain extent, made her peace soon after with Germany, and you could no longer rely even on so undesirable a friend. As to France, her action has been so much bound up with this Egyptian Question that I shall not refer to it here. Even France, for whom you have sacrificed so much, has at last thrown you over. You are now alone. It is worth noticing, however, that your sham friends did not go away empty handed. Russia took advantage of your credulity to bring her forces 500 miles nearer your Indian Frontier, and to annex a fertile and valuable region. France occupied Tunis, increased her influence in the Mediterranean, refused you the Commercial Treaty, and would, but for events in no way due to your action or wisdom, have used you as the catspaw to establish herself in the land of her ambition —the fertile valley of the Nile. Meanwhile, Germany was assiduously cultivating the friendship of the despised Turk, whom you were persecuting. German officers and financiers were supplanting English, and the great Chancellor gained what you threw away—the alliance of a Power that can put into line 500,000 of the finest troops in the world. So the net result was this. You rejected the splendid alliances of Lord Beaconsfield; you tried others, but your allies first deceived you, then profited by your weakness, and finally deserted you. Now you are quite alone. This has been the first cause of your perils. The controlling forces of Europe have been against you. You have been met and countered at every point by the will of the greatest statesman of the age, in whose grasp you are as young children trying to pull the tail of a mastiff. Do you think that the Germans saw with anything but hostility your close union early in the year with that Chauvinist Republican, M. Gambetta? Was Prince Bismarck going to permit you to involve England in a "joint action" with his country's enemy which might add the force of England, sooner or later, to the foes against whom he is ever labouring to secure Germany? A leading German paper, under the inspiration of Prince Bismarck, wrote—

> "M. Gambetta gives his full assent to Mr. Gladstone's policy, hoping that it will afford him an opportunity for creating a conflict between England and the Austro-German allies."

The whole of the German Press was instantly on the *qui vive* as to French aims. But M. Gambetta fell, and you were saved from worse dangers, into which you were plunging with the levity of ignorance, and your "joint action" collapsed. Perhaps you did not recognize the hand behind the scenes that said check to M. Gambetta's ambition and to your weakness; but you had better recognize it now, or you will fall into still greater evils. Do you think that the very warm language which the Prime Minister, the Under Secretary of State, and the President of the Board of Trade, who are really responsible for the policy of the Government and its mistakes, used towards the French Republic during the last Egyptian debate, was not noticed at Berlin? So long as you try to intrigue with France you will be countered, and effectually countered, at Berlin. You can only secure the success of your plans by re-establishing the understanding with Germany which Lord Beaconsfield left you. Otherwise everything you arrange will fail. You will find fresh difficulties which cannot be provided against rising up at every point. At one time it may be the Conference, at another Turkey, at a third Russia, at a fourth Italy, at a fifth the sudden secession of France; but until you restore the main principle of Lord Beaconsfield's policy—a cordial co-operation with the German Powers—you will find nothing but failure and vexation of spirit. Twice, if not three times, has the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon, by his Missions to Berlin, persuaded Prince Bismarck to drag you out of the mire. Be warned in time, and avert the necessity for a fourth appeal *ad misericordiam.* So much for the general policy of the Government, which has undoubtedly led to their misfortunes in the particular crisis which we have to meet, and has caused the weakness of the present Cabinet in its attempts to deal with the Egyptian Question. Now, there are four crowning blunders which the Government have been committing, and been steadily repeating, all through this unfortunate business. The first is neglect of, and contempt for, and hostility to, the undeniable rights of the Sultan, who is Sovereign of Egypt, over that country. The second is the vain attempt to set up a "joint action" with France, whose interests are divergent from our own—that is, if we go one step beyond the internal financial administration. The third is indifference to the efforts of the Egyptian Chamber and people after self-government and lessened taxation. The fourth is that blunder which has marked their conduct in every point of their home and foreign policy—always being too late. They have never seen troubles and dangers which were patent to everybody else. They have refused to entertain any warning, however well-founded or reiterated. They have allowed perils to increase and accumulate by their delay until the difficulties of dealing with them have been made tenfold greater than timely action would have encountered. There are three very good reasons why a French alliance with regard to Egyptian and Eastern affairs is most undesirable for England. First, it can never be of any practical benefit to us. England and France are rivals in the Mediterranean and Egypt. They have been so for generations; and all the fine talking in the world will not lessen their rivalry. French ambition has long aspired to the domination of the regions of the Nile; and recently French arms have annexed a large territory in North Africa, not remote from Egypt. The dreams of the great Napoleon, all but realized, of Eastern Empire, have not been forgotten by modern French statesmen. Not only did British valour wrest Egypt in the early years of this century from the bayonets of Napoleon, but British statesmanship, represented by the sage and patriotic counsels of Palmerston in 1840, again thwarted the determined and all but matured scheme of M. Thiers for acquiring predominant control in Egypt. No one can read the recent speeches of French statesmen, and especially the astute utterances of M. Gambetta, without feeling that the same spirit still animates French policy. What said M. Gambetta only the other day in the French Assembly?—

> "The Conference may decree a Turkish intervention. I think that would be the worst solution of all. Once the Turks are in Egypt, possibly with the collusion of other Powers, you cannot get them out, and then France may say good-bye to all her dreams of becoming an Eastern Power. And what most attaches me to the English alliance in the Mediterranean is that I dread that a possible rupture will open to England rivers and territories where your right to live and trade are greater than her own."

In these sentences we see displayed the whole aims and instruments of French policy; the secret of their hostility to Turkey, in the dread lest Turkish power should punish France for her cruel aggression upon and oppression of Mahomedans in Algeria, and still more in Tunis; the dread of a breach with England, lest such a breach should, as it did in the great wars of Pitt and Wellington, give to England a vast amount of trade and wealth which France had hoped to keep for herself, The second reason why a joint action with France is now most undesirable for us is the extreme bitterness which exists, and naturally exists, between France and the Mussulman feeling of the East. This comes out strongly in every document and evidence in the Blue Books. It flavours every speech in the French Assembly and Senate; and it is most unfortunate that England should have associated herself with, and subserved so painfully, a Power that is now the *bête noir* of Turkey and of all Mahomedans. It is this injurious fact which has prevented the Sultan from being willing, or from being able, if he had been willing, to act with England in her policy towards Egypt. It is, therefore, an act of almost incredible folly for Her Majesty's Government to have associated themselves with a Power so detested by the Mussulmans. It was only the dread of a European war, and the terrible lesson that France had learnt from her war with Germany, that led to the failure of the "joint action" between herself and England—a joint action which, had it continued, would have ultimately led to a war between the two countries. The third objection to a French alliance is the extreme instability of French Ministries and of French policy. Some 20 Ministries have risen and fallen within the past decade of Republican Government. The British Government, early this year, pinned all their hopes to M. Gambetta. He was overthrown within three months, and their policy collapsed with him. France is really weak and unreliable to the last degree. Were our interests harmonious with hers, it would be rash to stake all upon an alliance with such a Government. As it is, it is simply madness to forswear the splendid and stable alliance with Austria and Germany in favour of the shiftless Republic. A further capital blunder which the Ministry committed has been their hostility towards, and their persecution of, the Ottoman Government. Every step they have taken, from first to last, has been against the interests of Turkey, and almost always without her knowledge or consent, and against her emphatic protest. I have never defended misgovernment in Turkey, any more than in Russia or in any other country; but from personal experience of the East I know the value of the Turkish alliance to England, and I know, also, the worth and strength of the Ottoman people, apart from their Government. That which has maintained Turkey so long in the face of the greatest dangers, and of the most strenuous attacks from all sides, was not at all the Turkish Government, but the inherent vigour and vitality of the Ottoman people—their manly fighting power in the last resort. Those qualities would have enabled them to resist successfully, if they had had a General of ordinary ability, the power of Russia, Servia, and Montenegro in 1876 and 1877. It was a consideration of that fact, together with the identity of our interests with those of Turkey, which made me insist on the value and importance of the alliance of England with the Ottoman Government—an alliance which rested on the highest traditions of British statesmanship, and by which the interests and the power of England can alone be sustained in the East. This the Government are now finding out, for they are endeavouring to secure some means of co-operation with Turkey in Egypt. They have by unjust and ungenerous insinuations attempted to attribute the difficulty in Egypt to the delay and want of faith of the Ottoman Government. The Blue Books show, however, that the Ottoman Government has acted in the most upright manner, and with an earnest desire to secure the friendship and alliance of England.

Mr. SPEAKER said, he might point out to the hon. Member that this had no reference whatever to the Appropriation Bill.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I am endeavouring to trace the present war in Egypt, the expenses of which will be partly met by the Appropriation Bill, to the mistaken policy of Her Majesty's Government, and to show that at every stage of the Egyptian Question they attacked and misrepresented the Ottoman Government. The Turkish Government was a good nine months in advance of our Government, so far as foresight is concerned. The Porte saw the danger from Arabi and the military movement in October last, and was prepared to quell it. The Porte sent Commissioners to Cairo, whose advent produced most favourable effects. The bare mention of their approach caused Arabi to retire from Cairo. Says Sir Edward Malet, on October 4—"The effect has been good,' On October 15, he again telegraphs that—

> "The effect of their mission has been good, as supporting the Viceroy and marking the Sultan's disapprobation of the conduct of the army."

Will it be believed that the British Government actually chased these Envoys out of Cairo within 10 days. This was done under direct pressure from France, and especially from its bellicose Premier, M. Gambetta. So at the outset the Ministry took the most prominent step they possibly could take to prevent the Sovereign of Egypt from interfering in his own Province for the restoration of tranquillity, and to weaken and discredit his authority. This first stage of the dismissal of the Sultan's Envoys from Egypt is marked also by the two other principal blunders of the Government—their co-operation, or professed co-operation, with France, and their failure to take the due measure of the impending danger from the growth of the Military Party. The Sultan foresaw it, and tried to nip it in the bud. Our Government did not see what any tyro in political affairs might have seen, and they prevented those who did forecast the peril rightly from checking it as they desired. All three blunders were here coincident —the intrusion upon the rights of the Sovereign power, incapacity to foresee the trouble that was coming, and that misleading and injurious attempt to act with France, which has been the most disastrous of the errors of the Cabinet. Nothing could be more ridiculous than to suppose that the Turkish Government has really favoured Arabi. Nothing is less desired by that exhausted State than such a re-opening of the Eastern Question as this crisis in Egypt must cause. The Turks dread both the general Arab uprising which Arabi's action threatens to bring on, and they fear the so-called National movement in Egypt, which must tend to separation. From the first Arabi's views have been totally inharmonious with those of the Turkish Government. Well, the Mission sent to Cairo was ignominiously chased from Egypt by Her Majesty's Government. This was the initial stage of our difficulties. The next stage was the sending of the Joint Note of January 6th by England and France to the Khedive. Imagine what the English nation would say if two Powers despatched a Note to the Viceroy of Ireland, even if that country had Home Rule, without consulting or even acquainting the British Government of their act. Yet this is just what Mr. Gladstone, again led by M. Gambetta, did. No wonder that the Porte sent the strongest possible protest to the British Ministry and demanded "imperiously" to have explanations. That protest of Turkey was formally backed up by the four other Great Powers—by Austria, Germany, Italy, and Russia—and here we have, for the first time, that most significant fact, the alliance of four against the "joint action" of two. We have not heard the last of that combination. What could have been a greater affront to the Sovereign than, without consulting him, to send a Joint Note to his vassal? The Note in itself was ridiculous and impracticable; but the sending of it was the greatest affront to both the Sovereign and the Egyptian Chamber that could be offered. Then came the point-blank refusal of the British Government to allow the Egyptian Chamber to vote that portion of the Budget which did not relate to the Public Debt. This moderate and reasonable request, recommended by Sir Edward Malet, was actually rejected by a Liberal Ministry, acting under pressure from Republican France. The joint Anglo-French Squadrons were now sent to Alexandria against the protest of the Porte, and against the urgent advice of those who best knew how such a measure would irritate the Arab population against England. The Natives might bear the action of all Europe; but the intervention of England, acting under the direction of France, the notorious enemy of Mussulmans, would, Sir Edward Malet warned his Government, have a disastrous effect. The next step was the sending of the Ultimatum to Arabi, again without the consent of his Sovereign, and without any preconsideration of the difficulties and unfortunate results it might lead to. The bombardment, again, was undertaken in spite of the strongest protests from the Ottoman Government; and your Conference was also assembled in face of the remonstrances of the Sovereign of Egypt. So at every stage you have acted in most direct opposition to the wishes of Turkey, and it is ridiculous to pretend that you have been playing a friendly part towards that Power. The

Under Secretary had given several assurances, up to the very moment of the bombardment, that—

> "England and France were in absolute accord as to the steps to be taken with regard to future eventualities."

But when it came to action the French Fleet steamed away. The Joint Note had created two camps in Europe; it set up the action of four Powers against the action of two. This action was seen in the protest against the Joint Note; it had re-appeared on various occasions, and notably during the Conference, and our Government had found a disagreeable union between Austria, Germany, Russia, and Italy against English views with regard to the Suez Canal and other questions. These four mistakes of the Government — neglect, attempted co-operation with France, and disregard of the rights of Turkey, and of the just grievances of the Egyptian people—are the causes of the war. Turkey desired to get rid of Arabi without fuss or disturbance; that was a sensible and practical view, which was thwarted by the premature and inefficient action of the English Government. Arabi would have been deported, taken away in some manner; but England, by joining with France, rendered it more and more difficult for the Sultan to remove Arabi; and by taking forcible action, prematurely and unnecessarily, we elevated Arabi into a national hero. The bombardment of Alexandria was premature, and was carried out in the way likely to do the most evil and the least good. There is an almost universal concurrence of opinion that a small landing force would have saved the destruction of property and the loss of life after the bombardment. The Government were warned, over and over again, of the necessity for such a force; and every person on the spot capable of judging states that 3,000 or 4,000 men, who might have been landed under the shelter of our guns, could have caught Arabi and his army as in a trap. It is inconsistent to speak of the landing of such a force as disrespectful to the Conference. It could have been no more disrespectful than the bombardment itself, or than the subsequent landing of an insufficient force. The fact of the matter is, the Ministry have drifted into a war without knowledge and without any roper precautions. The correspondent of every newspaper—of *The Times*, and even of *The Daily News*, and the very able correspondent of *The Standard* —all concur that a small force ready to land on Tuesday, the 11th, or Wednesday, the 12th of July, would have saved Alexandria from ruin, annihilated Arabi's forces, and averted all the cost and labour of this war. The configuration of the city is such, with a narrow strip of land affording the only exit for the enemy, that they could with ease have been captured, to use a homely phrase, like rats in a trap. The Government are without the slightest excuse for their failure to take such a simple and necessary precaution. They had been warned by the Consuls General of all the Powers, as well as by all the newspaper correspondents, and by many European residents, and by an experienced Military Agent of their own, as to what would happen if they commenced hostilities without having a force ready to strike an effective blow; but they were, as usual, blind to every advice and warning. Their premature bombardment led directly to the ruin of Alexandria, to the immense prolongation and increased cost of this struggle, and to the conversion of Arabi into a national hero. The Government have been led away by a new kind of "Jingoism." I do not willingly use the word, but it was one freely thrown at Lord Beaconsfield and his followers. If it has any meaning at all, it implies a spirit that would plunge the country into unnecessary war. It was not at all applicable to the late Government; but it is really applicable to the Party and the policy that involved the country in the Crimean War and in this Egyptian War. This war has been begun in the most unhealthy season, and the one most undesirable for a campaign, which again showed a want of foresight. None of the interests which the Government professed to serve, in a vain endeavour to make the ostensible aims of their policy square with the views of every Party, will in reality benefit by their long delay in taking any effective action. The interests of the bondholders will not be at all advanced by the destruction of Alexandria and by the ravages of war. And as for the interests of the Khedive, it is doubtful whether we can maintain him without a permanent occupation of the country. He has been rendered intensely unpopular by the fact of our support. The Egyptian people—that is, the great mass of the people—are undoubtedly ignorant and fanatical, and they are responsible for the terrible massacres which have taken place. How can the Government hope to uphold the Khedive and the interests of European capital if they carry out their programme of giving control of their own destinies to the very classes who are most opposed to British intervention and most in favour of Arabi? The Government rely on the Chamber of Notables; but though the Notables are an estimable body, they hold very much the same position as the House of Lords do in this country. It is impossible that their support can maintain our position in Egypt in spite of the mass of the population. The difficulties with which Her Majesty's Government find themselves environed are entirely of their own creation. They have been brought about by their unfortunate reversal of the policy of Lord Beaconsfield. They can only be removed by a prompt recurrence to the traditional policy of English statesmen. These myths of "concerted action" and "joint action," whose impracticability has been so fully demonstrated during the past eight months, must be for ever abandoned. If the Government will re-establish the old alliance with the Ottoman Government, by means of a frank, cordial, and sincere understanding at Constantinople, then troubles will disappear. If we have for our policy the support of the Prince, who is admitted by all Europe to be the Sovereign of Egypt, our position is one of unassailable legality. But if the Sultan is opposed to us, and with good reason, owing to the course of hostility adopted by the present occupants of the Treasury Bench, then any other Power—Germany, France, Italy, or Russia—can always find a potent lever wherewith to embarrass and wholly disconcert our aims and influence. The true policy is to persuade the Turkish people that you are their best friends, and so you can successfully promote reforms in the Ottoman Empire, and at the same time make your influence paramount. By this friendly and sensible policy you gain a faithful and valuable Ally, and acquire such a position in Egypt, or elsewhere, that England can, if the Turkish Power breaks up, quietly and without struggle succeed as her natural legatee, beloved and respected by the Mahomedan populations of the East. With Turkey on our side we can do as we like in Egypt. Against her we are powerless to settle the future of Egypt satisfactorily, although we may overrun it with our armies. And as this is true with regard to the particular difficulties of the Egyptian crisis, so the only way in which the Government can hope to be successful in their general policy is by a speedy return to the alliance with the German Powers, which Lord Beaconsfield left them, and which they recklessly alienated. Attempts to actively work with Russia and with France must prove, in the future, as they have proved during the past two years, vain and disastrous. The interests involved are too divergent, and the policy of Russia and of France is too uncertain and too aggressive. But in Austria and Germany England can have most powerful, most permanent, and most reliable support. I am glad to notice that in the last few days there are signs of a better frame of mind and of a more intelligent policy on the part of Her Majesty's present Advisers. They are beginning to realize what we have long urged upon them in vain, both the value of co-operation with Turkey, and the importance of a good understanding with Germany. If they continue in this path, the war in Egypt will be brought to a satisfactory end, and England may hope for a return of the tranquillity and general respect which was her portion under the sagacious and patriotic statesmanship of the Administration of Lord Beaconsfield. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving the Resolution of which he had given Notice.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House condemns Her Majesty's Government for their neglect and mistakes which have brought about the War in Egypt, and especially for the Bombardment of Alexandria without a landing force sufficient to have saved life and property, and considers that the Foreign Policy of the Government has alienated the Allies, and weakened the influence and power of the Country,"—(*Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE said, he would not attempt to make any reply to the very general and discursive observations of the hon. Member with regard to the general policy of the Government, as this was a subject which had been fully debated in the course of the present Session. With regard, however, to the statement that the policy of the Government had cost this country the alliance of Austria and Germany, he could only assure the House in the strongest possible terms that at no time, he was certain, were the relations, he might say the friendship, closer between this country and Austria and Germany than at the present time. The hon. Member also spoke of a reversal of the alliance which was left as a legacy by the late Government. He could only characterize that statement—if the term was Parliamentary—as all "moonshine" and nonsense. The Government had every reason to congratulate themselves upon their relations with the German Government at the present time, and he might say in a word that the German Government had warmly co-operated with this country in its Egyptian policy throughout. They valued very highly the support they had received on recent occasions. The hon. Member had made several strong personal references to himself. He had said that he (Sir Charles W. Dilke) had had a share in forming a counter alliance to that of which he spoke. That allegation had been made before, and he could only give it the most direct and emphatic contradiction. The hon. Member also said that he had had something to do with the Joint Note that was issued. There was absolutely no foundation whatever for that statement. The hon. Member had gone on to say that the influence of the German Government was increasing at Constantinople. But there was absolutely no jealousy whatever on the part of the Government as regarded that influence. He could not conceive how it could be in any way detrimental to our interests. The hon. Member also said that we had tried to set up a joint military action with France in Egypt. If the hon. Member had read the Papers he would have seen that the effect of the Government was to obtain a joint action with any of the Powers. The hon. Member said that the object of our action was that four Powers were antagonistic to us on the question of the Suez Canal. That matter seemed to be like a species of gout from which the hon. Member was suffering, which broke out from time to time. There were no grounds for believing that any such union of the four Powers had ever existed, nor was there any foundation whatever for the statement. He unhesitatingly denied that the four Powers referred to were against us in regard to this question. He thought that disposed of the point of the hon. Member's speech, and he would defer his further remarks until a later period.

Mr. GOSCHEN said, he had but one remark to make, and regretted that the hon. Member for Eye was not in his place to hear it. He thought it was due to Her Majesty's Government to confirm to the full what fell from the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs with regard to the mission to Berlin, to which the hon. Member for Eye had alluded. The hon. Member ought to know that this was entirely a "cock and bull" story. There was absolutely no truth whatever in—not even a foundation for—the rumour that he went to Berlin officially or semi-officially, or in any other way than as a private gentleman. He had a grievance against the hon. Member for Eye, who had repeated these statements over and over again; and if he should go to Berlin again the hon. Member, who never took any denial, might once more repeat the statement. After what had fallen from the Under Secretary it was almost unnecessary for him to state that there was no official character whatever in his visit to Berlin.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Main Question again proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

TURKEY AND EGYPT — ACTION OF H.M. CONSULS.—OBSERVATIONS.

Mr. O'DONNELL, on rising to call attention to the action of our Representatives in Turkey and Egypt, remarked that in consequence of the hon. Member for Eye's Amendment having been negatived he should not be able to conclude with the Motion of which he had given Notice, and which was in the following terms:—

"That this House regrets that Her Majesty's representatives in Turkey and Egypt have been employed for a number of years past in furthering the schemes of money-lending associations and persons whose operations have resulted in extreme injustice and suffering to the people of Egypt."

He would, however, lay before the House some statements which were worthy of its consideration at the present grave crisis. The financial speculations to which he would have referred were the causes for which brave men would have to fight upon the plains of Egypt. He wished to repudiate all idea of censuring or blaming the various gentlemen of the financial profession, the Oppenheims, the Erlangers, or the Frühlings and Goschens—whose operations had been supported so unfortunately by the diplomacy of Her Majesty's Government. Those gentlemen took advantage of their opportunities, and conducted a business which was perfectly legitimate in their eyes. If the profits on some of their transactions ranged from 12 to 26 per cent, or perhaps more, he was sure that all those enterprizing gentleman would have taken 50 or 100 per cent if they could fairly have obtained it, and would not have been ashamed of their success in business. The result of their financial operations had, however, been to involve the people of Egypt in misery and the country in financial ruin. As he wished to fix the attention of the House on the nature of the financial transactions which our diplomatists supported, he would lay before the House a brief account of those speculations. There was an absence of debt in Egypt 20 years ago, when the Khedive was introduced for the first time to the mysterious advantages of European finance. The official Report of Sir Stephen Cave, submitted to the House in 1876, stated that in 1864, the second year of the Khedive's administration, the Revenue of Egypt was practically £4,937,000, and that it rose to £7,377,000 in 1871. Under the latest developments of European Control, which was only another word for the results of European financing, the Revenue of Egypt exceeded £10,000,000. He would now call attention to the loans which our diplomacy had so disastrously promoted. The first was contracted by Said Pasha in 1862. The nominal amount was £3,992,800, repayable in 30 years, the interest being 7 per cent, and the Sinking Fund 1 per cent. No particulars were given of the amount actually received on this loan by the Egyptian Government. The technical contractors of the loan were Messrs. Erlanger, and the London agents were Messrs. Frühling and Goschen. The nominal amount of the loan of 1868 was £11,890,000, of which only £7,193,334 was received by the Egyptian Government. In 1873 a loan of £32,000,000 was issued at 7 per cent. Sir Stephen Cave said that only £20,000,000 was really received by the Egyptian Government. A loan had been raised in 1866 for the construction of railways, and, for a wonder, £2,640,000 was actually received. In addition to the local State Loans and the Daira Loans, there were certain personal loans. Of all those, Sir Stephen Cave had said that none cost less than 12 per cent, some 13 per cent, and the Railway Loan even 26 per cent, including the Sinking Fund. Among the many striking features, it was to be noticed that the large amount of indebtedness in 1876 gave absolutely nothing to show for the Suez Canal, the whole amount having been absorbed in payment of interest and Sinking Fund, with the exception of £16,000,000 for that great work. Further, Sir Stephen Cave had said that the unfortunate condition of Egypt in that respect was due in great measure to the onerous conditions of the loan of 1873, which was contracted for the express purpose of clearing off debt. Of the £32,000,000 raised, only £20,740,000 was received, and only £9,000,000 applied to the payment of debt. The bonds were purchased at a heavy discount, the price being sometimes 65 per cent, and entered the Egyptian Treasury at 93 per cent. The difference between the 65 and the 93 went into the pockets of the financiers. The financiers certainly deserved credit for attending to their own interests, if not to those of the Egyptians. Granting that the late Khedive was an Eastern despot, extravagant and extortionate, he would never have been able to bring such ruin on his country without the help of European financiers such as the Erlangers and Oppenheims. The worst that such a despot could do would be to enrich himself out of the proceeds of one year; he could not, as he had done by the aid of the 12 per cent financiers, mortgage the whole future of his country. After the loan of 1866 of £3,000,000 the Sultan protested, and issued a Firman forbidding further loans without his permission. In spite of that protest, loans were raised on the Crown lands, and in 1870 a fresh debt of £7,000,000 was incurred, of which the Khedive only received £5,000,000. Then diplomacy entered the field, and suggested that the Sultan's permission should be obtained for a fresh loan. To that end it was necessary, first, that the Sultan's Ministers should be bribed, and next that the Sultan himself should also be bribed. Accordingly, a douceur of £50,000 was given to the Grand Vizier to obtain a Hatt from the Sultan authorizing the loan. That was a proceeding which ought to have been denounced by our Ambassador at Constantinople. It was stated in the Parliamentary Papers of 1879 that the Chiefs of the Turkish Ministry did not affect to conceal their regret at this disgraceful transaction, and they suggested to the British Ambassador, who was slow to act of himself, that he should take steps to procure the cancelling of the Firman. Sir Henry Elliot, when thus appealed to, speaking, no doubt, as the mouthpiece of Her Majesty's Government, returned this answer—that the word of the Sultan had been pledged to the Viceroy, and, at whatever inconvenience, it must be kept. Accordingly a further debt of £32,000,000 was fastened round the necks of the people of Egypt, only £20,000,000 being even nominally received by the Egyptian Government. In 1873 the Khedive was encouraged to lay, in the words of the Parliamentary Papers, £900,000 "at the feet of the Sultan," and in return he received, on the 8th of June, 1873, a new Firman allowing him to pledge to any extent the resources of his unfortunate subjects to the money-lenders of Europe. No doubt the reluctance of Turkey to grant the Khedive those ruinous powers of borrowing was only feigned; but that was no excuse for our diplomacy, which was on the side of the money-lenders. In 1873 a Liberal Administration was in Office, practically the same Administration as was in Office now, and, if he was not mistaken, a Gentleman who was afterwards to figure as Her Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary at Constantinople, and who also figured in relation to the finance of Egypt as member of the firm of Frühling and Goschen, was in 1873 and in 1870 a Member of the Liberal Cabinet. He could only surmise that the presence of that Gentleman in the Cabinet at the time was not unfavourable to the money-lenders' advances in Egypt and Constantinople. He made no charge against the money-lenders; they acted in accordance with their conscientious views; they were in no way false to their traditions; and did not sink in their own estimation by anything they did. Far be it from him to try any gentlemen except by the law of their own consciences. But the fact remained as regarded Her Majesty's Government that a stain of no ordinary gravity rested on our diplomacy for the aid it gave to those financial transactions. For he must altogether decline to try the policy of a great State with a Christian civilization by a standard which might suit the consciences of money-lenders. By those most corrupt proceedings a debt of £72,000,000 had been fastened on the Egyptian State, and British diplomacy uttered no protest; in some cases it uttered words in favour of the transaction. And now for some proofs of the working of the accumulated loans on the unfortunate people of Egypt, who were like a pack of slaves, and had no power whatever in the matter. Although during 10 years a sum of £35,000,000 had been paid by the taxpayers of Egypt, the principal of the debt was as heavy as ever. The late Sir Stephen Cave had stated that the fellaheen were subjected to extortion, and that three years' taxes were probably sometimes paid in two. In 1879 the Consul General reported to the Government that the result of the fearful indebtedness of Egypt and of those great loans which British diplomacy had furthered was that taxes were exacted in advance, and that the peasantry were crushed under the weight of taxation imposed upon them. In fact, the sound of the lash was heard on the back of the fellah in order that gold might be obtained with which to supply the money-lender in the land of Goschen. Messrs. Frühling and Goschen called upon the Consul General at Cairo to support their demands for greater punctuality in the payment of the debt incurred by the Khedive. [Mr. GOSCHEN: No; that is not so.] He fully recognized that the gentlemen whom he had named had a perfect right to look after their own interests; but he maintained that it was not the duty of the British Government to give them assistance. He did not wish to use one word of censure against Messrs. Frühling and Goschen, and he believed that their consciences felt no twinge of remorse for the results of their action. In 1876 Messrs. Joubert and Goschen went to Egypt avowedly at the request of 2,000 holders of Egyptian Stocks. Our Consul General assured the Khedive that they would hold the scales evenly between the European money-lenders on the one side and the wretched, unrepresented, down-trodden fellaheen on the other. That, he argued, was a representation which ought not to have been made by the Consul General. It was a recognized principle that no man ought to be the judge in his own case; and, Mr. Goschen being in Egypt at the time in that position, the Consul General ought not to have made such a representation. The Consul also pointed out that it was impossible that the state of affairs existing then could continue, as it would result in the ruin of the country. Our Representative thus played a part of which England could not feel proud, for, on the one hand, he made representations which he ought never to have made, and, on the other, threatened the Khedive with ruin, his object all the time being to insure the Khedive's acceptance of the views of Mr. Goschen. The mission of Messrs. Joubert and Goschen in Egypt was not unopposed. There were Native Ministers in Egypt who thought money-lending in Egypt was a practice which had gone too far—which was increasing, and ought to be diminished. At the head of that Party was the Minister of Finance, who was opposed to the mission of Mr. Goschen. On the 10th of November, 1876, the Finance Minister of Egypt was suddenly seized by order of the Khedive, on the ground that he had provoked agitation in the Provinces and was conspiring against the Khedive, whom he accused of plundering the country in concert with Europeans. The Finance Minister was found guilty on that charge, probably unheard in his own defence, and was sent to the White Nile, a sentence equivalent to death. Messrs. Joubert and Goschen did not place on record a protest that they would have nothing to do with the Khedive until he had brought back to Egypt the independent Finance Minister.

Mr GOSCHEN: How does the hon. Member know that?

Mr. O'DONNELL said, he found no record of any such interference in the official documents. On the 11th of November the Finance Minister was exiled. By the 18th of November all the financial proposals of Messrs. Joubert and Goschen had been accepted by the Khedive. The transactions between the money-lenders and the Khedive did not seem to be interrupted for a single moment. The money-lenders had the full approval of Her Majesty's Government. Their diplomacy was exerted to promote the ends of the money-lenders, and when the International Tribunal gave a decision in favour of other creditors, he found that diplomacy insisted that other judgment creditors should be defrauded rather than that the money-lenders should lose a small fraction of their pound of flesh. Even the wretched soldiery were unable to obtain payment of the arrears of their miserable remuneration. During the years 1877 and 1878 the money-lenders had effectually fastened their nets around Egypt, which at that time might be regarded as financially ruined. The result of that policy had landed us in a war, in which the sympathies of the whole Egyptian people were against us and hostile to the Khedive.

Mr. GOSCHEN said, some Members of the House might not recollect the fact that in the year 1865 he retired entirely from all connection with the firm to which he then belonged. He wished to devote himself exclusively to public life, and to public life he had devoted himself exclusively since that time. The firm to which he then belonged had not been in any way connected with Egyptian loans since the year 1866. In all subsequent transactions to which allusion had been made, neither he nor the firm to which he had belonged had in any way been parties since that date. He would not, therefore, attempt to follow the hon. Member through his speech. With regard to the year 1876, as the House and the public were well aware, he went in a perfectly honorary capacity, without any pecuniary interests whatever, to Egypt, to make the best arrangements that could be made, and to show that the interests of the taxpayers and the bondholders were not opposed. The whole extent of those operations were fully set out in 1876, and all the points were discussed both in the Press and in the House at the time, and he did not feel called upon, at the invitation of the hon. Member, to revive the discussion. The belief he entertained was that the Control thus established had resulted in improved administration, and evidence had been forthcoming from various quarters to the effect that the prosperity of Egypt had been promoted by that administration.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE said, he did not feel called upon to deal with the remarks of the hon. Member for Dungarvan at any length, particularly as he was informed that the debate would be again raised to-morrow. The greater part of the speech of the hon. Member concerned matters which had very little directly to do with the Eastern Question. In speaking of the origin of the Control, the hon. Member had omitted to mention that the late Government of this country, as well as the other Powers, used their influence with their subjects to induce them to take less than they would otherwise have had a right to receive from Egypt. The result was that an agreement was made by which the amount due from Egypt was much reduced. The present Government found the Control set up by the late Government, and they had to deal with it as it existed. They came to the conclusion, and the Reports from all sides clearly showed, that however questionable the origin of the Control might have been, yet it had worked well. The hon. Member had quoted at great length Reports from the Agents of this country in Egypt, many of them made many years ago, and describing the state of things which existed in the time of Ismail Pasha. It had been asserted by the hon. Member that no one in Egypt respected the Khedive; if that statement were true it would be of very considerable moment. But, so far as they were informed, every man of real note in Egypt supported the Khedive. All the men who had taken any part in public affairs—all the former Ministers—were supporting the Khedive. Notwithstanding that they were usually opposed, there was reason to believe that they had agreed on a uniform course of action to show most distinctly and publicly that they supported the present Khedive. And not the whole of the past Ministers only, but Sultan Pasha, President of the Chamber of Notables, was a warm supporter of the Khedive. In all the towns of which they had certain knowledge the original Governors and Vice-Governors supported the Khedive. The Governors of Ismailia, of Port Said, of Suez, and other towns, it was true, had been driven out of the country, and creatures of Arabi Pasha had been put in. The hon. Member had occupied a great deal of time in referring to events which happened in the time of Ismail Pasha, with which the present Government had nothing to do. It was not quite clear how far the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) accepted or condemned the Control; but it was satisfactory that the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) had had an opportunity of emphatically denying some of the assertions which had been so recklessly made concerning him. As the subject might be again raised to-morrow he would not reply to the hon. Member at that time at any greater length.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT wished to make a personal explanation with reference to a statement attributed to him by the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He did not say that at the present moment they were in a state of hostility with the German Government; but he said that up to quite recently the policy of the British Ministry had been based upon other combinations. Nor did he refer alone to the one journey to Berlin which the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Goschen) denied was made use of by the Government, but to his two previous political missions to that capital, which could not be denied.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Mr. CALLAN asked the Chairman which clause of the Bill referred to the Irish Legal Administration?

The CHAIRMAN: There are no clauses that refer to the Irish Legal Administration specifically. There are Votes in the Schedule that refer to it.

Mr. CALLAN said, he wished to know whether he would be in Order in speaking on the Question of the Irish Legal Administration on the clause itself?

The CHAIRMAN: If there is any specific Vote the hon. Member wishes to reduce, when that part of the Schedule is called referring to a particular Judge, he can move his Motion.

Mr. CALLAN said, he desired to speak in support of a reduction of the Vote for the Irish Law Officers of the Crown.

Schedule B.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Schedule B stand part of the Bill."

Mr. CALLAN said, he had received information from Ireland in reference to a matter which had been brought before the House—namely, the packing of juries in Ireland, and the exclusion of Catholics from the jury panel by the Attorney General for Ireland. He wished to draw attention to an extraordinary state of things—namely, that on Thursday and Friday last, in Dublin, in cases where persons were prosecuted by the Attorney General in person, a great many jurors on the list were ordered to "stand aside." In one case 20 were ordered to stand aside, and in another 26, so that in all 46 were put aside in these two cases, and, by some fortuitous coincidence, they all happened to be Catholics, whilst the jurors selected happened to be Protestants. One of the cases tried was an ordinary case of appearing in arms, and the other was a capital offence. On Friday and on Saturday, articles appeared in *The Freeman's Journal* commenting on this circumstance. On Friday that paper said the Crown had exercised their right to challenge on a wholesale scale; and no less than 19 persons, some of them amongst the most respected citizens of Dublin, were ordered to "stand aside." On Saturday, *The Freeman's Journal* said—

> "We are unwilling to credit the rumour that the Crown have resolved that juries exclusively, or almost exclusively, Protestant shall determine in some cases the liberty, and in others the lives, of the prisoners on trial at Green Street, yet colour is lent to the report by the fact that yesterday, in the capital case—just as on the previous day in the Whiteboy case—Catholic gentlemen of admitted respectability and position were ordered to 'stand aside' when they took the book to be sworn. To the gentlemen in question no stereotyped 'trade' objection can be made; and the inference, therefore, is that they were shoved aside from their duties as jurors simply because they are Catholic. If this is true, an odious and, it was hoped, obsolete practice has been revived, and the course taken, as unnecessary as it is injudicious, must naturally cause indignation and resentment in Catholic circles. . . . . The notion that such men as Edward Lenehan, of Castle Street, William Dennehy, of John Street, and others whom we could mention, should not be trusted to find a true verdict according to evidence in country cases brought to Dublin for trial, which is the simple and only inference, is offensive in the extreme. The representatives of the Crown would not venture to publicly make such a declaration; yet the names of the gentlemen specified appear in the published list of the rejected. The matter is one that calls for inquiry and explanation. For the present we will only express our regret that the representatives of the Crown should deem it necessary and expedient to 'Boycott' Catholic special jurors of the city and county of Dublin."

He found that yesterday, commenting upon those articles, Mr. Justice Lawson, in the Commission Court, said—

> "I can only say I hope the attention of the Attorney General will be directed to those outrageous articles that are published for the purpose of prejudicing and defeating the administration of justice in this Court, which I have been reading with feelings of horror since this Court sat."

And after this the Solicitor General said it was the intention of those representing the Crown to ask their Lordships' attention, in a formal manner, to some articles and publications in *The Freeman's Journal*, adding—

> "And we hope that it may not be inconvenient to your Lordship to entertain the matter at the sitting of the Court on Wednesday next. We believe that the publication of such documents is calculated to interfere in the most serious degree with the administration of justice."

Mr. Justice Lawson stigmatized as outrageous articles the calm and fair comments he (Mr. Callan) had read to the House. But what had been the result of those articles? Instead of prejudicing or injuring the administration of justice, it had had this effect. Yesterday a man named Laurence Kenny was indicted with having, on the night of the 18th of May, at Mullingar, fired a revolver at Sergeant M'Auley, of the 5th Northumberland Fusiliers, with intent to murder him. A second count charged the prisoner with firing at the sergeant with intent to do him grievous bodily harm; and the following were amongst the jury sworn: — Michael O'Loghlen, Richmond Street; Joseph Archbold, Malahide; James Magee, Rathmines; Patrick Cloudalkin; James Reilly, Baldoyle; and Thomas Philips, Dame Street. The jury, after a short absence from Court, found a verdict of "Guilty" on the second count. So that the effect of the articles which had appeared in *The Freeman's Journal* had been that the Solicitor General did not form the jury which had been formed by the Attorney General. On Friday and Saturday the course followed was most detrimental to justice, 46 Roman Catholics being ordered to stand aside; but on Monday, owing to attention having been called to this circumstance, the gentlemen he had named, who had been amongst those told to stand aside, were put on the jury. At least, six jurors, whom the Attorney General had twice ordered to stand aside, were empanelled on the jury, which, after a short absence, found a verdict of "Guilty" against the prisoner tried before them, which prisoner was sentenced to transportation for life. These jurors had been ordered to stand aside because, from the fact of their being Catholics, it was thought that they were unfit to try cases. ["Hear, hear!"] The Home Secretary said "Hear, hear!" Of course, the right hon. and learned Gentleman's feeling was that no Catholic was fit to try a prisoner in Ireland. What did his "Hear, hear!" mean, if not approval of this disgraceful practice of challenging men merely because they were Catholics? As *The Freeman's Journal* very truly said, this practice had resulted in filling the Catholic mind of Ireland with indignation. *The Freeman's Journal* said this matter was one which called for inquiry and explanation, although, they said—

> "For the present we will only express our regret that the Representatives of the Crown should deem it necessary and expedient to 'Boycott' Catholic special jurors of the city and county of Dublin."

The Catholics of Ireland owed a deep debt of gratitude to the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray) and his paper for directing attention to this case of ordering Catholic jurors to stand aside. He was sorry that certain ceremonials taking place to-day in Ireland prevented Irish Members from being present to-night; but as he (Mr. Callan) happened himself to be in town, he should not have done his duty if he had allowed this opportunity of calling attention to this subject to pass. What had happened in the Commission Court he considered reflected grave dishonour and disgrace on an Administration which, he believed, in regard to the cases he had mentioned, to be utterly unprincipled. He referred to the ordering of Catholics, on Friday and Saturday, to stand aside, and, on Monday, allowing them to go on the panel. He was sorry to be obliged to make these remarks in the absence of the Attorney General for Ireland, but hoped to be able to repeat what he had said when the right hon. and learned Gentleman was present. He (Mr. Callan) hoped the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary would either give them some explanation of the circumstances in question, or would get up in his place and emphasize his "Hear, hear!" by a defence of this disgraceful conduct.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: During the course of last week, the hon. Member who has just sat down, and other hon. Members on that side of the House, have undertaken to educate the country for the Autumn Sitting. If anything can make the House and the country see the impossibility of conducting Business on the principle we have seen worked out during the last few weeks, the hon. Member for Louth (Mr. Callan) and the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) will have opened their eyes on the matter. What has just happened? The hon. Member for Louth, at the commencement of the Sitting, brought forward this question by moving the adjournment of the House; but having had a reply from the Attorney General for Ireland completely answering his allegations, and giving an absolute contradiction to his statements——

MR. CALLAN: He refused to answer my statement.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Having, I say, received an absolute contradiction to his statements at 11 o'clock to-night, the hon. Member again commences the same discussion on the same subject in the absence of the Attorney General for Ireland, and intimates that it is his intention, on a future occasion, to renew the same debate. If anything were wanting to convince the country of the necessity of dealing with such a power for the abuse of the Forms of the House, this is an admirable example. With reference to the substance of what the hon. Member for Louth has said, I think, also, that the attention of the country will be directed to a very important circumstance. One of the great and crying evils of Ireland has been the impossibility of the administration of justice in consequence of the terrorism which existed; and the reason why it was impossible that life and property in Ireland should be safe was because juries throughout that country were acting under such a terror that they did not dare to give righteous verdicts. This House has, by a large majority, passed a measure one of the provisions of which was to remove these juries from the influence of that terror; and one of the brightest signs of returning peace to Ireland is that at last it has been found possible to form juries who, when the evidence is plain and beyond all possibility of doubt and contradiction, find verdicts in accordance with the evidence. But what happens the moment that takes place? Why, there is a certain section of the Irish Press, and there are certain Members from Ireland, who set to work to renew against the administration of justice the same statements and speeches——

Mr. CALLAN: That is false.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: To secure for crime that impunity it previously enjoyed.

Mr. CALLAN: That is a false statement—I say it is false.

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member has repeatedly said, in a loud tone of voice, "That is false!" I call on him to withdraw the statement.

Mr. CALLAN: I say the statement is made that I have set myself to prevent the due course of justice. I say that is a false statement.

The CHAIRMAN: Did the hon. Member mean to represent that the Home Secretary has made a false statement?

Mr. CALLAN: The statement that I have delivered speeches here or anywhere intended to prevent the course of justice, by whomever made, is a false statement.

The CHAIRMAN: I wish the hon. Member to withdraw the statement that the Home Secretary has made a false statement to this House.

Mr. CALLAN: Has the right hon. and learned Gentleman made that statement? If he has not I withdraw.

Mr. THOROLD ROGERS: I heard the hon. Member say "That is false."

The CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. Member withdraw that statement, or does he not?

Mr. CALLAN: If the Home Secretary has stated——[*Cries of* "Order!"]

The CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. Member withdraw the statement that the Home Secretary has made a false statement?

Mr. CALLAN: If the Home Secretary—[*Cries of* "Name him!"]—I say if the Home Secretary has made the statement that I have deliberately attempted to pervert and thwart the course of justice, I say that statement is a false statement.

The CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. Member withdraw the statement that the Home Secretary has made a false statement in this House?

Mr. CALLAN: If the Home Secretary has made that statement——

The CHAIRMAN: As the hon. Member refuses to withdraw the statement that the Home Secretary has made a false statement in this House, I must Name him to the House. If he does not withdraw it immediately I must Name him.

Mr. O'DONNELL: I rise to a point of Order.

The CHAIRMAN: I must first ascertain whether the hon. Member withdraws the statement that the Home Secretary made a false statement.

Mr. O'DONNELL: It is on that I wish to speak.

The CHAIRMAN: I presume the hon. Member does not mean to withdraw the expression.

Mr. CALLAN: Does the Home Secretary impute to me that I have been guilty of conduct unbecoming a Member of this House, and for which I should be criminally responsible? If he says he did not mean that——

The CHAIRMAN: The hon Member must, in the first place, withdraw the statement in which he deliberately accuses the Home Secretary of making a false statement to this House. The right hon. and learned Gentleman will afterwards, no doubt, explain what he meant. But the hon. Member has been guilty of misconduct and of an un-Parliamentary course in accusing the Home Secretary of having made a false statement. If the hon. Member does not withdraw the statement, I have only one course to pursue.

MR. CALLAN: If the Home Secretary says he did not wish to impute to me that I have deliberately attempted to pervert the course of justice—conduct for which I should be criminally responsible—I will withdraw the expression. It was that charge that I characterized as false. I am not guilty of attempting to pervert the course of justice. It was to the imputation of criminal misconduct that I used the word "false."

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member several times repeated the words "That is false," and he must be perfectly aware that such words are un-Parliamentary. If he does not withdraw them, unequivocally—if he does not say that he did not intend to impute falsehood to the right hon. and learned Gentleman, which he has it in his power to do, I have only one course to take.

MR. CALLAN: If a statement has been made imputing to me an improper and dishonourable act, I characterize that as false. I go no farther, and I go no less.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member having several times accused the Home Secretary of falsehood in this Committee—[MR. CALLAN: I did not; I said the imputation was false.]—a course that is altogether un-Parliamentary, I have only one course to pursue, and that is to Name him to the Committee. I Name Mr. Callan as, in having disregarded the authority of the Chair, been guilty of an offence against this House.

MR. GLADSTONE: I move that Mr. Callan be suspended from the service of this House during the remainder of this day's Sitting.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Callan be suspended from the service of the House during the remainder of this day's sitting."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

MR. O'DONNELL: The Motion ought to be "suspended from the service of the Committee."

THE CHAIRMAN: The Order says "the House."

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 58; Noes 3: Majority 55.—(Div. List, No. 337.)

THE CHAIRMAN: It is now my duty to report this Resolution to the House.

Whereupon the Chairman left the Chair in order to report the said Resolution to the House.

Mr. SPEAKER resumed the Chair, and Mr. Playfair reported to Mr. Speaker that Mr. Callan had been Named by him to the Committee as disregarding the authority of the Chair, and that the Committee had resolved that Mr. Callan be suspended from the service of the House during the remainder of this day's sitting:—

Mr. SPEAKER thereupon forthwith put the Question, "That Mr. Callan be suspended from the service of the House for the remainder of this day's sitting."

The House *divided:*—Ayes 60; Noes 3: Majority 57.—(Div. List, No. 338.)

Mr. CALLAN withdrew accordingly.

The following is the official Entry taken from the Votes:—

[Mr. Callan, Member for the County of Louth, having been Named by the Chairman for having disregarded the authority of the Chair:—

Motion made, and Question put, "That Mr. Callan be suspended from the service of the House during the remainder of this day's sitting:"—(*Mr. Gladstone:*)—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 58, Noes 3.

Whereupon the Chairman left the Chair in order to report the said Resolution to the House.

Mr. Speaker resumed the Chair, and Mr. Playfair reported to Mr. Speaker that Mr. Callan had been Named by him to the Committee as disregarding the authority of the Chair, and that the Committee had resolved that Mr. Callan be suspended from the service of the House during the remainder of this day's sitting.

Mr. Speaker thereupon forthwith put the Question, "That Mr. Callan be suspended from the service of the House for the remainder of this day's sitting:"—The House *divided;* Ayes 60, Noes 3.

Mr. Callan withdrew accordingly.]

Then the House again resolved itself into the Committee on the Bill.

Question, "That Schedule B stand part of the Bill," again proposed.

MR. O'DONNELL said, he rose to a point of Order which he had deferred in consequence of the ruling of the Chair. He wished to ask for the censure of the Chair upon the Home Secretary for having distinctly stated that the hon. Member for Louth (Mr. Callan), by his action in moving the adjournment of the House earlier in the Sitting, and by repeating his objections in Committee on the Appropriation Bill, had showed that there were Members in this House from Ireland who desired to restore impunity to crime in Ireland. For that gross imputation of motive he now asked the Chairman to censure the Home Secretary, and to call for the withdrawal of those words, and an apology to the hon. Member for Louth.

THE CHAIRMAN: I heard nothing in the language of the Home Secretary that deserved censure, or I should have noticed it at the time. The Question now before the Committee is that Schedule B stand part of the Bill.

MR. O'DONNELL said, the Home Secretary, in his reply to the hon. Member for Louth, had betrayed considerable warmth, apparently through ignorance of the facts of the case.

MR. MORGAN LLOYD asked whether, after the ruling of the Chair, the hon. Member was in Order in rising to the same Question again?

THE CHAIRMAN: If the hon. Member desires to discuss the Question of this being the Schedule to the Bill he will be in Order.

MR. O'DONNELL said, the hon Member (Mr. Morgan Lloyd) was somewhat mistaken. He (Mr. O'Donnell) was continuing the discussion raised by the hon. Member for Louth, and replying to the Home Secretary. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had stated that the action of the Irish Members, and especially that of the hon. Member for Louth, deserved condemnation in the severest terms, because the hon. Member for Louth objected to the jury-packing in Ireland during the last two days. He did not intend to delay the House more than a couple of minutes; but the reason why he brought his question before the Committee, having already spoken upon it at the commencement of the Sitting, and why the hon. Member for Louth brought the question again before the Committee was, that since they mentioned the matter last, they had received telegrams of the most urgent character from Ireland, begging them, for the sake of the Government and for the sake of peace and order in Ireland, to call the attention of the Committee to the practice of jury-packing, and to beseech the Government to make use of the tribunal of Judges which had been established under the Coercion Act in preference to jury-packing. The Home Secretary was mistaken in stating that previously the Government were unable to get verdicts in Ireland, because they had always been able to get juries to give verdicts whenever they packed the juries; and what the Irish Members regretted was that the subordinate officers in Ireland had been packing juries in the most unblushing manner within the last two days. Forty-six Roman Catholics had been ordered to stand aside, and the Government had chosen the juries exclusively from Protestants. The Home Secretary was equally mistaken in saying that the Attorney General for Ireland had completely replied upon that point. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had stated that the exclusion of Roman Catholics was only a strange coincidence; that it did not take place because of their religious opinions; that the challenges had no reference to their religious opinions. He (Mr. O'Donnell) was informed that the Crown Solicitor challenged the jurors and ordered them to stand aside simply from his brief; he received the panel with a number of names, and objected to certain gentlemen without being aware why they should be ordered to stand aside. He read "object," on his brief, and objected to these jurors. It was quite possible that a gentleman in the distinguished position of the Attorney General might not know the religion of the gentlemen he objected to, and might be quite unaware that the 46 gentlemen to whom he objected were Roman Catholics. He could quite understand that that might be so; but he must press on the Government that 46 Roman Catholics were ordered one after the other to stand aside, and that the Government in Ireland were re-establishing the worst practice of the worst era in Irish history, and making Protestants their means of trying cases. He could not too strongly express the emotion which had spread throughout Ireland upon this revival of jury-packing in its worst form; and he had no doubt that trial by Judges, obnoxious as that was, would be infinitely preferable to trial by packed juries. He was instructed to protest against that practice strongly. It was fatal to good government; it was fatal to all chance of conciliation between Ireland and England. He did not wish to use a single expression which he might desire to recall in calmer moments; but while he could fully admit that the higher authorities in the Administration in Ireland might not be aware of these facts, the fact remained that 46 Roman Catholics were ordered to stand aside in order that juries might be composed of Protestants in the Catholic capital of Catholic Ireland. He thought he was really standing on the side of all lovers of fair play in declaring it a most deplorable and unfortunate coincidence—or accident, to say the least of it—that 46 Roman Catholic jurors should be ordered to stand aside and exclusively Protestant juries formed in consequence. He could exculpate the Attorney General for Ireland and the Prime Minister from a knowledge of this circumstance; but the practice existed, and a more infamous practice could not be conceived.

Mr. O'SHEA said, one of the cases tried in Dublin came from the county which he represented. There could be no stronger opponent of the exclusion of Catholics from juries than he; and it would be the greatest misfortune to the country if it should be supposed that Catholics would be ordered to stand aside under the authority of the new Act; but he was told from Dublin that some of the Catholics, who were ordered to stand aside, were ordered to stand aside simply because they begged to be excused from serving on the juries. This ought to be taken into consideration. He was also informed that since the trials on Friday and Saturday a proportion of the juries had been Roman Catholics, and that they gave verdicts as he had no doubt juries so constituted in Dublin would—in accordance with the evidence placed before them. He was certain that nothing could create greater popular distrust and discontent than the idea that Catholics would be excluded from the jury panels; but he was glad to know that, at least in some instances, they had been excluded upon their own request. With regard to the opinion expressed by Mr. Justice Lawson, if that learned Judge went too far, that would be very regrettable; and he was sorry that, under some circumstances in Ireland, the Judges sometimes used expressions which were a little too strong, and it would be better if, in their Charges, they only used such expressions as those of Mr. Justice Stephen on the Clerkenwell case. But he was certain, from what he heard from Dublin, that there had been considerable exaggeration in regard to the exclusion of Catholic jurors.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, he had already stated that there had been no such thing as jury packing in Ireland, and the constant assertion of that by persons who had instructed the hon. Member opposite would not establish as a fact that which did not exist. It would be as idle to say that jurors were ordered to stand aside because they had red beards or wore white hats. These jurors were not excluded on account of their religion, nor was their religion known to the persons who ordered them to stand aside. He had already stated the reasons why they were ordered to stand aside, and his hon. Friend (Mr. O'Shea) had repeated those reasons from an independent source with which he was not acquainted. The result of the trials in Dublin had been heard with a good deal of horror and emotion throughout Ireland, and he trusted that those whom those results had inspired with horror and emotion would be satisfied that the commission of crime in Ireland would be much less safe than it had hitherto been.

Mr. MOLLOY said, he knew nothing about the facts of this case; but the attorney who was employed in the case had written to *The Freeman's Journal* endorsing the views which had been brought before the House to-day.

Colonel NOLAN said, unfortunately, juries in Ireland were struck by a peculiar system in regard to political trials. He believed he was the only Member present in the House who had been prosecuted for a criminal offence. He was prosecuted for intimidating his county in order to secure his election. He firmly believed that he was totally innocent; but he had no wish to revive that matter, except to say that he had been twice re-elected by that county.

He had no objection to Protestants in England; but if he were tried in Ireland by a Protestant jury, from which all Catholics had been carefully weeded, he was certain that he would be convicted. The Government might strike the Irish people down and crush them with heavy fines; but as a Representative of a Catholic county, if Catholics were to be excluded from juries, even by their own wish, it would be much better to hand over trials to the Judges. As a Catholic politician, he should have no confidence in any Protestant jury, from which all Catholics had been excluded.

MR. MOLLOY said, that what he wished to convey to the Committee was that in to-day's *Freeman's Journal* there appeared a letter from the solicitor employed to defend the prisoners in this case, who stated distinctly that the Roman Catholics on the panel were told to stand aside, and not one of them was allowed to try the case. He knew nothing about the facts, and he would make no comment upon it, lest he should make an accusation which he could not sustain.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr W. M. JOHNSON) said, that could not be the case under any circumstances, because the whole jury were taken by ballot, and the panel of jurymen were not exhausted.

MR. O'DONNELL said, that the right hon. and learned Gentleman said he was glad to hear him (Mr. O'Donnell) say that the results of the late trials in Dublin were received with emotion and horror throughout certain parts of Ireland. What he (Mr. O'Donnell) stated was that the renewal of the practice of jury-packing was received with emotion and horror, and it was exceedingly unfair to try and catch a cheer by turning his statement. They now heard that the jury showed an admixture of Catholics. That that was the case was the strongest possible justification of the manly and patriotic action of *The Freeman's Journal* in denouncing jury-packing during the first two days; and if it was now struck down for its defence of the liberties of the people, there was no man in Ireland who would not resent the cowardly outrage.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, he would withdraw what he said, if he misrepresented the hon. Gentleman.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *reported,* without Amendment; to be read the third time *To-morrow.*

INDIA (FINANCE, &c.)—EAST INDIA REVENUE ACCOUNTS.—REPORT.

Resolution [August 14] *reported.*

MR. O'DONNELL asked if he might receive some assurance from the Secretary of State for India that some more efficient steps would be taken to reduce the mortality in Bengal gaols? It was true there had been some reduction in the rate of mortality; the frightful rate of 97 per 1,000 had certainly been reduced; but at present the mortality was as high as 70 per 1,000. There was no reason why that rate should continue, because he found that, through the judicious action of the Bengal authorities from the year 1768 down to the year 1876, the rate of mortality was as low as about 40 per 1,000, and it was only since 1877 that the frightful proportions to which he referred had been realized. The reason why he made this demand was that he had been accused of aiming his criticisms more directly against one single official. He desired to know who were responsible for the continued high rate of mortality in Bengal gaols, and what assurances they could get that that high mortality would be diminished?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he thought the Papers which had been presented would prove to the House that every effort was now being made to reduce the very high rate of mortality in the Bengal gaols. The subject was receiving the most careful attention of the Government of India. They acknowledged that the sanitary condition of the gaols was not what was desirable; but he thought the House might be satisfied with the assurance that there was no desire to allow the present rate of mortality to continue.

Resolution *agreed to.*

CATHEDRAL STATUTES BILL [*Lords*].

(*Mr. Beresford Hope.*)

[BILL 232.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. BERESFORD HOPE said, he had to move that this Bill be now read a second time. It might be in the recollection of the House that, three years ago, there was a debate in "another place" on the Statutes of the Cathedrals. It was found that the cathedrals were greatly hampered in their development, because there was no existing machinery by which their Statutes could be amended according to modern ideas and requirements. The Government of the day—the Government of Lord Beaconsfield—appointed a Royal Commission, at the head of which was the Archbishop of Canterbury, which had the peculiarity, in common with the University Commission, that there were in the case of each cathedral temporary members added in the persons of the Dean and a Canon. The Statutes, after being discussed and revised by the Commission, were sent to the Chapters, and, their advice being taken, the Statutes came back to the Commission; and, finally, after this minute sifting, anyone, if this Bill passed, could be heard who had anything to say respecting them. It was found that the machinery of proceeding by legislation, which was the only one which certainly existed for giving validity to the new Cathedral Statutes, was too cumbersome; so this Bill provided new and more simple machinery, in the shape of a Cathedral Committee of Council. It had been brought in "elsewhere" by the Archbishop of Canterbury on behalf of the Commission, and had passed after discussion, but without a division. Its opponents said that the promoters of the Bill were afraid of the full glare of public opinion; that they were afraid of bringing their schemes before Parliament. Let him assure the House that none of those criticisms were based upon fact. In a very few words he thought he could show that the machinery which was prposed by the Bill was one which bristled with opportunities of criticism. The Committee proposed by the Bill was based on the recognized relations of Church and State, and the Cathedral Statutes were not to pass that Committee till they had been duly and properly sifted by it. All men would have a right to claim a hearing. The Statutes were then to go before the high authorities who acted in the name of Her Majesty; and finally, after passing these two trials, the Statutes would have to be for 12 weeks on the Table of both Houses of Parliament. He thought the House would not hesitate to give the Bill a second reading.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Beresford Hope.*)

Mr. DILLWYN said, he did not think this was a proper time to discuss the Bill. The Bill was one of considerable importance. It was a Bill calculated to diminish the control of Parliament over cathedral establishments—cathedral establishments being National establishments of the country. He did not think that in the last days of Parliament they ought to take the second reading of a Bill of this character. There were, from both sides of the House, no less than six Amendments against the Bill. Four of the Amendments were directly against the principle of the Bill. One of them was to the effect that, so long as the Church of England continued to be established by law, it was not expedient to diminish the control of Parliament over the cathedral establishments, or to exclude, by Act of Parliament, any portion of Her Majesty's subjects from the exercise of their existing Constitutional rights in the government of the National Church. Another was that it was undesirable to give powers as proposed by this Bill until the final Report of the Royal Commission on Cathedral Churches, and the Evidence taken before them, should have been submitted to Parliament. He did not wish to move a direct negative; therefore, he would move that the debate be now adjourned.

Mr. MORGAN LLOYD seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Dillwyn.*)

The House *divided*:—Ayes 21; Noes 31: Majority 10.—(Div. List, No. 339.)

Question again proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Mr. MONK said, that, as the House desired to have a debate on the Bill, even at this late hour, he would be happy to indulge the right hon. Member for Cambridge University (Mr. Beresford Hope) with a few observations. The right hon. Gentleman had said little about the Bill itself. One of the Bishops in "another place" had designated this Bill as "a leap in the dark;" and he (Mr. Monk) was anxious, before they took this leap in the dark in this House, to consider some of the provisions of the Bill. It was proposed that a Committee should be appointed to consider such Cathedral Statutes as should be presented to them by the Royal Commission; and this Committee was to have the power of enacting the Statutes; and, when enacted, the Statutes, so altered and so re-arranged, were to have the force of law. That seemed to him to be a total change in the whole regulation of the cathedrals. If any change were to be made in the Statutes, it should be made by Parliament itself, and not committed to four Members of the Privy Council.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at half after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Wednesday, 16*th August*, 1882.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) *.

Second Reading — Fishery Board (Scotland) (264).

Second Reading — Committee negatived — India (Home Charges Arrears) * (256); Revenue, Friendly Societies, and National Debt * (257).

Report—Third Reading—Allotments * (259), and *passed.*

Third Reading—Turnpike Roads (South Wales)* (226); Corrupt Practices (Suspension of Elections) * (251); Passenger Vessels Licences (Scotland) * (252); Expiring Laws Continuance * (253); Public Works Loans * (254); Royal Irish Constabulary * (255); Prison Charities * (242), and *passed.*

FISHERY BOARD (SCOTLAND) BILL.

(*The Earl of Rosebery.*)

(No. 264.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY, in moving that the Bill be now read the second time, said: My Lords, if it be not passed this Session, the position of the Fishery Commissioners will be a very difficult one. The old Scotch Fishery Board has done good service; but since the resignation, some time in April, of the Secretary of the Board, who was practically the managing officer of the Board, there has been no regular fishery authority in Scotland. The arrangement of this Bill has caused considerable trouble to Her Majesty's Government, as it is well known there is no legislation so complicated or so dear to my native country as that connected with the fisheries. But at last the Bill has been got into shape, and it has been more than a month before the House of Commons. It has received the support of most of the influential bodies which had discussed the matter in Scotland. Being a Bill of a perfectly simple and straightforward nature, there is no reason why it should not receive your Lordships' approval. Indeed, I should not argue the case at all were it not for the exclamation which fell from the noble Earl (the Earl of Redesdale), who, it seems, has some objections to the Bill. The object of the Bill is simply this — to make a new Board, similar and more efficient, and give it the same powers as are enjoyed by the three Salmon Commissioners who at present exist under the authority of the Home Office in Scotland, and who had the right of inspection over a great branch of the fishing industry. The Bill proposes no new changes in the law. It is simply a Bill giving greater efficiency and greater scope, and I hope your Lordships will read it a second time.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Earl of Rosebery.*)

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES): My Lords, I must ask first where the Bill is? The Bill is not printed.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: The Bill has been printed a month.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES): I beg your pardon; not here.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: It has been in Parliament.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES): It was amended in the House of Commons. The Bill is not here, and this Bill, which the noble

Earl says has been before the House of Commons, was certainly introduced on the 18th of July, but it was not read a second time till the 11th of August, when all the Scotchmen had departed for the grouse shooting on the following day. That is what is called giving proper time for the consideration of this Bill. It was read a first time on the 18th of July; it was read a second time on the 11th of August; considered in Committee and reported on the 12th of August; and read a third time and passed on the 15th of August—that is, yesterday. That is the way in which this Bill has gone through the House of Commons. It is said the public know what is in this Bill.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: Hear, hear!

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITEEES): I deny that the public know what is in the Bill. There is no extension of power, it is said, in the Bill. The Bill, as introduced, gave the Fishery Board power to take cognizance of everything connected with the deep-sea fisheries, and to take such means for their improvement as they think fit, and giving them full controlling power over everything. But on the last page the following Amendment was introduced by the Lord Advocate:—"Without interfering with any existing public authority or private right." Private right is reserved with regard to the herring fishings. The Bill went on to say the Fishery Board shall have general superintendence of the salmon fisheries in Scotland without prejudice or interference with the powers of district boards. But not one word is said here about "private rights"—not one word about the powers of inspection given under the Bill to Commissioners which they do not possess at the present moment. I can assure the noble Lord that it is the case that persons deeply interested in the matter are utterly ignorant of the way the thing has been carried on, and they have the strongest possible objection to the Bill. If, therefore, the House persists in passing this Bill under these circumstances, they are doing that which is a gross act of interference with private rights, and with proper legislative duty. The noble Duke (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) imagined the Bill was dropped—that it was done with—when he went out of town.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: The noble Duke had no sufficient reason for that belief.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES): Had anybody a right to bring in a Bill interfering with private interests and read it a second time on the 11th of August without taking any steps from the 18th of July? Is this a fitting mode of legislation, when noble Lords not in town have received no notice whatever of the provisions of the Bill? I cannot tell what the noble Lord may be disposed to do with reference to the Bill; but I never recollect so gross a case as this, and I hope the noble Lord will not persevere with the second reading of the Bill.

EARL GRANVILLE: I have often had occasion to speak of the valuable services rendered by the noble Lord as Chairman of Committees. The noble Lord complains of legislation so late in the Session; but I am informed that this Bill does not change the law in any respect, and that if it does not pass it will create the greatest possible confusion. That being the case, I hope the noble Lord will not oppose the second reading. The Bill has been printed in the House of Commons for a whole month, and noble Lords interested in shooting and fishing in Scotland must have been aware of the nature of the Bill.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES): The Members of the House of Commons who left town thought that the Bill was not to be gone on with—that it had come to an end—that it was dead. The noble Lord (Lord Sudeley) moved an Amendment on the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill not to retain the old Commissioners. Up to this time it was intended to retain them. Is that a proper mode of dealing with questions of this sort?

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: I cannot help expressing surprise that my noble Friend should not have opened this matter when the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill was before your Lordships, and when the Motion was made by the noble Lord (Lord Sudeley). I did not see my noble Friend get up then and explain his objection.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES): I did express an objection; but there was no Notice of any Amendment to the Bill. [*Cries of* "Order!"]

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: I think my noble Friend knew what was going on.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES): No, I did not.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: How was it, then, that he was aware it had been done?

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES): Because I heard the noble Lord move it.

EARL GRANVILLE: I rise to Order. The noble Lord has no more right to break through the Rules of the House in this way than any other Peer, especially when the noble Lord on the Woolsack is addressing the House.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: If my noble Friend did hear the Amendment put from the Bench opposite, and if he was going to object to the passage of this Bill, which, if not passed, would make it necessary to continue that Act in the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill, I am a little surprised that my noble Friend did not at that moment, when he heard the Amendment moved, rise and make his protest in sufficient time to cause the Act which provided for this subject to remain in the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill. I do not even now know in what manner my noble Friend explains his silence on that occasion if he thought it necessary to object to this Bill. There was one thing which my noble Friend said, which I cannot help thinking would be of very great importance if there were anything substantial in it—that private rights were interfered with. I want to know how private rights are prejudiced by this Bill? My noble Friend failed to show that there were any powers which would interfere in any manner with private rights. My noble Friend did not point out that there were any such powers. He said there were larger powers of superintendence; but he did not refer to any words to show that private rights would be interfered with by these powers.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES): I say that private rights are interfered with in this manner, that the powers given under the Salmon Fishery Act only extended to the sea fishings, and did not come inland. But I have a statement from the Commissioner of the noble Duke's (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon's) fishings that under the Bill there would be an interference with the salmon fishings which never existed before. The best evidence of the Bill's interference with private rights is that in the other House, at the last moment, an Amendment was introduced by the Lord Advocate, which showed that they had carried the Bill further than was desirable in that direction. Why, in the case of the sea fisheries, should there be a provision against the infringement of private rights, while it was omitted in respect to the inland fisheries? The noble Lord says—"Why did I not introduce an Amendment on the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill?" I was not aware that the Salmon Fisheries (Scotland) Act was one of the Acts in that Bill to be continued. But when the noble Lord read out his Amendment, I said you had better be aware what you are going to do. I say this is a mockery of legislation. This House is treated in a manner that it is impossible to have any responsibility in regard to legislation if matters are to be carried on in this way.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: I do not wish to treat with disrespect any words which have fallen from so eminent an authority as the noble Earl. There is, no doubt, great inconvenience in the circumstances, that at this time of the Session measures are apt to come before the House when the House is in a somewhat attenuated condition. But I venture to say there is a precedent for legislation of a much more important character than this being hurried through at the end of an expiring Session. A law affecting private rights in a most eminent degree was passed by the late Government in the last Session of the last Parliament—I mean the Hypothec Abolition Bill. That was a Scotch Bill, which had a great effect on private rights. It was meant, if I am not mistaken—at least it was stated at the time—not to have an unfavourable influence on the elections. That Bill did create great animadversion in Scotland, and it would be a precedent for much more important legislation than this being carried through in the last week of the Session. As regards the question of private rights, the point is a very simple one. There is nothing in the 2nd sub-section of the 5th clause that affects the private rights contained in the Fishery Act of 1862. The reason why the reservation of private rights was put in as regards the deep-sea fishings was that the words seemed more novel and sweeping than in the previous Act. Every change that the noble Lord mentioned in the course of the Bill was a change of limitation and not extension. There is no extension of power worth speaking about given to the Board under the Bill. It gives the Board the power possessed by the Inspector of the Home Office, who will now be a Scotch Inspector under the Scotch Board, which the people of Scotland prefer. As regards the course of legislation, I will say just one word as to what passed in the House of Commons. It is quite true that there is a certain amount of scandal connected with this legislation. There was a Fishery Board (Scotland) Bill before the House of Commons which affected no part of England — England being so jealously excluded that the Tweed was exempted from the Bill because 12 miles of it were in England. Here was a Bill solely and purely Scotch. Why did it remain in an incomplete condition for a month? Because it was blocked by the county Member for Sussex, doubtless interested in the industry of agriculture in Sussex, but having no claim to interfere with a Bill which affected the people of Scotland. If there is any scandal connected with the Bill, it appears to me it was in the blocking of the measure by the county Member for Sussex.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES): I would simply say, with regard to one observation of the noble Lord with reference to the Tweed and its tributaries, that it comes under the Deep Sea Fisheries Act.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: That is struck out.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES): Yes, at the last moment.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: That is another advantageous change.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES): Would the noble Lord have any objection to add the words "or private rights," as he said private rights are not interfered with?

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: I shall have great objection, and for this reason, that it will accomplish the object which the noble Lord wishes—the preventing the passing of this Bill. There is no chance of passing the Bill if this Amendment is accepted. The Bill does not touch private rights.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: Although I have no right to speak again, I am quite sure that the Bill will not affect private rights, in consequence of the operation of any of the words to which the noble Lord has referred.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES): With reference to the passing of the Bill to which the noble Earl referred—the Hypothec Bill—I beg to say that I gave strong opposition to its being pushed through at the end of the Session.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: As this has been practically a Committee stage of the Bill, I beg to move that it be now committed.

Moved, "That the Bill be committed."—(*The Earl of Rosebery.*)

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES): I must say I am surprised at the course proposed by the noble Lord. We are not even to have the power of amending the Bill in Committee.

EARL GRANVILLE: As the noble Earl objects, I think it right not to press this proposal. We will take Committee to-morrow.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES): How can we go into Committee on this Bill? It is not on the Table, and it is simply a monstrous thing.

On Question? *Resolved* in the *affirmative;* Bill *committed* accordingly to a Committee of the Whole House *To-morrow;* and Standing Order No. XXXV. to be considered in order to its being dispensed with.

House adjourned during pleasure.

House resumed by The Lord MONSON.

House adjourned at a quarter before
Five o'clock, till To-morrow,
Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 16*th August*, 1882.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Imprisonment for Contumacy [208] [House counted out].

Third Reading—Consolidated Fund (Appropriation), and *passed.*

PROVISIONAL ORDERS AND CERTIFICATES.

Ordered, That Standing Order 39 be suspended, and that the time for depositing duplicates of any Documents relating to any Bill to confirm any Provisional Order, or Provisional Certificate, be extended to Tuesday 24th October.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

MOTION.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. GLADSTONE moved, "That the Standing Orders of the House respecting Wednesdays' Sittings be suspended this day." The right hon. Gentleman explained that the object was to provide against the possibility—he hoped there was no likelihood—of any accidental prolongation of the Sitting after 6 o'clock. He also mentioned that the Government proposed that the House should meet to-morrow at 2 o'clock.

Motion *agreed to.*

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

(*Mr. Lyon Playfair, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Courtney.*)

THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. Lyon Playfair.*)

EGYPTIAN BUDGET—POLICY OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT.

RESOLUTION.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON rose to move—

> "That this House, before sanctioning the Appropriation of Supplies for the year, requests an assurance from Her Majesty's Government that they will take immediate steps to ascertain from the 'de facto' Egyptian Military Authorities, whether they will lay down their arms on being guaranteed the right of voting their own Budget, which they demanded last January."

The hon. Gentleman said, he might be told that it was now too late to interfere with the policy of Government in regard to Egypt; but it was never too late to discuss a policy of which they did not approve. Only on Friday last, Lord Kimberley said, regarding a policy which had been reversed, that it was a misfortune that a policy should be reversed, but it would be a greater misfortune not to reverse a policy which had been discovered to be wrong. That was his excuse for bringing forward this Amendment. He thought if he could not induce the Government to reverse their policy, he could, at all events, point out a way by which they might at least save the lives of their soldiers. They were now engaged in what everyone admitted to be a very important military expedition, and which might prove to be a very expensive one. He wanted to know what they had to do with Egypt? If they were to ask 100 different people whom they happened to meet this question, they would get 100 different answers. When the Vote of Credit was proposed, he had an opportunity of voting against the Government on the subject; but now he only wanted to see whether anything could be done in the future to improve matters. The right hon. Gentleman before the war began explained in a sentence the reasons why they interfered, and said that the object of this country was the maintenance of all established rights in Egypt—whether those of the Sultan, the Khedive, the people of Egypt, or the foreign bondholders — and that the provision of guarantees for those rights was the policy by which the Government was directed. Well, now, it could hardly be said that they were fighting for the Sultan, because it appeared that the great object of the Government, at present, was to keep the Sultan out of Egypt, or to prevent him doing that which he wished to do. A sort of Navarino was again threatened. The Prime Minister had said that they were not making war against the people of Egypt, but that the Government were determined to put down those who were the oppressors of the people of Egypt.

He confessed that a declaration of that kind caused him to entertain some suspicion, for similar statements were made in the case of the Zulu War, when it was said that they were fighting with Cetewayo, and not with his people; and in the case of the Afghan War, when it was also said that they were fighting with Shere Ali, and not with the people of the country. He should like to know, if they were really fighting to prevent the oppression of the Egyptian people, why they were so especially interested in Egypt? He supposed the people of Russia suffered under oppression, and certainly the Turkish people suffered under great oppression. He thought it was possible that the people of Egypt thought that they were less likely to be oppressed under what was called the National Party, against which we were fighting, than under Europeans. He did not propose to defend Arabi Pasha —he supposed it would be something like high treason to do so; but it must be remembered that he had no special correspondent to write home and say what he had done and not done. The special correspondents were all in our interest, and gave us only our side of the question. Although he would not defend Arabi, he would say that Arabi ought not to be attacked without good grounds. Even the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who was usually very courteous, insinuated that Arabi Pasha had been party to the Alexandria riot.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Hear, hear!

Sir WILFRID LAWSON: Well, he had not got evidence of that then.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: I promised that Papers on the subject would be laid before Parliament, and they are preparing at this moment.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON: Exactly. The Under Secretary of State made the statement before he had the Papers. It was not the rule of the House for a Minister to refer to Papers unless the documents were before him on the Table. ["Oh, oh!"] He believed that was the custom, if not the rule. It was stated, in order to damage the cause of Arabi, that he had threatened to kill the Khedive. When the bombardment took place, they had a Report from the Admiral, and not a word of that was mentioned. It was said that he set free the convicts to put the town on fire. There was not a word of evidence of that. The Prime Minister had said that there was not a rag or shred of evidence to prove that the Military Party in Egypt was a National Party. But the correspondent of *The Daily Telegraph*, who was not at all likely to be in favour of Arabi, said that he found that Arabi's party was "actually the entire nation." The Cairo meeting, where all the principal people of that part of the world backed him up, certainly seemed to show that he was representing the National feeling. He knew the answer to this—"Oh! those people only held that meeting with a pistol at their head." Very likely; but that was their own pistol. The Army was their own, and it was representative of the people to a large extent. If there was not a rag or shred of evidence to show that Arabi represented the people, he thought, with all respect, that neither was there a rag or shred of evidence to show that the Khedive represented the people any more than Arabi did. Coming now to the bondholders, he could not help thinking that there would have been no war in Egypt if there had been no bondholders; and that brought him to the backbone of his case, if there was any backbone in it. How, he asked, did the present complications really arise? The National Party desired to vote those parts of the Budget which were unassigned to the payment of Foreign Debt. It was thought by some people that if they were allowed to do so the payment of that part of the Budget which was assigned to the payment of the Debt would be rendered uncertain, and accordingly our authorities determined that the Egyptian people should not be allowed to vote their own Budget. To prove that he had correctly stated the case he would refer to one or two official documents. On January 11, 1882, Sir Edward Malet wrote to Earl Granville—

> "It must be borne in mind that the Egyptians have distinctly, for good or for evil, entered on a Constitutional path: that the Organic Law of the Chamber is their charter of liberties. . . . The Chamber exists, and will continue to do so unless it is forcibly suppressed, which can only be done by intervention; and this is a last resource."

On January 20 he again wrote—

> "Armed intervention will become a necessity if we adhere to the refusal to allow the Budget to be voted by the Chamber, and we cannot do

otherwise, as it forms only part of a complete scheme of revolution. . . . . I think that the Chamber would listen to reason if the Great Powers were to refuse to consent to the transfer of power to the Chamber, but to state that, while otherwise maintaining the *status quo*, they will guarantee a Constitution compatible with international engagements, and will take steps to come to an agreement on the subject. I think that this is the only way out of a situation which is rapidly leading both us and the Egyptians to extremities."

On January 16 Sir Edward Malet wrote—

"I said to the President of the Chambers yesterday that the demand of the Chamber to vote the Budget infringes international engagements, &c. He asked me to endeavour to find a compromise, but I did not give him encouragement."

Sir Edward Malet added—

"Sultan Pasha requested that I would use my good offices with Cherif Pasha to bring about a compromise; but I gave him no encouragement that a compromise would be possible. I pointed out to him (Sultan Pasha) that if, as I foresaw would be the case, Cherif Pasha refused to accede to the demands of the Chamber, the only way of obtaining compliance with these demands would be by force, and the consequence of resorting to such means had been clearly stated by the Governments of England and France."

On February 6 the Controllers wrote—

"The fact must not be lost sight of that Cherif Pasha's Ministry fell only because it would not disregard the opposition of the English and French Governments to the pretension put forward by the Chamber to vote the Budget."

He contended that the despatches from which he had quoted amply proved that our refusal to allow the Egyptian Chamber to vote their own Budget was the commencement of the troubles in which we were now involved. He disputed that there was any international engagement with Egypt, although there was one between the Powers themselves; but even supposing there was an international engagement with Egypt, surely international engagements were not to be eternal if they were wrong. Surely they could take steps for breaking off these engagements. Surely, if there was an international engagement to prevent the Egyptian people having powers of self-government, it would have been right to have got rid of that engagement, and not gone against the freedom of self-government of the Egyptian people. The Prime Minister, during his long and brilliant career, had distinguished himself perhaps more than in any other way by his sympathy with oppressed nationalities, and for freedom, autonomy, and self-government for suffering races. That was probably the reason why, at this moment, he was the most popular Minister that the country had ever seen. Why, therefore, should these oppressed Egyptians be an exception to the general rule? Why should they carry all the horrors of war amongst them because they did not want them to govern their country in the way that they desired to govern it? It appeared to him that they were fighting, not to prevent the oppression of a peaceful and orderly people, but to promote the interests of those who, as Mr. Stephen Cave expressed it, lived there with no idea but to get what they could out of the general plunder. He appealed to the Prime Minister to give any other reason why they were there. We were engaging in a struggle most unworthy of a great, powerful, and free nation. Hon. Members to-morrow or the next day would leave that House and return to their homes. What news would be awaiting them? From day to day they would be expecting some horrible news of how many hundreds of our soldiers, and probably thousands of Egyptians, had been slain. Could any Englishman read these accounts with any pride or satisfaction? He thought not. All he asked was that an attempt should be made on the part of Her Majesty's Government to avert the carnage and bloodshed which now seemed imminent. If the military authorities in Egypt declined to lay down their arms on the conditions he suggested, the cause of Her Majesty's Government would be not weakened, but strengthened, by those people having in effect declared themselves to be mere self-seeking military adventurers. If, on the other hand, they should lay down their arms, there would be an end to all this trouble and expense, and an escape from all the sorrow and suffering which such a war must involve. The Prime Minister, in Mid Lothian, said—

"A long experience of life leads me to a deeper and deeper conviction of the enormous mischief of war, even in the best and most favourable circumstances, and of the mischief, indescribable and unredeemable, of causeless and unnecessary war."

He thought this war was a manifest violation of International and Foreign

Law. It was, in plain English, a sin against God and man; and it was because he believed so that he had ventured to make this protest, even at the eleventh hour, against proceeding in a cause utterly opposed to the peace, the honour, and the true interests of this country. The hon. Baronet concluded by moving his Resolution.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he desired to second the appeal made by his hon. Friend. He would not say whether he agreed or did not agree with his hon. Friend in the opinions he had expressed as to the past; but he did wish to express his strong hope that Her Majesty's Government might see their way to some equitable compromise in this matter before embarking in the great bloodshed which he was afraid must take place. He thought the appeal of his hon. Friend must go to the heart and kind feelings of the Prime Minister. Not only had they almost a certainty of considerable bloodshed, but a very great risk for the future. It had seemed to be the necessity of the case that they must in this matter co-operate with the Turkish Government, and that Government might not only break faith, but it was their interest to do so. They had the risk also of very great complications with the Arab population, not only the comparatively mild Arab population in Egypt, but the much more warlike Arab population in Syria and Arabia. They were assured that at this moment the European Powers were very friendly to them; but he had very great doubts if they got into serious troubles they would find any of those Powers very ready to assist them, and here again they ran enormous political risks. Then there was the question of cost and taxation involved in this country. He thought that the Secretary of State for War was somewhat rash when he said, in the very decided manner which he did the other night, that England was to pay four-fifths of the cost, and the Indian Expedition was to cost only one-fifth of the whole. The Prime Minister had had a good deal of experience of the false Estimates of war expenditure made by other people, and he only trusted that the right hon. Gentleman would not find difficulties of that kind himself. The great confidence of the country in the Prime Minister was shown by the way in which the increase of Income Tax was accepted by the country. If the Estimates were very largely exceeded, if the cost was somewhat on the scale of the Abyssinian Expedition, and if the financial lash had to be laid on a good deal heavier, still he was not quite sure that the country would bear it, even at the hands of the right hon. Gentleman. Therefore, from a financial point of view, he thought it was very desirable that this question should be settled, if it was possible to do so. It seemed to him that they would be surrounded with dangers after they had conquered the Egyptians. The right hon. Gentleman had pledged himself that other nations were to share with us in the result of the conquest. He (Sir George Campbell) had no doubt the result would be shared with others. But this would happen—while we shared the result of the conquest with other nations we should continue to be the most hated people in Egypt, and instead of our influence being predominant there, France and the other Europeans would be comparatively popular. Her Majesty's Government were in a manner pledged to provide enormous compensation for the burning of Alexandria. They had requested the people of Alexandria to register their claims for compensation, and no doubt they would register a pretty heavy figure. The Turks also would have to be provided with compensation for their expedition. He did not know where the money was to come from, unless, as Lord Salisbury had suggested, from the bondholders. They must either put an additional screw on the unfortunate people they were fighting with, or get it out of the bondholders. The latter seemed to him the more equitable process; but he doubted whether it was one that could be followed. Unless the Egyptian people agreed to the settlement we might make, it seemed to him that we should then have to maintain a settlement by force. There really was a strong feeling in Egypt against what had been called European domination. He agreed with the statement that these Egyptian troops were not Prætorian Guards, but were fellaheen turned into soldiers. What could have been more scandalous than to turn off the Egyptian soldiers without their pay? That was done on account of the claims of the bondholders. As to the position of the Military Party, he would read some passages from a remarkable letter written by Sir Edward Malet. It was dated the 15th of June, 1882, and was to be found in No. 11 of the printed Correspondence. That letter was written four days after the so-called Massacre of Alexandria. Sir Edward Malet said—

> "The situation here is so strained that it is absolutely necessary that something should be done. . . . In this state of things I have ventured to suggest to the Khedive this morning that His Highness should convoke the Chamber of Notables, and ask for an expression of the wishes of the country, with the view of laying them before the Conference. The Chamber would probably in that case submit a draft Constitution to the Khedive; and I think that the prospect of attaining a Constitution would bring about a union between the Notables and the Military Party, and at the same time lead to an apparent reconciliation with the Khedive. While the Constitution is being considered by the Conference all would be quiet; and, considering the extreme complexity of the situation, some such rallying-point as a Constitution would be of great service. The watchwords of the Military Chiefs are 'patriotism' and 'law;' and although they do not seem to understand the real meaning of these words, I believe that they might be induced to retire if a Constitution were granted by the Khedive. His Highness was not unfavourable to the idea; but it could not be carried out until the Conference has been formally convened."

It was undoubtedly the fact that the Government summarily suppressed that proposal by Sir Edward Malet. [Mr. GLADSTONE dissented.] He had read the Papers very carefully, and to the best of his belief, though at the present moment he was unable to put his finger on the passage, the Government did suppress Sir Edward Malet's proposal. That proposal was exactly what the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle and he himself wished to submit to the Government; and he hoped the Government would take into consideration the opinion of Sir Edward Malet that if the Chamber of Notables were convoked and a Constitution proposed peace and quiet might be established. The letter he had referred to was, the House would observe, after and not before the 11th of June. The matter was, therefore, one worthy of the consideration of the Government. He had felt regret at the tone of the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in doing all that was possible—if he might so express it—to blacken the character of Arabi, and the Egyptian leaders, and make it impossible that we should come to terms with them. It was very unfortunate that so many weeks had been allowed to pass without the production of the evidence, which the hon. Gentleman had promised, of Arabi's complicity in the massacre, for now the House would have no opportunity of discussing it. That evidence must be of the strangest character, for it was in direct contradiction to the evidence that already lay before the House in the official statements made at the time and several days afterwards. The Government had refused to take part in an international inquiry into the matter, and the evidence must be, in the nature of things, one-sided in its character. But he begged to warn the Government against the acceptance of all the statements that might be laid before them. From his past experience, during the Indian Mutiny, he knew what wonderful stories could be promulgated by Europeans—stories related, no doubt, in perfect good faith, but really the offspring of a heated imagination. He was very apprehensive that the Foreign Secretary might be led to believe the one-sided stories of European residents in Egypt. If ever there was a race struggle, this was one. It was a question between European dominators and those who professed to represent the Egyptian people, and, at all events, did represent the mass of the Egyptian people; and, therefore, he hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would be careful before he accepted the stories that might come under his notice. It had been said that Tewfik was inclined to favour the pretensions of Arabi and his followers; but, at the present moment, he did not think that Tewfik was a friend of Arabi, and that was because the higher classes in Egypt were friendly to Arabi. As to the practical question whether the Government should act on the suggestion made by the hon. Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), it seemed to him that one reason which it might be quite proper to do so was that Tewfik might not be indisposed to accept an arrangement of that kind. He believed Tewfik to be a very sensible person, for he understood he had been brought up by a Scotch nurse. He had reason to believe that he would make a good Constitutional Sovereign, and that if left alone he would come to terms with Arabi; but he was afraid that at present he was too much under the influence of the English Government to do so. It was a great mistake on his part to have received the Circassian officers back again. Nothing had been more irritating than the return of the officers, for the insurrection in Egypt was in reality a rising of the people against the domination of the Turks. Then it was stated in that morning's paper that Nubar Pasha was coming back again. That would be a great misfortune. The fact was that the Khedive took a most suicidal step in agreeing to the International Tribunals. When Nubar Pasha's return was originally proposed, Tewfik at first resolutely refused to have him back. He hoped the Government would not lend their influence in favour of his return. He would rather have refrained from trespassing on the indulgence of the House in regard to this matter; but now that an appeal had been made to the Government in regard to the future, he thought he should fall short of his duty if he did not express his concurrence in the views which had been so ably expressed by his hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle. With the assistance of his hon. Friend, he was now able to substantiate the statement he made just now, to the effect that the Government had summarily suppressed Sir Edward Malet's proposal that the Chamber of Notables should be convoked, for it appeared from No. 11 of the Correspondence on Egypt that Earl Granville, on the 16th of June, replied to Sir Edward Malet as follows:—

> "I have instructed you to abstain from recommending the convocation of the Chamber in the present conjuncture."

[Mr. Gladstone: Hear, hear!] All that he and his hon. Friend submitted was that the Government should reconsider their determination, and follow out the plan suggested by Sir Edward Malet in his letter of the 15th of June last.

Amendment proposed,

> To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House, before sanctioning the Appropriation of the Supplies for the year, requests an assurance from Her Majesty's Government that they will take immediate steps to ascertain from the 'de facto' Egyptian Military Authorities, whether they will lay down their arms on being guaranteed the right of voting their own Budget, which they demanded last January,"—(*Sir Wilfrid Lawson,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, when I saw on the Paper the Notice given by my hon. Friend, I was under the impression that a very limited reference was about to be made to me, as defined by that Notice. There was in it no indication given at all of a disposition to go over the Egyptian Question generally; and, considering that a few weeks ago we had a regular, full, and formal debate, which lasted for four nights; and considering that, since that time and before that time, the question has been repeatedly raised on several occasions, I was in hopes that it was the intention of my hon. Friend to confine the present discussion to the Notice which had been put upon the Paper; because, Sir, I cannot say that these discussions are, in my opinion, advantageous. It is eminently to be desired that, when the Egyptian Question is to be discussed, it should be discussed fully. Now, the points opened by my hon. Friend are points which, to be dealt with fully, would require a reply of several hours, and for the House to discuss them, would require several days. My hon. Friend who moved this Motion went back freely upon the past, and raised the whole question of the causes and circumstances of the war. My hon. Friend who seconded the Motion began by assuring us that, as the Mover had gone back upon the past, he should not do so, and consequently he entered upon a full and very free and large speculation as to the future; but when he had traversed the whole of the field to his heart's content, he found that the past likewise was so tempting that he could not but forget the positive pledge he had given at the commencement of his speech, and he also went back, not upon a full and comprehensive discussion of the past, but into a selection of points upon which he greatly dwelt, and from which he drew his conclusions. Now, Sir, I wish just to point out to the House what I consider the uselessness of these discussions when they are not thorough. My hon. Friend the Seconder of the Motion has found a very strong support, as he thinks, for his view of the case, in showing that these military gentlemen in Egypt, with Arabi at their head, are, after all, the most reasonable people in the world; that they have nothing in view but Constitutional freedom; that their resort to arms has been the result of an extreme necessity to resist a foreign oppression, for, says he, so late as the 15th of June, when Sir Edward Malet, whom we were bound to consult —and, Sir, in that, at any rate, I concur —strongly recommended to us the convocation of the Chamber of Notables, with a view to lay a Constitution before them, we, instead of giving any encouragement to that view of our own confidential Representative, met it with a summary suppression. That is the statement of my hon. Friend. Now, I am not able to give—I could not, Sir, without detaining the House for hours—go over the multitude of points that have been opened; but I will just take one or two, and I will take this one to begin with, in order to show what is the value of those partial and arbitrary references, even when they come from Gentlemen so competent as my two hon. Friends the Mover and the Seconder of this Motion. Here is the despatch of Sir Edward Malet, dated the 15th of June, in which he expresses his desire that there could be a convocation of the Chamber of Notables, and a submission to them of a Constitution, which, he says, he had ventured to suggest to the Khedive; and how does he end this very despatch with regard to which my hon. Friend says we summarily suppressed the proposition that was made? He ends it, Sir, in these words—"His Highness was not unfavourable to the idea." Then he adds words of his own—"But it could not be carried out until the Conference had been formally convened." Well, Sir, if Sir Edward Malet himself said it could not be carried out until the Conference had been formally convened, why is it necessary to say that it was summarily suppressed by us? My hon. Friend has not the slightest shadow of evidence in support of that contention. Does my hon. Friend remember that at this very time, as the best security for the peaceful settlement of the affairs of Egypt, we had invited a reference to a Conference; that the Conference at this moment was about to meet; that it was impossible to exclude from the purview of the Conference the question of the Constitution; and now I ask my hon. Friend, could there have been anything more absurd or preposterous than if Lord Granville, writing to-day to urge the assembling of the Conference in order to consider the condition of Egypt, and the political necessities of Egypt, had on the next day invited the Khedive to convoke the Chamber of Notables, and to refer to them the question of a Constitution? Of course Lord Granville, concurring in the view of the Khedive, observed to Sir Edward Malet, in his reply, that it would be impossible to open at that time and in that place the question of a Constitution, which would form the main and most important subject of the deliberations of the Conference. Sir, I would beg, therefore, to observe to my hon. Friend that even in his case the reference which he made could lead to nothing but an inference entirely false and baseless. This proceeding was on the 15th of June. On the 23rd of June the Conference met, and even that was a postponement, for it was on the 20th of June they were expected to meet, at the time when Earl Granville said to Sir Edward Malet—

> "Of course, you must not think of opening in Egypt at this moment for practical discussion the question which is to be dealt with by the Conference in the course of a few days."

That is one point; and I will take another. My hon. Friend who made this Motion began by saying he was anxious to know what were the objects for which we had gone to Egypt; and so, in order to find out these objects—it being a favourite purpose for him to show that we went to war in the interests of the bondholders—he quoted a speech of mine, of which I do not think he mentioned the exact date, but which I believe was made several months ago; and he said that I described the purposes we had in view, including among them the satisfaction of the claims of the bondholders. [Sir WILFRID LAWSON: It was on the 16th of June.] I have no doubt that, so long as there were negotiations of a diplomatic character to be carried on by pen with the Chamber, the interests of the bondholders were a subsidiary and secondary part, but undoubtedly were included in those purposes. And why? Because the interests of the bondholders happened to be, in this particular case, a part of the arrangements sanctioned by International Law, and the maintenance of international obligations affecting Egypt has been all along a necessary and essential part of our policy. Well, Sir, that is the way in which the interests of the bondholders stand related to the policy of Her Majesty's Government. With them, as such, we have no more to do than we have in the case of any other bondholders; but we had more to do with them in this particular case; because, as has been conclusively shown by my hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on a former occasion, the law of liquidation under which the bondholders are secured in the receipt of all the composition for their original claims is a law of liquidation established under the highest and the widest international sanction, which we have no right, even if we had any disposition, to overlook; and even if we had any disposition to overlook it we have no power. No military operation and no diplomatic action of England in Egypt can have the smallest effect upon the Turkish bondholders under that law of liquidation, sanctioned by so many of the Powers of Europe. Therefore, Sir, I do not think it is necessary for me to refer to the multitude of other points, incidental and collateral, that have been raised by my two hon. Friends in regard to the bondholders and in regard to summary suppression; but I enter a general protest against hasty conclusions to be drawn from partial references and partial discussions of this kind, in which it is impossible to enter thoroughly upon the whole matter, and to go to the root of it. My hon. Friend the Mover of the Motion made a proposition which was, I admit, in the nature of a general introduction to the Notice he has given, and which was a matter of the greatest importance. He says—Go now and ask the Military Party, ask certain persons—I will comment on his description of them presently—whether, if you are ready to give to the Egyptian people the right to vote their own Budget, they will lay down their arms? And in order to supply a warrant for that recommendation he goes back upon the past, and attempts to show that the supposed refusal by Her Majesty's Government of the demands of certain parties in Egypt to vote the Egyptian Budget has been the cause and the root of all the present troubles. That is mainly the intention of my hon. Friend. Now, I do not think that my hon. Friend takes into view the whole elements of the case; and, that being so, he is naturally, as it appears to me, involved in grave and fundamental error when he comes to his conclusion. The demand was made, no doubt, by the Chamber of Notables to vote the Egyptian Budget. There the right to vote implies a right to withhold the vote, and the right to withhold the vote implies a right to withhold the fulfilment of international engagements. [Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL: No.] The original demand and the demand refused was a demand to vote the Egyptian Budget. Now, Sir, it was impossible for us to be parties to a demand or to accede to a demand of that kind, which would have involved us in a responsibility for that very thing which we were bound to avoid—namely, any disparagement of the existing international engagements respecting Egypt. It is true also that Sir Edward Malet declared that he was not prepared to enter upon the suggestion of a compromise, and that would seem to me to be the most formidable part of the proposition of my hon. Friend; and why was he not prepared to enter on the suggestion? The hon. Members have spoken as if, in this great and complicated case, we had been acting all along upon our own responsibility and power alone, and they have kept out of view the fact that at every step we were bound to another party — the Government of France— and that all along our option lay between either coming to an arrangement with the Government of France or quarrelling with France. You cannot put on the Government the responsibility of sole action where it is bound to joint action. It was bound to joint action—[Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL: The Controllers.] —the withdrawing of the Control was at a later period than that of which I am speaking, and it was not a question of the Controllers alone. In this House, in presence of the Leaders of the Opposition, I stated that they knew perfectly well that we were bound—I use the word advisedly—to a political co-operation with France in Egypt, and, consequently, we were bound to enter into common counsels with France; and if France was not prepared to suggest a compromise about the Chamber of Notables and the voting of the Budget, I ask, how could we do it? How was it possible for us to do it? It was not possible except at the risk of a rupture with France. [Mr. O'DONNELL: Hear, hear!] The hon. Gentleman the Member for Dungarvan, who, of course, is ready with his interruption on every occasion, I suppose would have been perfectly ready to say that at any moment—it was a matter of no consequence at all — there might be a resolution adopted to break with France on the ground of Egypt. That may be the policy of the hon. Gentleman; it was a policy we were determined to avoid, and we were determined to avoid it because, in our opinion, of all the dangers that overhung this question, the most serious would have been a rupture with the other Great Power we were bound to act and co-operate with. Had we been so rash as to act upon the views of the hon. Gentleman opposite, I believe that, instead of standing as we do now, being, in a certain sense the Ministers of European Law to establish right and order in Egypt, with the goodwill of all Europe, you would have seen Europe itself in conflict with itself, and the Powers of Europe divided, and, possibly, a quarrel arising which would have been by no means limited to the geographical confines of Egypt. If that were so, then my hon. Friend must bear in mind that, just as we could not follow our own views without qualification in regard to the Sultan of Turkey, it was just as true that we could not follow our own views without limitation in regard to the people of Egypt and the Chamber of Notables, in consequence of the engagements in which we found ourselves—engagements of which my hon. Friends are not fully and absolutely cognizant—engagements which bound us to the Government of France, and bound us to pursue a course in common with France. I only have stated thus much in order to bring me back to this point—that the Government of France and the Government of England having conducted a long and complicated negotiation in common—having by no means held exactly the same views at every point—did, nevertheless, happily arrive, as matters approached a crisis, at a great unity of view. As it appeared to us, the conciliatory spirit on the part of the French Government—answering to a conciliatory spirit which we had previously endeavoured to show—induced them so far to concur in our general view as to the management of the question, that even when we reached the point at which France was not prepared, from a regard to the state of public feeling in the country, to accompany us in active measures, yet, notwithstanding, as it were, parted company in perfect and absolute goodwill, and with a harmony of feeling entirely unbroken. That was, in our opinion, the avoidance of the greatest of all the dangers that hung around the subject. For obtaining that advantage, no doubt we had a price to pay, and the price was the necessity—founded on honourable, and not upon unworthy motives—of considering the wishes and ideas of the other partner in the partnership in which we found ourselves involved. So I think I may now come to the question immediately raised by the Motion of my hon. Friend, and on that I shall only refer to two points. The first is this. My hon. Friend asks for assurances that we shall ascertain from the *de facto* Egyptian military authorities whether they will lay down their arms on being guaranteed the right of voting their own Budget, which they demanded last January. This short Motion is, in my opinion, if I may say so without disrespect, characterized in a notable degree by a confusion of ideas if not of language. It seems it was the *de facto* military authorities who demanded last January to be granted the voting of their own Budget. This gives a new form to the question. I thought the demand to vote the Budget was a demand on the part of the Chamber of Notables; that the Chamber of Notables had refused to act with Arabi and the "*de facto* military authorities;" and that, upon their refusing to act with them, these men determined to act without them, and place themselves in opposition alike to the Chamber of Notables and their lawful Ruler, the Khedive. Well, Sir, but who are these *de facto* military authorities? Now, I affirm that there are no *de facto* military authorities at all in Egypt. There are persons in possession of military power; but that they are authorities in Egypt I entirely deny. When we speak of authorities in a country, we mean those possessed of some title in the nature of right—at any rate, some colourable right, some partial right. Men may have disputed in the time of the Great Rebellion in England whether they were right to serve the King at York or the King at Oxford, or whether they were right to serve the King in this House. These were colourable authorities on both sides, and there was a conflict between the two. But here there is no such conflict. If there ever was a pure rebellion in the world, it is that which now prevails in Egypt. But it is a rebellion having certain peculiar characteristics. One of them is, that it is a rebellion of a military class. I admit that it is supported by a certain element of strength in the religious fanaticism of the professional clergy, so to call them, of that country; and I admit also that it is supported by the influence and power of what may be called something of the old land-holding class, who were responsible for all the old oppressions, abuses, and cruelties in Egypt. But it is a rebellion nevertheless. A rebellion is a rising of unlawful powers against a lawful Government. The Government of the Khedive is a lawful Government, if there is one in the world. It derives its sanction from the Sultan, and is a Government to be exercised under certain rules. The Khedive has conformed to these rules. So far as I know, no Ruler has ever more faithfully, honourably, and punctually performed his obligations to the law and the people of his country than the Khedive has, and it is against him that Arabi and his friends are in arms. Perhaps the hon. Member may come back upon me and charge me with a little inconsistency in the phrase I have used. I did speak, I believe, of the *de facto* authorities in Egypt. But that was at a time preceding the bombardment. Then I spoke correctly, because at that time the Khedive was in the possession of those persons of whom I have just spoken, and gave colour to their acts. They were the *de facto* Government of Egypt at the time of the bombardment, responsible for the state and condition of Alexandria; but when the Khedive was separated from them, and when he came to exist in a position independent of them, they then assumed their natural and proper position as rebels against his authority. I am sorry to say that there is another point in which this rebellion is peculiar, and that is that it has every presumption of being tainted with very grave crime. My hon. Friend who moved the Motion has assailed my hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for having declared upon a former occasion that in his view Arabi Pasha and his co-adjutors were reasonably suspected of complicity in the massacre of the 11th of June. Now, I agree with my hon. Friend who seconded the Motion that we ought to exercise very great caution in accepting and dealing with charges of this kind. It may be that the reasonable suspicion entertained by my hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State may be dissipated by the production of fuller evidence, or it may be that it will be supported by fuller evidence. I will not give any opinion on the matter further than to say that I think my hon. Friend was perfectly warranted in speaking of that reasonable suspicion of the complicity of those persons in that massacre. But, of course, it must be borne in mind that in this case common-sense and absolute necessity compel, perhaps, Members of Parliament, and certainly Members of the Government, whose business it is to assume the Executive direction of the affairs of the country, to form provisionally many judgments upon probable evidence to which they must adhere for practical purposes; but, at the same time, they do not in their own minds so treat them as to hold them absolute truths. For example, I do not hesitate to say at this moment that presumably the rebels in Egypt are tainted with grievous crime. But, far be it from me to say that, because we have that opinion, therefore these rebels, if they were in our power, ought to be punished. Certainly not. Their case ought to be tried and examined, and put under judicial investigation. They ought to have a fair trial—not by persons of a foreign tongue, by an alien Power, but a great trial according to law by a tribunal in which they ought reasonably to be enabled to place confidence; but apart from that, looking at the facts so far as known to us, I am sorry to say that that presumption of crime is grievous. And if there be reasonable suspicion in regard to the 11th of June, I am sorry to say there is something more than reasonable suspicion—though I will not say even now there is absolute demonstration—with regard to the 12th of July. Remember the flag of truce! Who sent that flag of truce? Was it an unauthorized act? Will anyone tell me that it is rational to believe that act was otherwise than the act of persons in power—namely, Arabi and his coadjutors? How were the hours employed which were basely gained by the abuse of that flag of truce? They were employed in letting loose anarchy and conflagration upon Alexandria, and these are most serious matters. I admit that even now we are not to form positively irreversible conclusions even in our own minds on matters which apparently raise the gravest charges against those who are engaged in the conduct of this military rebellion in Egypt. Well, Sir, my hon. Friend has referred to an expression of mine to the effect that there was not a rag or a shred of proof that Arabi Pasha and his friends represented the National Party in Egypt; and he quotes a statement he has seen in *The Daily Telegraph*, in the same columns where we all of us read a fiction, one of the most degrading and one of the most painful ever palmed on a people—of the cowardice and flight of a company of the 60th Rifles—and some statement from the same source he requires me, I understand, to admit as a fact. I will not quarrel with him upon the question of that statement; but I will remind my hon. Friend that the men, in my opinion, who in connection with Egyptian policy have earned character in Europe, and have been responsible to Europe in relation to Egyptian policy, such as Cherif Pasha, the head of the last legitimate, lawful Administration; Riaz Pasha, who preceded him; Sultan Pasha, the head of the Chamber of Notables, and one of the best in authority in Egypt; and Nubar Pasha—every one of these men, who are bound up with Egyptian feeling, tradition, interest, and happiness, is opposed to the views of the Military Party. With regard to Nubar Pasha, the Seconder of the Motion was not quite just to him, because he said that it was under Nubar Pasha that the International Courts were arranged, and that those most singular rights were brought into that particular shape in which the foreign creditors of the Khedive could sue him in those Courts, and virtually make the Egyptian Government liable for their claims. That may be true, as far as it goes; but it must be borne in mind that the International Courts and those rights so granted under Nubar Pasha to foreigners were not new rights, nor in extension of rights which previously existed, but were intended to meet, as far as could be done, the wishes of every patriotic Egyptian, because they were the substitute for the much larger rights and for the independent position enjoyed by every foreign Power in Egypt in the form of ex-territoriality. My hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle asks us to take immediate steps to ascertain from the *de facto* Egyptian military authorities whether they will lay down their arms on being guaranteed the right of voting their own Budget. Now, it sounds very reasonable that a people should ask to vote their own Budget; but we must in this case consider, after all, from whom, and under what circumstances, this demand is made. My hon. Friend has referred to me as the great encourager of oppressed populations abroad. Well, Sir, in any encouragement I have ever dared to give to oppressed populations abroad, I have endeavoured, above all things—this I will say for myself—to avoid putting forward abstract political theories. Now, that is exactly what is done here. The Egyptians have not for many centuries been in the condition of a nation; they are not actually a nation; they have neither the power of a nation nor the liabilities of a nation. They have been a Province——the Province of a great though ill-compacted Empire; and you might just as well say of the Bulgarians that they are a nation as say of the Egyptians that they are a nation. I never said to the Bulgarians at the time of the Bulgarian events that they had the right to vote their own Budget. That was not the question at all. They might have had as good a claim to be considered a nation as the Egyptians. They have really been a nation since the Egyptians; but they have ceased to a nation, and have become a Province. They have submitted to oppression, and those who submit to oppression, though you may feel bound to do the best you can for them, yet they must stand the consequences of that submission. It is only men like the heroes of Montenegro, who never submit, but made war for 400 years from among their rocks and mountains—these are the only men who are in a condition to claim at once the full and unlimited privileges of national freedom. All that can be done for people like the Egyptians, who have submitted to lose their independence, is to restore them by degrees, and by judicious and considerate measures, to the enjoyment of the privileges of self-government and freedom, as far as they can be granted. That is what we desire to do. But as to those abstract doctrines about the indefeasible right of some portion of an oppressed people to exercise all the full-blown privileges of a high Constitution at a moment's notice, I disclaim this abstract proposition. Mr. Burke, among the ten thousand things he said which should be eternally remembered, said that "in politics the space afforded to abstract reasoning is extremely limited." We must learn to look at the facts as they are; and, looking at them as they are, I say the duty of a Government situated as we are is to decline assenting to this abstract and unlimited demand which proceeds in contempt of all existing and prior circumstances; but, on the other hand, never forgetting the genuine interests of practical freedom, and using every legitimate and fair opportunity of bringing the people forward so far as they are fit for it, and so far as the circumstances permit to the enjoyment of its privileges. Now, I join hands with my hon. Friend, and I rejoice to believe that there has been the dawn of a better day, and that there is the promise in Egypt of some not inconsiderable capacity for gradually arriving at the exercise of those privileges. It will be one of the most sacred duties of the Government to use whatever influence they may possess in the Councils of Europe for the purpose of promoting those interests; and I rejoice to think that when we again enter the Councils of Europe with regard to Egyptian affairs, we shall enter them fortified by the moral claim which, I trust, we shall have derived from a vigorous and effectual, but at the same time from an honourable and disinterested action; and, undoubtedly, we shall enter them free from many of the conventional restraints which have hung heavily upon us in connection with the Conference. I trust when we enter those Councils we shall be able to do so in the spirit and with the feeling of Englishmen, and that the course we may be permitted to take will not be unworthy of the fame of a liberty-loving people.

Mr. VILLIERS-STUART said, he thought the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) would be the last to advocate an oligarchy as a desirable form of government for any country, yet, were his suggestions carried out successfully, Egypt would be delivered into the power of an oligarchy, and that in the worst form—namely, the military oligarchy. The voting of the Budget was coveted by Arabi, that he might increase the Army and tighten its grip upon the throat of Egypt; it was also sought by the Notables, in order that they might recover the power of the bastinado, and restore the old corrupt administration which they had wielded, and which had been taken from them by the Control. He (Mr. Villiers-Stuart) could not imagine a worse form of tyranny. If the hon. Baronet, who was an advocate for freedom and the enemy of slavery, knew Egypt as well as he (Mr. Villiers-Stuart) did, the hon. Baronet would see that he could not consistently support the proceedings that had taken place in that country, for he would be helping to thrust back the people into the cruel bondage from which they were just beginning to emerge; he would be supporting the establishment of that which was more abhorrent to his principles—a military despotism. The fact was that Arabi, under the guise of patriotism, was really the champion of Turkish domination. Had any doubt existed of that before the Sultan's order, the friendly intimacy of the Sultan's delegate, and the delay in the Proclamation would have withdrawn the veil. Neither were the Notables trustworthy representatives of the Egyptian people. His (Mr. Villiers-Stuart's) sympathies were with the small farmers and the labouring classes of Egypt; and it was indignation at the cruel oppression of these classes which he witnessed, and despair of any other remedy, that made him an advocate for European intervention. He first visited Egypt in 1850, in the time of Abbas Pasha, and he was shocked by the cruelty and oppression which then prevailed. Scarcely a day passed that he did not see men flogged, in the majority of instances, to extort taxes. The amount of revenue that in those days reached the Egyptian Treasury was less than half what it is now; but twice the amount nominally due was extorted, the surplus being appropriated by corrupt officials. The principle upon which taxes were assessed was most wasteful, for the crops were valued standing, and might not be cut till valued. Now, in a parching climate like Egypt corn began to shed as soon as ripe; but the officials only attended when it suited their convenience, and that was when a sufficient bribe was offered. The result was that those who bribed highest were visited first, and not till after that ceremony had they the privilege of harvesting their own crops. He had seen the ground covered with corn shed and lost in consequence of these practices, and the amount thus wasted exceeded in value the amount of the tax. Another impolitic impost was that on water-wheels for irrigation purposes. These were so heavily taxed at the time of which he was speaking as to be very generally abandoned. Another cruel and wasteful impost, which was also terribly abused, was the system of forced labour. Under that system, he had seen men torn away by hundreds from their farms at the most critical season and driven in herds, like cattle, with sticks and whips, to work for some Pasha, or official, or for the State. In the latter case, the funds for their food were embezzled, and the poor creatures, ill-fed and maltreated, died off like flies. The history of the Mahmoudieh Canal, where 20,000 men perished, was well known, and a repetition of this horror in the case of the Suez Canal was only prevented by European intervention. Contrasting with the state of things which he had thus sketched was the fact that last winter, when making another visit to the country, he did not witness a single flogging or a single act of oppression; but was struck with the marked improvement in the prosperity, contentment, and generally prosperous condition of the people; and they themselves attributed the happy change to the European Administration. No doubt, the taxation was nominally more than double what it was before the creation of the National Debt; but the taxation was really much lighter, owing to less oppressive, wasteful, and dishonest methods of levying it. It was a mistake to suppose that the Khedive was a mere greedy speculator, bent on filling his Treasury. His ambition was to reform and advance Egypt, to carry out great public works and undertakings; but he had no prudence, and wished to do everything at once; to construct railways, to suppress slavery, to make canals and harbours, fleets, bridges, factories, palaces, universities, schools, and all with borrowed money, and, what was worse, money borrowed at 15 to 20 per cent from local banks, which were presently paid off with European loans. Thus, the country was soon on the verge of bankruptcy. But the Control saved credit, raised Four per Cent Stock to 82, abolished the stick, reformed the administration of justice, and developod a degree of prosperity never before known. He was not concerned to become the apologist of the financiers who negotiated the Khedive's loans; but he wished to make a remark as to one statement of the hon. Baronet. It was true that the loan of 1873 of £32,000,000 only realized £20,000,000 cash; but that was because it was not placed except to that extent; and it must be remembered that they both cut down the interest from 7 per cent to 4 per cent, and cut down the par capital at which they were to be repaid from 100 to 80, and that this prudent management raised Egyptian Four per Cents from 28 to 82. If he believed that the acceptance of the proposal of the hon. Baronet would result in anything like the emancipation of the Egyptian people, it would have his most cordial support; but it was because he was convinced that it would rather rivet the fetters upon the people of Egypt and consign them to renewed slavery that he should vote against it.

SIR PATRICK O'BRIEN said, that as to the boasted efficacy of the so-called European Concert, where was it? He had always doubted it, and experience had proved that it always broke down in the hour of need; and he considered it an advantage that we had been enabled to go single-handed into Egypt. If we were hampered by engagements with France or any other Power, we should be, perhaps, forced to act for interests other than our own or those of Egypt. Recent events must have convinced of their mistake those who were disposed, from the action of Great Britain for some years, to designate this country as a geographical expression. One thing, at least, had been made manifest—namely, that in the determination to advance the honour of the country and to preserve its Imperial interests, no Party in the State possessed a monopoly. We had at present in Alexandria, as far as its material went, and speaking without reference to its numbers, a splendid Army, and the fear which pressed upon him was that we might be led to employ it for the purpose of a mere military display. He was not prepared to support the Motion of the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), because, if carried, it would involve total and complete submission to a man whom the Egyptian and our own Government united in terming a rebel. He wished to impress upon the Government that there was a very strong feeling in the country that we ought not, from any desire to obtain military glory, unnecessarily to press to extremities our military action in the East, and that we should not, because atrocities had been committed by fanatics in moments of fanatical enthusiasm, forget that we were a Christian nation and wreak unnecessary vengeance. As we were powerful, so we should be generous. He thought if we were to maintain our relations with Egypt in the future, it must be by conciliating the people, making ourselves popular, and doing justice to all classes of the population. Nothing would be more likely than unnecessary bloodshed to prevent so desirable a result; and he gave expression to the opinion of many when he said there existed the greatest anxiety, now that we had displayed, in the face of Europe and the East, our determination to assert ourselves in what we considered to be a just cause, that we should not be led to exhibit our might in any way except what was strictly required by the necessities of the case.

SIR EDWARD REED said, it was very difficult for hon. Members to make sympathetic and emotional speeches without making statements which they were afterwards very much startled to see. Although prepared to give the hon. Baronet who was responsible for the Motion (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) credit for the best and most benevolent motives, yet he (Sir Edward Reed) was at a loss to understand why that benevolence should be carried to the length, at a moment like the present, when Parliament was about to separate, of casting discredit upon one's Government and country, and of seeking to bring the whole action of the State into disrepute. He took exception to some words which had fallen from the Mover and the Seconder of the Resolution on the ground that they were extremely unfair to the Prime Minister, the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the country at large; and, so far as he could see, there never was a more impracticable and extraordinary proposition put before any body of Gentlemen than that of the hon. Member for Carlisle. Was it conceivable, he asked, that the British Government, in the present conjuncture of affairs in Egypt, should go to Arabi Pasha, as the hon. Baronet proposed, and ask him to lay down his arms on the understanding that the Chamber would be allowed to vote the Budget in the future? That we should go and kneel at the feet of Arabi, a man who, to say the least, had been strongly suspected of the greatest cruelties and wrongs, and make terms with him, as if he alone represented Egypt, was so preposterous a proposition that it could not for one moment be seriously entertained. But what he wished to complain of was the reflection that had been cast upon the conduct of the Government by the hon. Member for Carlisle and the hon. Member for the Kirkcaldy Burghs (Sir George Campbell). He was bound to say that he had carefully noted the opinions formed on the subject, both at home and in America; and he believed he was expressing the general sentiment of the world when he said that the conduct of the English Government in reference to the Egyptian Question had been most cautious and scrupulous, and animated by a strong desire not to resort to any extreme or isolated measure, if it were possible to avoid it. But the hon. Member for Carlisle asked the House and the country to believe that we were going to carry this war among the Egyptian people for the purpose of preventing their obtaining self-government, and also for the interest of money, and money only. These two propositions were entirely irreconcilable. But he did not know that financial interests were to be despised or treated with contempt. The hon. Member for Kirkcaldy, however, said that the hon. Baronet the Member for North Durham (Sir George Elliot) had considerable financial interests in Egypt, but that in spite of those financial interests he was an honest man; so that it would appear, therefore, that the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy entertained the extraordinary belief that any man who possessed financial interests in Egypt might be presumed to be a dishonest man. He should like to know what sort of proposition that was to put before this great financial country. It indicated a very crooked condition of mind in which to argue a great question. These hon. Members were doing their best before the country and the world to inflict upon this country a source of weakness in connection with great and solid undertakings by saying that we were going into war for mercenary and low purposes. Did the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy attempt to maintain that the present Prime Minister was conducting a policy for the purpose of depriving the people of Egypt of self-government, or for a mere monetary interest? He protested in the name of the great number of English people against these miserable imputations against the Government and the people of this country in connection with this war. There were vast numbers of people here who deplored the necessity of this war. Hon. Members had attempted to protect Arabi Pasha against improper imputations, and he did not object to that; but he wished to know whether the character of our own Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was not also to be protected? Were they to be told by the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy that the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had done his best to blacken the character of Arabi Pasha, and was the hon. Baronet to have the miserable motive attributed to him of having done so for the purpose of setting up a state of irreconcilability between Arabi Pasha and our Government? He could not imagine any graver accusation against a public man. He repudiated in the strongest manner available to him in Parliament these wretched imputations upon Ministers and upon the country at large. There could not be a doubt that the Prime Minister and the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the House were entering upon this war with the greatest possible regret that the necessity for it should have arisen, but with the conviction that it was, under the circumstances of the case, unavoidable, and a matter of public duty; and he believed, if they took the opinion of the people of the country, there would scarcely be one man in a million who would assent to the miserable and wretched imputations which had been made against the country, the Ministers, and the national honour.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, he supposed he ought to congratulate the Ministry, the bondholders, and the country on the certificate of character so kindly vouchsafed to all, and to each individually, by the hon. Member who had just sat down (Sir Edward Reed). He was also struck with the remarks of the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Villiers Stuart), who appeared to have as much sympathy with the Egyptian Nationality as he had with the Irish Nationality. The Prime Minister gave reasons for the opposition of the Government to an Assembly of Notables in Egypt, and for their opposition to any terms of accommodation with the *de facto* military authorities in Egypt. As to the Government's opposition to a convocation of Notables, the Prime Minister gave two reasons. The first was respect for France, and the second respect for the Conference. The right hon. Gentleman assumed that if England had assented to an Assembly of Notables there would have been a rupture with France. With great deference, he (Mr. O'Donnell) begged altogether to differ from the right hon. Gentleman. Whatever might be the particular view of M. Gambetta, the public opinion of France was never opposed to the meeting of a National Assembly in Egypt. In fact, M. Gambetta caused a sensation of horror when he said, in the French Chamber, that Egypt was one of those countries that required to be governed by the lash. As to the second reason—respect for the Conference—in view of numerous recent events, one could hardly yield that assent to it which the Premier expected. It was a convenient cloak, which the Prime Minister put on and took off at his convenience. It had, however, been worn threadbare by constant use, and the allegation of the Prime Minister that he was hindered by the Conference might be placed in the same category with many other Ministerial allegations. For the just consideration of the question, it must be recognized that Arabi Pasha and the Egyptian Army were from the beginning standing in the attitude of self-defence, and he (Mr. O'Donnell) insisted that the fate of Egyptian reformers on previous occasions justified their suspicion and alarm. We knew that when Her Majesty's Government attacked Egypt and bombarded Alexandria, Arabi Pasha was the regularly constituted War Minister of Egypt, the recognized Minister of his Sovereign the Khedive, and that the Sultan approved his acting in that capacity. It was not, then, for Arabi Pasha to defend himself against the accusation of the Premier, but for the Premier to state on what ground he opened war on the fortifications of a friendly Power. He strongly advocated an inquiry into the fate of those men, who were victims of the cupidity of European money-lending interlopers, for there had never been an independent Commission of Inquiry into the financial affairs of Egypt for the last 10 years. He asked for such an inquiry, and that in that Commission there should be representatives of the sentiments entertained on this question by the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) and the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell).

Mr. MOLLOY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to state what were the international engagements to which the Prime Minister had referred as being those on which the war was based?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE, in reply, said, that the war had not been based on international engagements, but upon reasons which had been fully given in a former debate in answer to the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell). The international engagements to which the Prime Minister referred were those with regard to the Law of Liquidation.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Main Question again proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."

FOREIGN AFFAIRS—POLICY OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Sir, before this Bill is read a third time, I wish to urge again upon the Government the extreme importance of reversing at once the unfortunate attitude towards the German Powers which they have adopted since they came into Office. Nothing has been more productive of the complications and troubles that have baffled the present Government than the change of alliances made by the present Ministry. They abandoned the understanding with Austria and Germany, and endeavoured to substitute other combinations. [Sir Charles W. Dilke: No.] Of course the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs says "No." That is the only kind of reply to a well-known fact that could be expected from him, for the hon. Baronet has developed a most singular capacity for inaccuracy—[Mr. Chamberlain: Order!]—I admire, Sir, the fidelity with which the Radical Dioscuri of the Ministry support each other; but I shall not withdraw before the censure of the right hon. Gentleman. The fact of this abandonment of the Austro-German alliance in favour of an attempted but impossible combination with Russia and France is perfectly notorious in every capital in Europe, where the denials of the Under Secretary of State will be received with the same ironical surprise as a previous denial of his met from the official organs of Foreign Powers. All the German newspapers have teemed with the strongest attacks upon the Prime Minister and his policy, and solely on the ground of his change of alliances. I could quote hundreds of such attacks; and it must be remembered how intimate are the relations between the German Press and the Imperial Chancellerie. Moreover, the tone of all the despatches from Vienna and Berlin, published in our Blue Books, has been cold and even hostile. These facts are ample proof. The hon. Baronet can hardly expect me to produce a certificate to it under Prince Bismarck's hand and seal. It may be quite true that at the present moment—I speak of the last fortnight—Her Majesty's Government, taught by the painful humiliations of the past two years, and by the terrible experience of this war, may be going back upon their mistakes, and trying to revert to the alliance with Germany. If so, they have my commendation. My criticism of their policy applies to their policy of the past two years as a whole, and not to the very latest phase of their foreign relations. The expressions which the hon. Baronet in his helplessness is driven to apply to the arguments of his opponents may be excused, owing to the painful awkwardness of his position. No doubt, "moonshine and nonsense," though highly Parliamentary and courteous terms, are somewhat unusual. But, Sir, I make every allowance for the hon. Baronet. It is, no doubt, very irritating for a Minister to be wholly unable to reply to a criticism of his blunders, and especially when that Minister remembers that his name cannot but always be associated with such episodes as the fiasco of Dulcigno and the deception of Greece, and with the myths of "joint action" with France and of "the Concert of Europe," and with the Egyptian War. I tender the Under Secretary of State my sincere sympathy in his trying position. With regard to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), he did not leave an accurate impression upon the House when he denied point blank that he had been on a Mission to Berlin. I had congratulated the right hon. Gentleman on the success of his diplomacy, and thought that there were three Missions. The first two he does not, and cannot, deny. The third, as I said yesterday, I am perfectly willing to believe did not take place, as the right hon. Gentleman denies it. It is of slight consequence whether he went, or did not go, on that occasion. Yet his denial of this last Mission was so framed as to appear to cover all his Missions, and his reference to a portion of my statement to embrace the whole. In conclusion, Sir, I beg to congratulate the Government, even at this twelfth hour, on their change of policy—on their professed new friendliness for Turkey and for the German Powers. If they will only completely revert to the statesmanlike policy of Lord Beaconsfield, as seems now not impossible, they may still find a way of escape from their many embarrassments.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) had that day repeated the statement he made yesterday as to there being a state of hostility between this country and Germany.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, that his observations did not apply to the events which had taken place in the last fortnight.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that the hon. Member had spoken of the German Government as being unfriendly to this country. The Government failed to find anything cold or reserved in their commuications with the German Government, and the tone of the German Press was certainly in their favour. Her Majesty's Government was very sensible indeed, and was bound on all occasions to express its sense of the cordial recognition of its good intentions and singlemindedness by the German Government.

PARLIAMENT—PRIVILEGE—MR. GRAY (COMMITMENT OF A MEMBER OF THIS HOUSE).

COLONEL NOLAN asked, if there was any truth in the report that the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Edmond D. Gray) had been sentenced to three months' imprisonment and to a fine of £500 by Mr. Justice Lawson in respect of articles appearing in *The Freeman's Journal*? If it were true, he would wish to point out that a very serious step had been taken. Many English Members might not be aware of it, but *The Freeman's Journal*, of which the hon. Member for Carlow was the proprietor, represented the views of the Catholics of Ireland; and if a war was to be waged upon the Catholic Press after this fashion, and such extremely heavy sentences were to be given, it would be considered by the Irish people as a crusade against Catholics, and might result in serious consequences.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is referring to a matter of which the House has no knowledge. If the statement which he has made is correct, no doubt, in the ordinary course, the fact of the imprisonment of a Member of this House will be communicated to the House in the regular way. The House at present has no knowledge of the matter, and I am bound to tell the hon. and gallant Member that it is a matter which could not be debated upon the third reading of the Appropriation Bill.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he wished to raise the question, by objecting to the Bill, on the ground of its including the salary of Mr. Justice Lawson.

MR. SPEAKER: To put the hon. and gallant Member in Order, I am bound to tell him that he would not be in Order in debating this question upon this Bill.

Main Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 57; Noes 4: Majority 53.—(Div. List, No. 340.)

Bill *passed*.

IMPRISONMENT FOR CONTUMACY BILL [*Lords*].—[BILL 208.]

(*Mr. J. G. Talbot.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. J. G. TALBOT, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, he had tried for many weeks to get an opportunity of bringing it forward, but had been unsuccessful. Notwithstanding the fact that the Prime Minister appealed to the House to allow the Bill to pass, the "blocks" had remained on the Paper down to the present time. It would be within the recollection of the House that some weeks ago the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London (Mr. J. G. Hubbard) asked the Prime Minister whether he could exercise the clemency of the Crown and procure the release of a clergyman who had been in prison for 16 months. The Prime Minister replied that the Crown had no power to exercise the Prerogative of Mercy in this particular case; and he suggested, if the particular prisoner was to be released at all, that the authors of the Act under which Mr. Green was imprisoned should come forward and introduce a measure for his release. That was the challenge of the Prime Minister. It was taken up in the other House, and the result was that the two Archbishops, who were the authors of the Public Worship Regulation Act, brought in the present Bill, the main object of which was to obtain the release of Mr. Green. In claiming its favourable consideration, he thought the fact of its originating from the two Archbishops might well be adduced in its favour, for they could scarcely be regarded as prejudiced or bigoted as regarded Mr. Green. The Bill proposed to do three things. First, it provided for a representation by the Archbishop of the Province in which a suit had arisen to the Judge who had tried the case. Secondly, it provided that the Judge might release the prisoner if he saw fit. Thirdly, that no order for release should be made, when a man was imprisoned for non-payment of costs, unless those costs were paid. Provision was then made for the discharge of every legal obligation. Then there was a provision against the release of prisoners in case of subsequent contempt or contumacy. Thus all interference with legitimate authority was prevented. He would refer to an authority which would meet with the respect of hon. Members opposite in an analogous case. A similar Bill to the present, which became 3 & 4 *Vict.* c. 93, was before the House on the 1st of August, 1840. It was introduced in connection with the imprisonment of John Thorogood for non-payment of tithes. Lord John Russell on that occasion said that—

> "The House in general had been of opinion, that after John Thorogood had been upwards of eighteen months in confinement, being committed for contempt, it was the better way, not only with regard to humanity, but with a view to the general question, that he should be discharged from prison. It was not an opinion at all involving any question as to the propriety of the conduct of John Thorogood, still less of the view which that individual had taken of church rates, of the law respecting them, or his duty towards that law."—[3 *Hansard*, lv. 1190-91.]

Applying to Mr. Green the words of Lord John Russell, he (Mr. J. G. Talbot) would say that it did not involve any question as to the propriety of the conduct of Mr. Green, or any imputation upon the Church Courts, or the law respecting them. Mr. Green, at all events, was a person of blameless life, and full of devotion to his sacred calling; and he (Mr. J. G. Talbot) would appeal to the House, on the ground of mercy, to pass the Bill. It had been said that he was imprisoned by his own act, and that the power of turning the key of his prison door lay with him; but the same could be said with equal truth of the martyrs of early Christian days. Indeed, he (Mr. J. G. Talbot) could go a step further, and would point out that the Protestant martyrs in the Reign of Queen Mary might have saved their lives by submitting to the law. It might have been said—"Why did they not accept the doctrines of the Pope?" But the obvious answer was—"Because their consciences did not permit them." It was the same with this gentleman. He believed, in his conscience, that the Ecclesiastical Courts, as at present constituted, did not command his obedience. The hon. and learned Attorney General, no doubt, would say that Mr. Green's views were wrong, and there were hon. Members present who would agree with him. He (Mr. J. G. Talbot) would not discuss the question of whether Mr. Green was right or wrong; but it was idle to say that he could release himself from prison, when the very act of so doing would be a breach of the conscientious obligations that were the cause of his being there at all. He could not do so without violating his conscience any more than the Christian martyrs could have thrown incense on heathen altars, or the Protestant martyrs have admitted the supremacy of the Pope. Hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House who laid so much stress upon liberty of conscience should show their sincerity, and support the principle in this case, by voting for the second reading, which he hoped would be agreed to without a long discussion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. J. G. Talbot.*)

Mr. DILLWYN said, he must confess that he had listened with surprise to the arguments just employed, and ridiculed the idea of any resemblance between Mr. Green's case and that of the ancient martyrs. He was in prison for not fulfilling the conditions of a trust that had been placed in his hands. He had been put in a position to teach certain doctrines, and had not taught them; in short, he had violated that trust by preaching unlawful doctrines. By ceasing to preach those doctrines, or giving up his cure, he would be released from prison the very next day, and that was the course which he ought to adopt. Personally, he (Mr. Dillwyn) had no wish to see Mr. Green detained. He had not voted for the Public Worship Regulation Act; but, since it was the law, clergymen, of all others, ought to set an example of obedience; whereas the fact was that Mr. Green and those who supported him were setting a very bad example of disobedience to the law. He would move the adjournment of the debate.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL seconded the Motion, holding that if there ever was a case which was not one of conscience, this was the case. As he understood the position of Mr. Green, he desired to receive the pay of the State, and yet to put the law of the State at defiance. That, of course, could not be allowed. He had only to resign his living, and he could teach what he liked. He could make postures, or, if he pleased, stand on his head. To allow him, however, to defy the State by doing so under the Bill as proposed, would be most monstrous.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Dillwyn.*)

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, that he approached the subject with very mixed feelings. Speaking only for himself and not for the Government, some of whose Members were in favour of the Bill, he felt bound to oppose the second reading of the Bill, because it violated all sound legal principles. He certainly regretted, as much as anyone, the fact that Mr. Green was still in custody on account of what was, no doubt, an honest idea. But that was not the only consideration. They ought to consider, also, that that imprisonment was caused solely by his violation of the law of the Church to which he belonged, obedience to which must be enforced. The circumstance that people were acting in accordance with their consciences could not, on the ground of mercy, be held to justify a breach of the law. There was no resemblance to Thorogood's case, because Thorogood refused to do a positive act, whereas Mr. Green was only called upon to abstain from certain practices or to resign his living. The difficulty of the case was, that Mr. Green insisted on remaining a clergyman of the Church of England; but, while seeking that protection of the law which was afforded to the Church in its connection with the State, he refused to obey the law. By yielding up his cure, he could be at once relieved from the consequences of his acts. If he were released he would return to his diocese and his living, for the purpose of disobeying the law, and again set the order of the Court at defiance. For his own part, he (the Attorney General) had no strong feeling as to the Bill; but he should be glad to see Mr. Green released, especially as that day, he believed, his three years' deprivation was completed. Though he spoke his individual opinion, he must say that he would rather not see the Bill pass in the shape in which it had been framed.

Mr. BERESFORD HOPE said, the flaw in the argument of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General was, that he had dealt with the question as if the imprisonment of Mr. Green were connected directly with the operation of the Public Worship Regulation Act. He (Mr. Beresford Hope) would point out that an eminent authority in "another place" had told them that the authors of the Public Worship Regulation Act never contemplated imprisonment for contumacy when the Bill was introduced into Parliament. That being so, he trusted that no obstacle would be placed in the way of Mr. Green's release. They need not fear being too lenient, for their kindness would consist in leaving him to the tender mercies of the Public Worship Act, and turning him out into the world deprived of his living. The detention of Mr. Green had been brought about by the resuscitation of a forgotten Act of George III.; and he implored the House, by passing the Bill, not to allow an accidental freak of persecution on the part of an anomalous and acrimonious association to triumph over the common sense of England and Parliament, and over a hard-working, conscientious, and most unfortunate clergyman.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA, in supporting the Bill, said, he did not consider that its object was simply the release of Mr. Green from custody. That gentleman was only an instrument by which the purpose of the measure was to be effected—namely, the liberty of holding one's own conscientious opinions; and he, therefore, hoped that every liberty-loving Member of the House would support the Bill.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD said, if Mr. Green had been breaking the law, so as to injure his parishioners and congregation, let him be appropriately punished by monition, restraint, inhibition, and, last of all, by deprivation; but Mr. Green was suffering not for an offence of that kind, but because he would not give up his own conscientious convictions in favour of an authority which to him was one he could not acknowledge. He might be mistaken or not; but he (Mr. J. G. Hubbard) contended that no man ought to be punished by imprisonment—which was a punishment for a penal offence—for a matter which was the result of a conscientious scruple, and not an offence against ecclesiastical law.

MR. MAGNIAC said, he thought that the strongest possible protest should be made against the case of Mr. Green being regarded as one of the liberty of conscience. Clergymen were appointed, if not by the State, with its sanction; and parishioners ought not to have a clergyman thrust upon them who practised doctrines opposed to their views. The case of Mr. John Thorogood had been referred to in support of this measure; but, in his (Mr. Magniac's) opinion, there was no analogy between that case and the one then before the House. Mr. Green was a public servant with duties to discharge to his parishioners, who were members of the Church of England, and no question of religious liberty was involved. The case of Mr. Green might very probably lead to an alteration of the law at some future time; but, at that period of the Session, when many far more important measures had necessarily been abandoned, the House ought not to be asked to discuss the Bill, seeing that it was a measure simply proposed for the purpose of setting free a particular individual.

MR. WARTON rose to address the House, when——

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at half after Four o'clock till To-morrow.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 17th August, 1882.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—National Gallery (Loan) (261).

Second Reading — Committee negatived — Third Reading — Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) *, and *passed.*

Committee — Report — Third Reading — Fishery Board (Scotland) (264), and *passed.*

Third Reading—India (Home Charges Arrears)* (256); Revenue, Friendly Societies, and National Debt * (257), and *passed.*

FISHERY BOARD (SCOTLAND) BILL.

(*The Earl of Rosebery.*)

(NO. 264.) COMMITTEE.

House in Committee (according to order).

Bill *reported* without Amendment.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) moved to insert in the 2nd sub-section of the 5th clause the words "or private rights," the effect of which was to secure that the Board in their administration of salmon fisheries in Scotland should have regard not only to district boards, as provided in the Bill, but also to "private rights." In the Bill, as introduced in the other House of Parliament, the 1st sub-section, which related to the white herring and deep-sea fishing, was amended by the insertion of the following words:—"Without interfering with any public authority or private rights." With regard to the 2nd sub-section, which related to salmon fishing, the following words were added:—"Without reference to or interference with the rights of district boards;" but the words "or private rights" were omitted, and he proposed that these words should be added. It was perfectly obvious—it must be obvious to their Lordships—that private rights, as regarded deep-sea fishing, were few indeed, if any; but whatever they were, it was thought desirable, in the House of Commons, that they should be protected. It was perfectly well known, with regard to salmon fisheries, that private rights were of a very extended character indeed. Why, then, were not these words he proposed in the Bill? Why were not the same words to relate to salmon fisheries which applied to deep-sea fisheries? It appeared to him that it would be a most unjust proceeding if these words were not added to the Bill. The Bill would be of a very dangerous character if these words were not accepted. This Bill did away with the Salmon Fisheries (Scotland) Act, 25 & 26 *Vict.* In that Act there were these words inserted with reference to salmon fisheries—

> "Provided such regulations shall not interfere with any rights held at the time of the passing of this Act under Royal grant or charter, or possessed from time immemorial."

This preserved private rights under the Act. Why was not the same protection given in this Act? The Bill was brought up to their Lordships at a time when really the general opinion of the people in Scotland was that it would no longer be proceeded with this Session, and the Government acted upon that understanding to a great degree, and gave encouragement to that belief by including the Act which was about to die out in the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill, which was brought in and passed through the House of Commons before the second reading of this Bill was taken in the House of Commons. The Expiring Laws Bill came to their Lordships' House, and this Bill was brought up from the House of Commons on the same day, and the Fisheries Bill was read a first and second time without the printed Bill being on the Table, or anybody knowing anything at all about it; and this was the way their Lordships' House was treated with regard to the power of dealing with legislation and the amendment of Public Bills. He confessed that he thought the question was one of very great importance to the Privileges of this House. This House had a great responsibility upon it with regard to legislation, and it ought to have every opportunity to amend measures brought before it in a manner which would be satisfactory. The noble Earl (the Earl of Rosebery), who had charge of the Bill in this House, called attention yesterday to the manner in which the Hypothec Bill was passed in 1880. He (the Earl of Redesdale) objected at that time, because the Bill was brought in at a period of the Session when he thought there was not a proper opportunity given to enable a measure of that importance to be fairly and sufficiently considered. In regard to that Bill, he would just refer to the final proceedings which took place in order to show how little comparison could be drawn between the two cases. The Hypothec Bill was brought from the House of Commons on the 11th March; it was read a second time on the 13th; it was committed on the 15th; and Notice was given to suspend the Standing Orders. It was reported on the 16th, and the usual grace of suspending the Standing Orders was not complied with, the Order to do so being discharged, and the Bill was read the third time on the 19th, three days after it was reported, and further Amendments were made on that occasion. It was sent to the House of Commons, and received the Royal Assent on the 24th. All through the stages of that Bill there was time to enable parties to make the necessary Amendments. Peers who desired to propose Amendments on such a Bill had to consult with parties in Scotland who were acquainted with all the details necessary to be dealt with. That Bill was hurried through improperly, and he took objection to it on that ground. Still he did not think it necessary to enter a protest against that proceeding, because there was a certain time allowed to the House to make Amendments. The present Bill was brought to the House shortly before the adjournment yesterday morning. Now it was through Committee, and they had got to Report, and had Notice of the suspension of the Standing Orders. If his Amendment were adopted, the Bill could go down to the House of Commons, where the Motion could at once be made to agree to the Amendment. He had taken his present course because he thought it was necessary, in justice to their Lordships' House, and because the adjournment, which was to take place to-morrow, was supposed to be the same thing as Prorogation with regard to the Business of the House.

Amendment *moved*, in Clause 5, page 2, at end of Sub-section 2, add ("or private rights.")—(*The Earl of Redesdale.*)

The Earl of ROSEBERY said, he thought he should be able to show to the satisfaction of their Lordships and the noble Earl why this Amendment should not be accepted. In the first place, it was absolutely unnecessary. The noble Earl and their Lordships heard yesterday from the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack, the highest authority on English law, in the most distinct and conclusive manner, that under this clause no private rights whatever could be affected. In the second place, the highest authority on Scotch law not on the Bench—the Lord Advocate—was also of opinion that there could be no interference with private rights under that clause. But, thirdly, the noble Earl himself quoted the clause saving private rights in the Salmon Fisheries Act under which these Commissioners had their power, and which remained a part of the law. Under these circumstances, there was absolutely no utility whatever in accepting these words. The noble Earl said that they might immediately adopt the words and send the Bill to the other House, and that there would be ample time for that House to accept the Amendment. The Government were not willing to take the risk of that proceeding. The intimation he had received from the House of Commons — because he had made inquiry—did not lead him to concur in the view of the noble Earl; and he (the Earl of Rosebery), for one, would strenuously resist any attempt to risk the Bill by inserting unnecessary words at the last moment. If the noble Earl had allowed the Bill to go into Committee yesterday, as was proposed, there might have been time to do what he desired. He thought that was sufficient for practical purposes with regard to the noble Earl's Amendment; but, with regard to the general question, there was another word to be said. It was quite true that he alluded yesterday to the course adopted by the late Government with regard to the Abolition of Hypothec Bill; but he disclaimed altogether the intention of fixing any responsibility for that course on the noble Earl, who always took an independent view with regard to the Privileges of this House, whatever Party might be in power. He did not mean that that Bill should be taken as a precedent on the present occasion. He should be very sorry that it should form a precedent for any action he should take on this or any other Bill; but he did hope it would be an argument why noble Lords on the opposite side of the House should not take a stringent view of the action of the Government on this occasion. There was a broad distinction between the two Bills. The Hypothec Bill was one of a most important and most sweeping character. It made changes in the agriculture of Scotland; it made changes in the private rights of landlords in Scotland, which were of a kind which it would not be easy for a Liberal Government to introduce and pass through Parliament in cold blood, if he might use the expression. What was the nature of this Bill, and their justification for proceeding with it at this time of the Session? Their justification was this—that it effected no alteration in the law whatever; that it provided for the formation of a new and a more competent Board instead of a Board which the Government did not think had been altogether successful; and, in the second place, that it recognized the principle that any Scotch Fishery Board should have cognizance of all fisheries, whether deep-sea, or salmon, or otherwise. He really could not see that there was anything in the nature of the Bill of a sort which ought to prevent their passing it this Session. Another argument of the noble Earl was that the Government practically gave this Bill up, because the former Act was included in the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill, and that Bill had passed the House of Commons before the present Bill had come to a second reading. Could there be a more conclusive argument against the noble Earl? The Government could not be certain of passing the Fisheries Bill, because, although it had received the assent of every Scotch Member of the House of Commons, it was blocked by an English County Member, and, therefore, the former Act was put in the Continuance Bill. Arguments of that sort, when brought to support a charge against the Government, hardly sustained the accusation. This Bill had been more than a month not only before Parliament, but before the country; it had been a matter for consideration by public bodies in Scotland. The Lord Advocate and he had had frequent conferences with Scotch Members on the subject. It had received the virtual approval, he thought, of every Scotch Member, and there was no shadow of pretext to assert that this Bill had been smuggled through Parliament. It had been before the country in its broadest and most universal sense. It had been discussed by every newspaper in Scotland. And yet the noble Earl turned round and compared it to the hurried passage of an Act of universal application like the Hypothec Bill, and said that it had not received full discussion in Scotland. That was an assertion which he could not allow to pass unchallenged; and, both on the ground of expediency and general policy, he hoped their Lordships would not pass the Amendment—the more so as the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill had been passed without the Salmon Fisheries Act, and Scotland would be left without a Fishery Board.

The Earl of MILLTOWN said, it was rather hard that the noble Earl (the Earl of Rosebery) should attribute the analogy between this measure and the Hypothec Bill to the Chairman of Committees, seeing it was entirely the analogy of the noble Earl himself. If the Amendment was really so harmless as the noble Earl had stated it to be, he could not see why a strong objection was taken to its insertion. The argument of the Chairman of Committees with regard to these words being already in the Bill with reference to deep-sea fisheries, and not in this part of the clause, was unanswerable. It was difficult to see what private rights could be injured with regard to deep-sea fisheries; but it was quite evident that there were such rights as regards riparian proprietors.

The Earl of ROSEBERY: I beg the noble Earl's pardon. I answered that argument yesterday.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, that were it not for the great and unfeigned respect which he, in common with their Lordships, entertained for the Chairman of Committees, he should venture to express some surprise at the course taken by him in regard to this particular Bill, which was not applied to any other Bills brought up from the House of Commons, and dealt with recently, in exactly the same manner, and on which an objection of this sort might more reasonably have been taken. He would only express his sense of the error into which his noble Friend had fallen by using a homely expression which he hoped would not give offence, and saying that the noble Earl had found a "mare's nest." There was no sort of ground whatever for the smallest apprehension that this Bill could by any possibility affect any private rights. Since it came before their Lordships yesterday he had looked into the different Acts referred to, in order to see whether there could be anything in them which might have an unforeseen effect. He had found nothing. The noble Earl said—"It may be that this particular clause—the 5th clause—does not affect private rights; but then there are other clauses in the Bill which might do so." What were the other clauses in the Bill? The first was the title, the second was the Definition Clause, the third dissolved the existing Board, the fourth established the new Board, and gave it a Secretary with a salary, and said where its office was to be, which certainly could affect no private rights; the 5th clause partly dealt with herring fisheries and the Sea Fisheries Acts, which did not affect this matter at all; and the only part of it which was material was that as to which his noble Friend (the Earl of Rosebery) had already assured their Lordships most accurately that it could not by any possibility affect any private rights. The 6th clause enabled an Inspector to be appointed, who should act under the directions of the Board. In fact, there was nothing whatever, excepting the 2nd sub-section of Clause 5, which could by any possibility affect any salmon fishery; and what was that 2nd sub-section? It provided that the Fishery Board should have the general superintendence of the salmon fisheries of Scotland. He did not need to tell their Lordships that these general words could confer no possible or conceivable title to interfere with any private right. The Board was to have the powers and to perform the duties of Commissioners under the Salmon Fisheries Acts without interfering with district boards. The Chairman of Committees himself had saved the House the trouble of referring to these powers, because he read from the principal Act the clause which exempted therefrom expressly private rights under certain charters. Therefore, the transfer of these powers transferred them as they were defined by the Acts existing, and not otherwise; and if this Bill had come up six weeks ago, and the noble Earl had moved this Amendment, he should have objected to it as being not only unnecessary, but as founded on a complete misunderstanding.

THE MARQUESS OF HUNTLY said, that he was perfectly satisfied with the Bill as introduced by his noble Friend (the Earl of Rosebery), and he could assure the Chairman of Committees that there was an almost universal desire in Scotland to see the Bill become law. It was a Bill which would be of very great benefit. The Bill had been examined by various Boards in Scotland, and they almost unanimously desired to see it become law. It had long been desired that there should be some authoritative Assembly from whom grievances should receive attention. All the people connected with the rivers with which he had anything to do were in favour of the Bill, and he hoped the third reading would be taken.

Amendment *negatived.*

Then Standing Order No. XXXV. *considered* (according to order), and *dispensed* with; Bill read 3ª, and *passed.*

NATIONAL GALLERY (LOAN) BILL.—(No. 261.)

(*The Earl Granville.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

EARL GRANVILLE, in moving that the Bill be now read the second time, said, the Bill was to enable the Trustees of the National Gallery to make loans of such pictures as from time to time, in the opinion of the Trustees and Directors, it might be desirable to lend to localities and public galleries in the country. The Bill originated on the proposal of the Directors and Trustees of the National Gallery.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Earl Granville.*)

VISCOUNT HARDINGE said, that, as a Trustee of the National Gallery, he viewed the measure with great satisfaction. The Trustees had been repeatedly applied to by the museums of large towns for the loan of works of Art, and they had hitherto been always obliged by the terms of their trust to refuse all such applications. Another reason why the measure would be welcomed by the Trustees was that it would give them great relief in the matter of space. The Trustees had expended considerable sums of money in purchasing pictures at the late Hamilton sale and at other times. At present it had been found necessary from want of room to place them on screens, where they could not be properly seen. At the present moment, three of their most recent purchases—by Leonardo da Vinci, Botticelli, and Luca Signorelli, respectively—were in the middle of the gallery on screens, where the light was bad, and where they were seen to great disadvantage. He hoped the Government would consider, as they already had the land, the desirability of erecting an additional wing to the building. If nothing were done by Parliament in this matter, the consequence would be that for a considerable time future purchases must go unhung. He would also like to hear whether it was intended to take up this Bill and carry it through the other House during the Autumn Session?

EARL GRANVILLE said, Her Majesty's Government had declared that it was not their intention to promote legislation in the House of Commons during the Autumn Session. He presumed that no exception would be made in favour of this Bill.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly.

ARMY—OFFICERS IN CYPRUS.

QUESTION.

LORD WAVENEY asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether it is proposed that officers seconded for civil employment in Cyprus should necessarily be returned to their regiments at the termination of the original term of service of five years for which they were appointed?

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: My Lords, formerly it was the custom to encourage officers to accept civil employment, for which they were, in the usual course, seconded from their regiments. This was mainly with a view of diminishing the large number of officers who, under the Warrant of 1878, would have been compulsorily retired at 40 years of age. As the House is aware, the proportion of officers of the various ranks was considerably modified last year. The object of this modification was to improve promotion, and obviate, to a great extent, the necessity for compulsory retirements. This having been effected, it is no longer necessary or desirable to encourage officers to leave their regiments and to accept civil employment, unless the duties which such employment involves are of such a nature as to afford practical experience likely to be afterwards of advantage in military service. This is laid down in Articles 46 and 48 of the Royal Warrant of March, 1882. Consequently, officers who are now seconded for civil service in Cyprus will be allowed to complete their term of five years' service, and at the end of that term the Secretary of State has power to extend their service for another five years, if he considers that the duties intrusted to them give them experience which would be of use to them in military service. This rule will be adhered to when applications of extension of civil service are received. None could have been made up to the present time. Though the Secretary of State does not bind himself as to the course which he may adopt in dealing with very special cases, I am bound to say that under the present Regulations it is not probable that he will be able to grant extensions of terms of civil employment to the officers in question.

House adjourned at Three o'clock, till To-morrow, half past Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 17th August, 1882.

The House met at Two of the clock.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILL—*Second Reading*—Payment of Wages in Public Houses Prohibition [185].

PARLIAMENT—PRIVILEGE—MR. GRAY (COMMITMENT OF A MEMBER OF THIS HOUSE).

MR. SPEAKER acquainted the House that he had received a Letter from the Right Hon. James Lawson, which letter Mr. Speaker read to the House as followeth:—

Green Street, Dublin,
16th August, 1882.

Sir,

In conformity with what I understand to be my duty, I have the honor to inform you that Mr. Edmond Dwyer Gray, a Member of the House of Commons, was this day committed to prison for three months, by an order of mine, made in open Court, for a contempt of Court in publishing certain articles calculated to prejudice the administration of Justice under the commission under which I sit.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your obedt. Servant,
J. A. Lawson.

The Right Honble.
The Speaker of the House of Commons.

MR. MACFARLANE rose, but——

MR. GLADSTONE, who interposed, said: Sir, the hon. Member will, I am sure, excuse me for offering myself to your notice in preference to himself without any disrespect; but, in doing so, I am acting in conformity with what I believe to be a uniform and general precedent, and certainly with the most recent precedent of the House, according to which, I believe, it is deemed to be part of the responsibility of the person who may for the time being occupy the position of the Leader of the House, to offer some advice to the House in circumstances, on the one hand, of great importance, and, on the other hand, of very considerable difficulty and danger. I believe, Sir, there is no instance on record in which an occurrence such as that which is made known to us by the letter of Mr. Justice Lawson has happened in circumstances so peculiar as the present—at the very moment, namely, when the House of Commons, while it has not formally abandoned the transaction of Business, yet has reached a condition in which, as a matter of fact, the enormous numerical majority of its Members has disappeared and has dispersed itself all over the world. Independently of the question of the numerical majority, a large proportion of the most important Members of the House, a large number of those on the Opposition side of the House, and other Members of great experience, and knowledge, and importance on this side of the House, have disappeared from our Benches, so that we have, as I may appropriately remind the House, recognized, and that in a very marked and formal manner within the last few days—I will not say our incapacity or our inability to deal with any description of Business—but, undoubtedly, the inappropriateness of our attempting to deal with any such Business of a novel or a serious character. I will venture, Sir, to mention a single instance which is, I think, a case in point. The Government had to consider some short time ago whether they should advise the House now to make full provision for the order of Business when we meet in October, by asking the House to pass a Resolution that the Business which has been named as either the principal or the sole Business of the Autumn Sitting—so far as we are concerned, I may call it the sole Business that is to occupy the House—should be marked and insured to be the sole Business by the determination now that it should take precedence on every day when it was set down. But hon. Members felt, and the Government freely gave way to that feeling, that it was a question which might, conceivably, give rise to some difference of opinion, and involve matter of importance; and on that account, and notwithstanding the great practical convenience of its being immediately determined, we would not attempt to touch it. Therefore, Sir, practically the House is not at the present moment so manned and equipped as to be in a condition to approach and handle a subject of novelty, delicacy, and difficulty. The course usually taken when a Member of the House has been attached for contempt of a Court of Justice has been to appoint a Committee to inquire into the circumstances of the case, and generally these Committees have not been appointed with any distinct binding assertion on the part of the House of the extent of its own power to interfere; but the House left it to the Committee to examine and determine whether there was any reason for making a recommendation to the House. I think in no instance has any such recommendation been made. If I refer to cases within the memory of living men, and which are the only cases that have happened for a very long time indeed in the annals of the House—I mean the case of Mr. Long Wellesley in 1831, of Mr. Charlton in 1837, of Mr. Whalley in 1874, which last was different from the others in this particular, that a Dissolution of Parliament intervened between the attachment for contempt and the examination of the matter by the House of Commons—the old Parliament to which Mr. Whalley belonged at the moment when he was attached not having been in a condition to approach the question at all—I find that in none of these cases did the Committees make any practical recommendation to the House. These Committees, however, were Committees of great power, weight, and influence. The first two were Committees of Privilege, open to all Members of the House, and attended both by great numbers and by Gentlemen of great weight from all quarters of the House; and the last, which was a Select Committee, and which was deemed more agreeable to present usages, was constituted on the principle of being, as far as possible, representative of the knowledge, the authority, and the power that the House of Commons could bring to bear on the subject. It is evident, Sir, that were we to conform to the formal part of the precedents—that is to say, the immediate appointment of a Committee—we could not conform to the moral and more weighty portion of the precedent in appointing for immediate action a Commttee such as the House would regard as an adequate representation of itself on a matter touching one of the gravest and most delicate of its Privileges. That is the difficulty we have had to confront—that, while the exterior form of the precedents points to the immediate appointment of a Committee, the circumstances of the House at this moment show that we could not do justice to the House, for we could not secure the attendance of Members to make it representative or authoritative in the degree in which it is essential it should possess those characteristics. Well, Sir, that being so, we reluctantly abandon the notion of following, as on some grounds it would be desirable, what are, considered *ab extra*, the precedents applicable to the case, and asking the House to concur in the immediate appointment of a Committee. Besides the difficulties both of practice and principle which I have pointed out, there is another consideration, which has great weight with us. Of course, if the House does not think fit to appoint a Committee at present, the alternative is that the matter should stand over till the re-assembling of the House in the latter part of October. In considering that alternative we asked ourselves whether, bound as we are to guard over whatever touches the personal dignity and independence of our brother Members, that postponement would be attended with any injurious effect; and here, Sir, I am bound to say that, according to the best attention we have been able to give to the subject, and to the best advice we have been able to collect, we do not see clearly that it is in our power to act for the liberation of Mr. Gray, even had a Committee arrived at the conclusion, and had the House adopted that conclusion, that there was cause to desire his liberation. If, as on former occasions, the House saw no reason to take any step, then the imprisonment would continue, as a matter of course, with the assent of the whole House. But I assume, on the other hand, that a Committee did sit and did recommend that there had been no contempt such as, in their judgment, to warrant the imprisonment of Mr. Gray, and that there was cause, if we possess the power, to desire interference. I am not aware, however, and none of those that I have been able to consult are aware, that such a desire could in any case take practical effect. It might be in the power of the House to proceed penally against those who have brought about Mr. Gray's imprisonment. It might be the will of the House to issue an order to the keeper of the gaol in which Mr. Gray may be confined to release Mr. Gray; but we have not the smallest idea that such an order would be obeyed by the officer in charge of the gaol. Nor are we very distinctly aware of any legal or Constitutional principles on which it could be confidently affirmed that it was the duty of the officer to obey such an order. At any rate, however that may be—and far be it from me to enter upon an abstract proposition of that kind—we are not aware of any mode except that of long-delayed proceedings by which we could endeavour to act vindictively or penally, so to speak, against such an officer of the gaol, and even if we did so act it would be very doubtful whether the issue of those proceedings would have the effect of opening the prison doors. There is, of course, a higher personal authority, for, after all, the House will feel that to act upon the keeper of the gaol, who is a subordinate officer, and has nothing to do but to conform rigidly and faithfully to the orders received from superior authorities, would not be a worthy or satisfactory method of proceeding. But the system prevailing in this country has, for very strong and paramount reasons, surrounded the Judicial Bench with defences such as are impregnable to almost every kind of attack. One step only remains open to the House—to address the Crown for the removal of the Judge. [MR. CALLAN: Give us the opportunity.] I will not enter into the merits of that Motion, but I will point out with considerable confidence that the carrying of such a Motion would not have the smallest effect upon the sentence delivered by the Judge while sitting upon the Bench in the execution of his judicial duties; and, therefore, that question, however important in itself, is totally and absolutely irrelevant to the consideration I have just raised for the examination of the House—namely, that the imprisonment of a Member of Parliament who has been put into gaol cannot, through the medium of an Address against the Judge, be shortened by a single hour. That imprisonment acts by operation of law, and that operation of law cannot be disturbed in the slightest degree, nor be deflected by a hair's-breadth, to one side or the other by an action, however successful, taken by this House. I have looked at the question exclusively in this light in order to determine whether postponing to consider the question by formal inquiry until the month of October is attended with the infliction of any avoidable hardship to Mr. Gray; and I come to the conclusion that it is not, inasmuch as it does not appear that we have any means of operating effectively upon the term of imprisonment, even on the assumption that the result of the inquiry was to establish to the satisfaction of the House that the proceedings taken were not proper in Mr. Gray's case. I have avoided, deliberately avoided, any reference to the facts of the case. I do not think the House will believe, and, undoubtedly, the Government do not believe, that we are in a position to discuss them. The practice in former cases, and notably in that of Mr. Whalley, was carefully to avoid and eschew all discussion upon the merits. We admit that the attachment of a Member of Parliament is both upon principle and by precedent a just and proper subject of Parliamentary inquiry; there is no doubt whatever about that; but no discussion upon the merits of the case can in any degree strengthen the affirmation which we yield to that principle, nor is it a principle which will be questioned from any quarter whatever. That the merits should be debated at the proper time is a matter which it is not for me either to affirm or deny. Inquiry by Committee is the usual and natural method of proceeding recommended alike by precedent and policy. The sole and exclusive question I have to address myself to is whether an inquiry by Committee should be taken in hand at the present moment. I am assuming—I am not arguing—the question that if this case had happened a month ago, the precedents of former cases would be followed. But in the condition in which we are—in the semi-animated condition of the House, which we cannot by any means in our power restore to entire animation—the question is whether, considering the whole of the circumstances, we had not better wait for the time when we can have a full, competent, and satisfactory inquiry rather than attempt it at the present moment under such doubtful circumstances, when it could hardly possess any such characteristics. The other consideration—that the postponement will not lead to a prolongation of the imprisonment of Mr. Gray—should remove from our minds the only doubt we could otherwise entertain; and, under these circumstances, I will confine myself at the present moment to submitting the merely formal Motion that the letter you, Sir, have read from the Chair do lie on the Table.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Letter of Mr. Justice Lawson do lie upon the Table."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

MR. SEXTON: Sir, I shall not attempt to follow the Prime Minister into the niceties of the Constitutional questions which he has raised. It would be presumption in me to venture to attempt to compete with him in that department of knowledge. The speech which we have just heard convinced me—if I needed any convincing—that in the interest of the hon. Member for the County of Carlow (Mr. Gray), and in the interest of the dignity of the House, it is fit and most opportune that the House should have a brief sketch of the facts of the case. The hon. Member for the County of Carlow is at this moment suffering imprisonment, and the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman comes to this—that inquiry into the facts of the case should be suspended until the term of Mr. Gray's imprisonment has been almost wholly endured. But, Sir, apart from that, the more practical aspect of the question, I must also point out that the course of the learned Judge who imprisoned Mr. Gray imposes upon his Friends in this House the duty of immediately proceeding to lay before the great tribunal of public opinion such an account of Mr. Gray's conduct as it is in their power to offer. The learned Judge refused to hear Mr. Gray in Court, embarrassed him, interrupted him, and finally compelled him to stop. The learned Judge refused to consider favourably an application by Mr. Gray for an adjournment of the case. Mr. Gray represented that the summons in the case had only been served upon him late the night before, and that it would be impossible for him, if an adjournment were not granted, to lay before the Court such a view of the circumstances and the motive of his action as might induce the Law Officers of the Crown to take a more lenient view of his case. The Court refused, on the motion of the learned Solicitor General for Ireland, to adjourn the case, and the position of Mr. Gray is this—that he is not only suffering imprisonment on the grave charge of contempt of the High Court of Justice, but, after a fruitless application to be allowed to state to the Court by his own tongue the facts of his case in full, and after an application to adjourn the hearing until the case could be put before the Court in proper form had been refused. That being so, the House and the Prime Minister will see and acknowledge that it is most natural that we, the political Friends and Colleagues of Mr. Gray, should gladly seize this opportunity—the first, and emphatically the last—to lay before the House and the country some brief vindication of his conduct. I need say nothing of the position of Mr. Gray in Ireland, which is familiar to the great body of Members of this House. Mr. Gray has filled the high office of Lord Mayor of Dublin. He at present fills the important Constitutional office of High Sheriff of that City, the capital of Ireland; and in these offices he is at once the elected of the people and the Representative of the Crown. Mr. Gray in this House represents the County of Carlow. Hon. Members, whatever may be their shades of political opinion, will, I think, freely admit that the part Mr. Gray has taken in the debates of this House entitles him to the character of a man of conspicuous reasonableness of mind; and hon. Members will bear in mind that, on a recent occasion in this House, we had from him a speech marked by the highest practical ability. With regard to Mr. Justice Lawson, I should pause to note one or two circumstances which show the character of the judicial attitude assumed by him in this case. In the first place, it was from Mr. Justice Lawson that the suggestion came which moved the Law Officers of the Crown. The learned Judge was not content to wait till the Law Officers of the Crown should have thought the interests of justice required action to be taken, but on Monday morning last he seized the occasion to suggest to the Law Officers of the Crown that they ought to proceed in this highly penal and arbitrary manner. The second point is that the learned Judge refused to hear Mr. Gray fully in his own behalf in Court; and the third is that notwithstanding the very brief character of the notice given—notwithstanding the position of Mr. Gray, which ought to have entitled him to every consideration at the hands of the Court of which he was the highest official, the learned Judge peremptorily and without reasons assigned refused the adjournment of the case. Now, Sir, out of what circumstances has this imprisonment of Mr. Gray immediately arisen? The House is well aware that the Attorney General for Ireland, under the Prevention of Crimes Act, possesses the power of changing the venue of trial in the case of certain offences. This power has been exercised in respect of certain cases, and Mr. Justice Lawson is at present engaged in Dublin trying those cases which the power exercised by the right hon. and learned Gentleman had removed from the counties in which formerly they had been held. A few days ago a case of Whiteboyism was tried in that Court, and the right hon. and learned Gentleman appeared there on behalf of the Crown. But it became apparent that those practices which had most excited public feeling in Ireland in the direction of distrust in the administration of the law were again to be renewed. There was certainly no excuse for resorting to such a practice. The Government of Ireland have now the most ample powers; and if they considered in any case a jury would not satisfy the justice of the case, it is in the power of the Executive, compressed and condensed in the person of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland, to have that case tried before three Judges of the land; but the Government have oscillated between two powers, and they are neither content to use the law of the jury in its Constitutional spirit of allowing the citizens to freely enter the box, nor to resort to the other method courageously and allow the Judges to try the case. In this case of Whiteboyism what happened? Nineteen gentlemen of the City of Dublin, nearly all of them Catholics in creed or Liberals in politics, were ordered to stand aside, and a jury almost exclusively Protestant was empannelled to try the prisoners.

MR. BULWER: I rise to Order. (*Cries of* "Sit down!") I rise to Order, Mr. Speaker. I ask whether the hon. Member for Sligo is in Order in his remarks?

MR. SPEAKER: So far as the hon. Member has proceeded I have not felt it to be my duty to interfere.

MR. SEXTON: I was endeavouring to deal with the circumstances which immediately led to those expressions of opinion in the paper of Mr. Gray upon what I call deliberately the packing of the jury in the Whiteboy case—the packing of the jury by persons being objected to by the Crown, which is as effective a method of packing as by the direct entry into the box of persons committed to their purpose. On that proceeding *The Freeman* wrote in the following terms:—

"Yesterday, at the Commission Court, the first jury trial under the recent Crimes Act took place. John Connor and three others, all natives of Kerry, were placed in the dock charged with, on March 17 last, at Fabey, in the county of Kerry, having attacked the house of Mrs. Maybury, the widow of an officer in the Army. Under the ordinary law the men would have been tried in Kerry, where the alleged offence took place; but, availing himself of the provision of the Crimes Act, the Attorney General removed the case to Dublin, and under the same measure a special jury was empanelled from a joint county and city panel. The Crown exercised their right to challenge on such a wholesale scale that no less than 19 persons, some of them among our most respectable citizens, were ordered to stand aside. The facts of the case will be found reported elsewhere. All the prisoners were convicted, but the jury accompanied their finding with a strong recommendation to mercy, and sentence was deferred."

Such were the terms of the first of the writings, and I claim in this House that the article I have read is a bald and bare record of the facts of the case, and does not contain one word, one syllable, or one iota deserving the title of comment. The animus of the proceeding on the part of the Crown is plainly shown by the fact that a harmless and colourless piece of writing such as this, limited strictly to the bare record of the facts, has been made an item of charge against Mr. Gray; and the Solicitor General, who appeared on behalf of the Crown to move for an attachment against the High Sheriff of Dublin, spoke of the article as an improper interference by a public newspaper with the administration of justice and with the proceedings of that Court. He said—

"It was absolutely intolerable that such comments should be made by an individual, be he a journalist or a member of another profession or class. The exercise of the right of supervision over the proceedings of that Court was left by law with the Judge, and with the Judge alone. Every person who had the most elementary acquaintance with the rules of law was perfectly well aware that the exercise of the right of telling a juror to 'stand by' was vested in the Attorney General, and was a right that was unquestionable. He had himself been present when that right was largely exercised, and it was not even commented on by counsel for the prisoner. That right was exercised for obvious reasons, and there was no imputation cast on a juror when the Attorney General told him to stand aside. In this matter the Crown had uncontrolled discretion, and the object of the article which he had read was, it was obvious, to throw discredit on the administration of justice, and to interfere with the fair, calm, and impartial proceedings of that Court. Such comments could only lead to prejudice, so that the law could not be put into force. According to *The Freeman's Journal* they ought not to be there at all, and if one paper was permitted to act in this way so should other papers, and where would it end? Such a thing was intolerable, and the article referred to, if it stood alone, would warrant the censure of the Court."

From a learned Gentleman occupying the position of Law Officer of the Crown there never proceeded a series of such extraordinary and grotesque assertions. Absolutely intolerable that comment should be made by any public journal! What, then, is the meaning of the boasted liberty of the Press and of that important Constitutional function to which England, as well as Ireland, owes so many things that have led to political reforms—those spirited and just comments in the interests of liberty which English journalists have never been afraid to make, and which have been the lights on the high road of legal reform and the liberty of the subject? It is extraordinary that in the end of the 19th century a Law Officer of a Liberal Government should rise up and state that it was intolerable that the public Press should comment on the proceedings in a Court of Justice, that the right of supervision over the proceedings of the Court was left by law with the Judge, and with the Judge alone. Is there no right of supervision here, for instance? Has not this House of Parliament the right to review, consider, decide, and pronounce upon the conduct of Mr. Justice Lawson? And is not this House of Parliament assured of the Constitutional right, as the right hon. Gentleman has pointed out in the course of his lucid address, to move for an Address to the Crown? I am perplexed to imagine what can have led to the condition of recklessness of mind which induced the hon. and learned Gentleman to rise up in Court and to make statements of this character. The right to challenge is vested in the Attorney

General; but by what unspoken sacredness are the functions of the Attorney General to be relieved and sheltered from the right of criticism in the public Press, and the criticism of this House, which, Sir, this House claims to exercise over every official, whatever may be his position, and over the Crown itself? ["Oh!"] Are not the acts of the Crown, as administered by the Government, subject to the decision of this House? Are not the acts of the Viceroy subject to criticism in the Press and in this Assembly? The right hon. Gentlemen the Prime Minister at the head of the Government has from day to day to deliver utterances and to do acts connected with the most difficult and delicate affairs of State imaginable. Has he ever been able to shelter himself behind a Constitutional Prerogative? Ha she ever been able to say to any writer in the Press, "You shall not criticize my conduct?" Has he not been for 50 years in the full light of critisism, often hostile, often ungenerous, often fierce, often conscientious? Has he ever been able, in the course of his long life, to shelter himself behind such a nonsensical plea as that advanced by the Solicitor General for Ireland? There is no man in this Realm, even though he be the highest, who can shelter himself behind a plea the effect of which—the tendency and purpose of which—is to render public opinion nugatory. The Solicitor General for Ireland said—"There is no imputation upon a juror that the Attorney General for Ireland asks to stand aside." Does anyone believe that fiction? Does anyone believe that Mr. James M'Gee, a respectable man, who came from Llandudno, in Wales, to be a juror, did not consider that to be an insult? That is the feeling of any man who is told to stand aside; and though the Attorney General for Ireland may wrap it up as he likes, there is only one reason for calling on a juror to stand aside, and that was the reason *The Freeman's Journal* pointed out, which was, the Law Officer of the Crown did not believe that Catholic jurors on their oaths deserved to be treated with confidence and respect. If the right hon. Gentleman opposite disapproves of that explanation of motive, there is an alternative. Will he say that Catholic and Liberal gentlemen were ordered to stand aside because they did not return a verdict of "guilty?" And that being the reason, if a man could not be relied upon to return a verdict of "guilty," was the Law Officer of the Crown entitled to tell such a man to stand aside? The first article in *The Freeman's Journal* complained of was simply in the nature of a comment, and the Solicitor General, in his passionate impeachment against Mr. Gray, said that if it stood alone it was sufficient to justify the interference of the Court. Before leaving the Whiteboy case, I will give the House some idea of the gentleman upon whose affidavit the Crown has moved in the matter. The gentleman in question is Mr. Alexander Morphy, the Crown Solicitor for Kerry and Clare. He was one of the most officious officers of the last Cork Assizes, who were engaged in flagrant and persistent jury packing. He was the Crown Solicitor who refused to pay the expenses of witnesses from Clare and Limerick who were brought to Cork, and thereby deprived many persons of the means of returning to their homes. He was the Crown Solicitor who refused to pay the expenses of traversers from County Kerry, and in consequence of this conduct on his part many of the traversers were reduced to a condition of starvation. I know the case of one woman who had suffered considerable hardship, and she was obliged to go into the Court and offer the plea of "guilty." This is the gentleman on whose affidavit, read in the Court at Green Street, the imprisonment of Mr. Gray took place. Then there was the trial of Francis Hynes for the murder of John Doloughty. The Crown, it appears, proceeded still further in this case, and the jury panel, from which the jury was selected, consisted of 49 jurors. The prisoner challenged 11, leaving 38, and of these 38 jurors the Crown challenged 26. It was obvious from the first that the Crown had selected the panel from the County and City of Dublin, upon which they thought they could rely for a vigorous and rigorous administration of justice. But the Crown went further, and they still further filtered the panel by ordering 26 jurors to stand aside. I, therefore, call upon the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland to show to this House the reason why those men have been told to stand aside, and to explain, if he can, if there was any other reason except that those gentlemen were Catholics and Liberals in politics for their being cast aside. Well, Sir, upon the hearing of the two cases at the Special Commission, *The Freeman's Journal* wrote the following article:—

> "We are unwilling to credit the rumour that the Crown have resolved that juries exclusively, or almost exclusively, Protestant should determine in some cases the liberty in others the lives of the prisoners on trial at Green Street. Yet colour is lent to the report by the fact that yesterday in the capital case, just as on the previous day in the Whiteboy case, Catholic gentlemen of admitted respectability and position were ordered to stand aside when they took the book to be sworn. To the gentlemen in question no stereotyped 'trade' objection can be made, and the inference, therefore, is that they were shoved aside from their duties as jurors simply because they are Catholics. If this is true, an odious, and, it was hoped, obsolete practice has been revived, and the course taken, unnecessary as it is injudicious, must naturally cause indignation and resentment in Catholic circles. The notion that such men as Edward Lenehan, of Castle Street, William Dennehy, of John Street, and others whom we could mention, should not be trusted to find a true verdict according to evidence in county cases brought to Dublin for trial, which is the simple and only inference, is offensive in the extreme. The representatives of the Crown would not venture to publicly make such a declaration; yet the names of the gentlemen specified appear in the published list of the rejected. The matter is one that calls for inquiry and explanation. For the present we will only express our regret that the representatives of the Crown should deem it necessary and expedient to 'Boycott' Catholic jurors of the city and county of Dublin. ['Hear, hear!'] That this has been done we fear there is no doubt, and we apprehend that no other interpretation of the action of the Crown can be given than that the Catholic gentlemen are subjected to the shocking imputation that they are not unprepared to violate the solemn obligation of their oath in cases which are supposed to arise out of political agitation in the country; and would the managers of the Crown prosecutions in Green Street dare openly make such an accusation?"

Now, this article was, at the most, a demand for an investigation, and it was formally an expression of opinion on the practices the Crown had resorted to in forming the juries that tried two cases. I cannot understand that an article of this kind, founded on discreet and temperate language, pointing out to the Crown what course should be pursued in future, could in any way have interfered with verdicts. The right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite had said that the question of religion never for a moment entered into the heads of the Law Officers of the Crown, and he admitted the respectability of the men told to stand aside, and said that their being told to stand aside was not meant as the slightest reproach to them, any more than if they had been called upon to stand aside on being challenged by the prisoner. What did the order to stand aside mean? The oath of a person is that as between our Sovereign Lady the Queen and the prisoner he will give a true verdict according to the evidence; therefore, the Crown, in ordering a juror to stand by, must regard him as a person who would not do his duty; for if he was a person who would give a true verdict according to the evidence, the Crown had not a shadow of right to prevent him from entering the jury-box. Is the position of the Crown this—that Catholics are not entitled to enter the box, and that Liberal gentlemen who are not Catholics, but are adherents of the right hon. Gentleman, in the case of an agrarian movement with which they have a sympathy, however remote, ought to be suspected? It is a curious fact, certainly, that the right hon. and learned Gentleman who sat opposite, who is supposed to be on the side of Liberalism, and is expected to support it in this House, is the man who in Ireland calls upon Liberal jurors to stand aside, and there acts as their political opponent. The Solicitor General declared that the article I have just read to the House transcended in audacity, and the statements it contained were without foundation. Well, was there any doubt about the fact that 17 jurymen who were Liberals were excluded from the Whiteboy trial, and 16 Liberal and Catholic jurors in the murder case? On two juries there was only one Catholic; and does the right hon. and learned Gentleman venture to say that that peculiar composition of the juries was accidentally brought about, or that it was an honest and legal jury according to the spirit of law and the Constitution? The next step in the case was the letter of Mr. O'Brien. The jury that tried the Hynes' case retired from the Court to the Imperial Hotel. Mr. William O'Brien happened to be staying at the hotel. The Solicitor General for Ireland said he did not know who Mr. William O'Brien was. Well, he was very likely to succeed the Attorney General for Ireland, not in Office, but as Member for the borough of Mallow. Mr. O'Brien was much better known in

Ireland than the Solicitor General himself. Mr. William O'Brien happened to be staying at the Imperial Hotel, where the jury was stopping for the night the day between the beginning and the finish of the Hynes' trial. He thought it his duty to write the following letter to *The Freeman's Journal*, which I will read to the House:—

"To the Editor of *The Freeman*.
"Imperial Hotel, Dublin,
"Saturday, August 12.

"Dear Sir,—I think the public ought to be made aware of the following facts. The jury in the murder case of the Queen *v.* Hynes were last night 'locked up,' as it is termed, for the night at the Imperial Hotel, where I also was staying. I was awakened from sleep shortly after midnight by the sounds of a drunken chorus, succeeded after a time by scuffling, rushing, coarse laughter, and horse-play along the corridor on which my bedroom opens. A number of men, it seemed to me, were falling about the passage in a maudlin state of drunkenness, playing ribald jokes. I listened with patience for a considerable time, when the door of my bedroom was burst open, and a man whom I can identify (for he carried a candle unsteadily in his hand) staggered in, plainly under the influence of drink, hiccuping, 'Hallo, old fellow, all alone?' My answer was of a character that induced him to bolt out of the room in as disordered a manner as he had entered. Having rung the bell, I ascertained that these disorderly persons were jurors in the case of the Queen *v.* Hynes, and that the servants of the hotel had been endeavouring in vain to bring them to a sense of their misconduct. I thought it right to convey to them a warning that the public would hear of their proceedings. The disturbance then ceased. It is fair to add that no more than three or four men appeared to be engaged in the roaring and in the tipsy horse-play that followed. I leave the public to judge the loathsomeness of such a scene upon the night when these men held the issues of life and death for a young man in the flower of youth—when they had already heard evidence which, if unrebutted, they must have known would send him to a felon's grave. The facts I am ready to support upon oath.

"WILLIAM O'BRIEN."

Now, these 12 men, of whom that letter was written, went into Court next day and found a verdict of "Guilty" against the unfortunate man Hynes. The Solicitor General had to admit that before they had time to have any effect the publication of *The Freeman's Journal* article and the publication of the letter of Mr. William O'Brien took place, and, according to all I have heard of the Constitutional theory of contempt of Court, the time had passed when this letter should be treated as a matter of contempt at all, as the issue of the trial could not be affected by the publication of that communication. It could not be pretended, even by the most ingenious person, that the issue of the trial could be altered by that letter, because the jury had already done their duty; and yet its publication was treated as a contempt of Court, for which Mr. Gray is now lying in prison. What was Mr. Gray's duty as a public journalist? The Solicitor General says—

"Presuming that Mr. Gray knew the letter to be genuine, that he received it in his office as a genuine communication, what was his duty? As a public journalist he ought not to have published such a communication at all. Comments in newspapers on the conduct of jurors was a matter which could not for a moment be permitted."

["Hear, hear!"] An hon. Gentleman says "Hear, hear!" Does the hon. Gentleman mean to say that jurors can get dead drunk and be guilty of riotous misconduct in the hotel when a man's life or death is in their hands, for all this misconduct on their part occurred the night before they delivered their verdict, which is to take away the life of a fellow-creature? Does the hon. Member mean that all this may occur without the facts being brought to the knowledge of anyone? But what does the Solicitor General say? He said—

"This was for the Court alone, and if the jurors misconducted themselves, it was for the Court to reprove them."

Mr. William O'Brien, however, had no *locus standi* before the Court. The conduct of the jurors was not a matter within the purview of the trial of the Queen *v.* Hynes. If Mr. William O'Brien had offered evidence of what occurred in the dead of night at the hotel, he would probably have been told that it was not a question relevant to the trial. He took the readiest and surest means of bringing public opinion to bear upon the matter when he wrote that letter. The Solicitor General says—

"When a case had concluded, there might be some ground of explanation; but when other cases remained to be tried, there was nothing short of scandalous audacity in such a letter, and the person who published it should be held responsible."

And then he went on to make this extraordinary declaration, that—

"If there was any misconduct on the part of the jurors, Mr. Gray was the person who was responsible for it. It was his duty as High Sheriff to have, as was in his power, prevented the publication of such a letter."

In other words, because Mr. Gray held a certain office he was to alter the principles by which he guided the conduct of the newspaper with which he was intrusted. Anyone with a knowledge of newspapers must admit the absurdity of such an explanation. As High Sheriff, Mr. Gray could have no knowledge of the proceedings of the jurors in the hotel, because the Sub-sheriff was the official immediately responsible. Nothing can more clearly show the animus of the Solicitor General and the animus of the Court which he addressed than the declaration that Mr. Gray, who could have no knowledge of the proceedings of the jurors in the dead of the night, was, notwithstanding, held responsible. Let me now call attention to the article in *The Freeman's Journal* commenting upon the letter of Mr. O'Brien. These are the words—

> "On Saturday, Francis Hynes was found guilty of the murder of John Doloughty. The circumstances of the case were in every sense most lamentable. We cannot think that the evidence will so far satisfy the public conscience as to induce it to regard the execution of the capital sentence on Hynes with equanimity. True, the dying man, when questioned as to the murderer, repeated more than once the words 'Francy,' or 'Francy Hynes.' But then the fear of Hynes was long fixed in his mind, and his wounds were of such a character as to be calculated to unsettle his mind. The mere repetition of a dreaded name is, under such circumstances, very different from a detailed story of how the crime was committed. Nothing of this kind was given; and, on the whole, without desiring in any way to screen the guilty, we say that it would be safer for the Executive not to rush too hastily to the application of the blood penalty in a case in which there certainly is an element of doubt, and we say that the ends of justice would be better served if sentence were commuted."

Now, I ask the House if it was not open to a public journalist to make, in moderate, discreet, and respectful language, a suggestion with respect to the fact of a prisoner to the Executive in whose hands the Constitutional power is placed to uphold or reverse the decision of a jury? Nothing could be more Constitutional—indeed, it is the ordinary practice adopted in England; and it is within the most ordinary experience of every Englishman that after a capital sentence has been passed a moderate and respectful recommendation of this kind should be made. This, I say, has been repeatedly done, and, almost as a matter of course, such a recommendation has led to a respite by the Crown. The case of Hynes was one of shooting on the public road. The man was shot in the face and eyes; he became blind, and a portion of the shot entered the brain, which, according to the evidence given, must have had an immediate effect on the condition of the man's faculties. When a priest came to him on the road a short time afterwards, the man could hardly speak distinctly when he tried to follow the words of the Act of Contrition used in the Catholic Church; and, after that, his power of speech failing, and the man falling into a state of unconsciousness, physically and mentally, the priest did not administer to him the last Sacrament of the Catholic Church. The Resident Magistrate came and put questions to the dying man, and it is upon answers given by a person in the condition described by the priest that the evidence rests by which Hynes was convicted. It must also be borne in mind that between the man that was shot and Hynes ill-feeling had existed, and that at the instance of Hynes the former had been on one occasion bound over to keep the peace. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that the feeling of dislike might still have lingered in the dying man's mind, so as to give a certain colour to his statements. This is an element in the case which any lawyer would not exclude from the consideration of the case, especially where the life of a man depends upon those statements. With regard to the letter of Mr. O'Brien, *The Freeman's Journal* says—

> "But what shall we say of the fearful tale given by Mr. William O'Brien with reference to the conduct of the jury on the night before they found a verdict which was to bring Hynes to a dishonoured grave. It is fearful; it is horrible; it makes one shudder. In what state of mind could these men have been a few hours after the proceedings described. They were called upon to decide whether a fellow-creature was to live or die. Can the Executive refuse to take cognizance of Mr. O'Brien's proffered evidence? Can they refuse to act upon it if proved to be true? Knowing Mr. O'Brien as we do, we place the most absolute confidence in every word he says. But let the Executive test his veracity. If it remains unimpeached, then we say that his declarations are such as to make us blush for our common humanity. We have heard of men hanging that jurymen might dine; but what of a man hanging because jurymen have dined—not wisely, but too well."

One would have imagined that the Solicitor General and the learned Judge would be anxious to seize the slightest opportunity to invite, or to compel if necessary, the evidence of Mr. O'Brien in regard to his public statement of the shameful and shocking scenes of which he was a witness at the hotel. No, Sir; the Crown entirely shirked this evidence. The Crown stood upon the verdict of the jury, and the Solicitor General contented himself with saying that he did not admit that there was a word of truth in the letter, and that it was a matter which could not be inquired into. Consider how extraordinary is the stand taken by the Crown; although the life of a human being hung on the issue whether it was true or not, the Crown and the Court were not to inquire into it. Yet the charge made by Mr. Gray was that such conduct on the part of jurors vitiated the verdict; that men who overnight conducted themselves so riotously and indecently could not be trusted the next morning to give a verdict of life or death against a fellow-creature. Mr. Justice Lawson complimented the jury, and entirely rejected the idea that the gentlemen composing the jury could be capable of the atrocious conduct attributed to them. Therefore, the learned Judge admitted that the conduct, if it took place, was atrocious. But although he could readily have inquired into its truth, he merely said that he believed the statement to be entirely untrue. What would the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary have said if in England in any case of this kind the conduct of the jury was impugned, and the Judge refused to hear evidence? I have received from Ireland several affidavits bearing upon the statement contained in Mr. O'Brien's letter, and these I will, with the permission of the House, now read. This is the first—

"I, Alfred Martin, twenty-one years of age and upwards, billiard marker at the Imperial Hotel, Sackville Street, Dublin, make oath and say that on Friday night, the 11th inst., I saw six men whom I knew to be members of the jury in the case of the Queen v. Hynes in the public billiard-room. I do not know where the rest of the jury were at the time, but they were not in the billiard-room. There were four persons in the billiard-room at the time who were not members of the jury. They were Mr. Bushe, Major Wynne, Dr. Cusack, and another stranger, a friend of Mr. Reis. I saw the jurors mixing with other persons, who were not members of the jury. Mr. Reis handicapped a game of billiards in which persons not jurors were playing. Mr. Reis was intoxicated. I came to that conclusion from his conduct. He was keeping ringing the bell, and when the waiter came he said he did not want him, and that he never rung. He was making a noise and jumping about. Mr. Campbell, the sub-sheriff's son, seeing him smoking cigars, told him he was rather extravagant in cigars. He said that he would smoke as much as he was in the habit of smoking at home. I saw jurors call for several drinks, and Major Wynne joined them in the drink. Mr. Reis remained an hour and a-half in the billiard-room. The jurors went upstairs at about a quarter to twelve. I am perfectly convinced that Mr. Reis was under the influence of drink. ALFRED R. MARTIN.

"Sworn before me this 17th day of August, 1882, at the Imperial Hotel, Lower Sackville Street, in the county of the city of Dublin, a Commissioner for taking Affidavits in the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland; and I know the deponent.—JOHN STONE, Commissioner."

"I, Elizabeth Josephine Carberry, 21 years of age and upwards, make oath and say—I lodge at the Imperial Hotel. My bedroom is No. 24, which opens on the upper corridor. No. 17, which, I am informed, is Mr. O'Brien's room, is on the same corridor. I have read Mr. O'Brien's letter in *The Freeman's Journal* of Monday last containing an account of the occurrences on the corridor outside my room on Friday night last. I consider the letter gives a very moderate account of the noise and misconduct going on on the corridor on that night. Several persons were taking part in the disturbance. They came to my door several times and turned the handle. They kicked at the door again and again. I thought they would smash the fanlight over the door by knocking at it with their knuckles. Only that my door was locked I believe that they would have forced it in. From their boisterous conduct I believe that they must have been under the influence of drink. When I read Mr. O'Brien's letter I thought he described their conduct very mildly. The disturbance continued from about 12 to 12.30 o'clock. E. J. CARBERRY.

"Sworn before me this 17th day of August, 1882, at the Imperial Hotel, Lower Sackville Street, in the county of the city of Dublin, a Commissioner for taking Affidavits in the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland, and I know the deponent.

"JOHN STONE, Commissioner."

"I, William O'Brien, 21 years and upwards, make oath and say—I am the writer of the letter which appeared in *The Freeman* of 14th August, as to the disturbance on the upper corridor of the Imperial Hotel on Friday night, when the jury in Hynes' case were staying at the hotel. I am informed by the proprietor of the hotel, and believe that the upper corridor was cleared that night for the accommodation of the jurors, and the only persons not jurors who were left to occupy rooms on that corridor that night were Miss Carberry and myself, who are permanent lodgers in the hotel. I swear that my letter gives a true representation of what occurred shortly after midnight on the corridor, The disturbance lasted for a considerable time before my door was burst open. The man who entered my room was under the influence of drink. He was a low-sized, dark-complexioned, black-haired man, and wore glasses. After he left the room I rang, and complained to the night porter of the intolerable misconduct that was going on. The noise shortly after ceased on the corridor, and on looking at my watch I found it was twenty-five minutes to one o'clock. I had no opportunity of seeing anybody except the man who entered my room, and whom I can identify, but at least three persons must have been engaged in the shouting, rushing, and scuffling upon the corridor.

"WILLIAM O'BRIEN.

"Sworn before me this 17th day of August, 1882, at St. Andrew Street, in the county of the city of Dublin, and I know deponent.—WILLIAM J. RYAN, a Commissioner to administer Oaths in the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland."

"I, Richard O'Connor, assistant porter in the Imperial Hotel, Sackville Street, Dublin, make oath and say that shortly before twelve o'clock at night on Friday, the 11th instant, I saw Mr. Reis, and the other jurors in the case of the Queen *v.* Hynes, coming upstairs from the billiard-room. In passing me Mr. Reis raised his hand as if to strike me, and as a rough sort of joke. He just looked in at the door of the coffee room, and went upstairs. He was under the influence of drink. I know Mr. Reis for three years past. When going up to his bedroom I heard Reis ask where did the women sleep. The night porter said it was three stories higher up. Reis said, 'Let us go up to them.'

"RICHARD O'CONNOR.

"Sworn before me this 17th day of August, 1882, at the Imperial Hotel, Lower Sackville Street, in the county of the city of Dublin, a Commissioner for taking Affidavits in the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland, and I know the deponent.

"JOHN STONE, Commissioner."

I must now ask the Government whether they agreed with the Solicitor General and Judge Lawson that this matter was one which should not be inquired into? Would they accept the dictum of Mr. Justice Lawson that the statement of misconduct on the part of the jurors must have been a pure invention? Here we have the sworn affidavits of the whole of the staff of the hotel, of Mr. O'Brien, and of the lady who resided there, who were observers of the whole conduct of the jurymen while at the hotel. In this matter we have an infinitely better case than that brought against Hynes; and I have to ask whether Mr. Gray did not discharge a sacred and public duty in taking the earliest opportunity of laying before that great tribunal, which is superior to Judges and rulers, this very important matter? In this matter it is not only the position of Mr. Gray that is involved, but also the life of a human being, and I call upon the Government to grant us such an inquiry into the charges against the jury as shall be satisfactory. If such a case were to occur in England, the Home Secretary would not hesitate for one moment to order that the most drastic and the most searching inquiry should at once be instituted into the conduct of the jurors; and the same course ought to be pursued in this case. The main point to be considered is that raised by the letter of Mr. O'Brien, and the question is whether the verdict found by the jurors who, previous to its delivery, were in the condition that has been described, will be allowed to be upheld, and the capital sentence of the law carried out. That is the question which Mr. Gray desired to raise, and it had been the Constitutional practice and the habit of Pressmen in this country to adopt such a course. We all are aware of the comments made in *The Daily Telegraph* respecting the Lamson case, but no one ever suggested that *The Daily Telegraph* should be prosecuted for those comments. The Government have now in their hands such extreme powers that they ought to be careful not to expose themselves to any imputation that the administration of the law was carried out in a harsh and oppressive manner. We call upon the Government to give us at once such a reply as they can make in this matter. As I have stated, I claim on the part of Mr. Gray that he has done nothing but what he was entitled to do, and what I contend it was his duty to do. In regard to the packing of the jurors, I ask the right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland to say upon what ground he ordered 26 jurors to stand aside in the case of Hynes. It is a matter of exceeding gravity that a Member of this House and the Representative of the Queen herself in Dublin should be imprisoned because he has endeavoured to save the life of a fellow-being by publishing to the world the disgraceful conduct of the tribunal by which he had been convicted, and because he has asked that the law should be administered with decency. The long and short of the story is that the Crown enters the Court to convict by any and every means, and if they asked jurors to stand aside it was because

Catholics might be considered to have more sympathy with an agrarian movement out of which a case might have arisen, and in order that Protestants who were in sympathy with the landlords might try the case. I say that the most dangerous and the most perilous and shocking and disgraceful interference with the law has taken place by the Law Officers of the Crown excluding from serving on juries one of the great classes of the country, because of their religious opinions. If such cases as these are allowed to take place, and the rights of citizens are not duly considered by the Crown, I appeal to any man of common sense to say how far the operation of the Land Act will benefit the country. In the face of such actions as these to which we now seriously object no Land Act, however good it may be, will operate to produce that tranquillity and return of order which is aimed at so long as the Government and the authorities outrage public feeling. So long as the life of the accused subject is at the mercy of personal feeling and party chicanery it will be impossible for any measures of reform, no matter how large and wise, to produce in the general mind that feeling which we all desire should exist. I solemnly implore the Government to take into their consideration both the circumstances under which this unfortunate youth has been condemned to death, and the circumstances and the honest desire for the due administration of justice which have induced Mr. Gray to use the influence of his journal in the manner he has. I ask the Attorney General for Ireland, if it be within his power, not to postpone the consideration of the sentence until October, but to consider the case fully, and not to permit this scandal to work evil and demoralizing effects upon the public mind in Ireland.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): Notwithstanding the charge made against me of showing partizan feeling and being guilty of legal chicanery—[Mr. BIGGAR: Hear, hear!]—I shall not be diverted from the plain and short statement of the facts which I rise to make to the House. The hon. Member has said the articles in *The Freeman's Journal* were written with the object of bringing before the Executive circumstances deserving of consideration in determining the question whether the capital sentence on the man Hynes should be carried out or not. The circumstances which the Lord Lieutenant ought to consider are wholly unconnected with the matter which he introduced to the House. With reference to the affidavits, they are matters which are now stated in the House for the first time. As I understand they were sworn yesterday, and the hon. Member has got their contents by telegraph. I would ask the House to observe that Mr. Gray was the High Sheriff of the City of Dublin when this trial took place. It was in his custody these jurors were. He was bound, in a case of life and death, to intrust to no subordinate the care of the jury. He ought to have conducted them from the Court, to have taken care that no one communicated with them, to have kept them separate, and to have seen that they were only supplied with proper refreshments. It was his duty to conduct them from the place where the bailiffs were sworn to the hotel, which it was his duty to select, and to see that they were accommodated in a portion of it so constructed that they could not communicate with the outer world. How had Mr. Gray discharged those duties? Mr. Gray complained that all was not done which might have been done; but surely it was not for him to make such a complaint. It is plain that all that Mr. Gray ought to have done as High Sheriff he did not do. I cannot imagine anything more terrible, if it be true, than the statement of what occurred in the hotel. ["Hear, hear!" *from Home Rule Members.*] I beg the House to bear with me, and to believe me when I state that I would not for a moment say that with the view of provoking a Party cheer, for throughout this matter I shall endeavour to do my duty honourably, and I only ask time to lay the facts before the House—not with the view on my own part or that of my hon. Colleague of preventing any investigation of the matter. The facts mentioned by the hon. Member ought to be inquired into, for I say, again, that I can imagine nothing more terrible, if the facts as stated are true. The Lord Lieutenant will consider this statement, now that it has been made by a Member of Parliament in his place. He will carefully investigate it, not with reference to the trial at all, but with reference to the carrying out of the capital sentence. As to the charge of jury packing, the hon. Member was not in the House when on Tuesday night it was made by the hon. Member for Louth (Mr. Callan). I gave it then, as I give it now, the most complete and absolute denial. There is not a particle of foundation for it. I carefully abstained from inquiring into the religion or politics of any single member of the jury panel. I gave instructions to the Crown Solicitor, himself a Catholic, to take care that an impartial jury was chosen to try the Whiteboy case. I did not repeat the direction in the murder case, as it would be taken as a standing direction. The Crown Solicitor was to take care that there was an impartial jury, and, if necessary, to exercise the Crown's right to order a juror to stand by. I do not know, nor have I heard, anything as to the religion or politics of the jurors. ["Oh, oh!"] Well, I am quite prepared for the hon. Member's (Mr. Callan's) interruption; but I do not believe there is another Member in the House who would so interrupt me. The hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) has now informed me what I did not know before —namely, that some of those ordered to stand aside were Protestants, but Liberals. [Mr. SEXTON: One or two only.] Just so; I do not know a single circumstance about the politics or religion of the jurors more than I am told. But at first we heard that the whole of those ordered to stand aside were Catholics, and now that some were Protestants. The only case in which I intervened was in the case of a Roman Catholic gentleman who asked to be excused on the ground that he had conscientious scruples against sitting on a case which might be followed by capital punishment. Then there were some gentlemen who instructed counsel to appear in Court and make technical objections to their being on the panel. I said that rather than waste public time by arguing the point, I would dispose of the matter by asking them to stand aside when their names were called. There were four or five of these. There were some cases in which someone called out, "These are gentlemen of the Press," and I ordered them to stand by. These were the only cases in which I intervened. In the Whiteboy case there could be no doubt of the guilt of the prisoners. They had never been lost sight of from the time of committing the offence. The jury disagreed in Kerry, and I moved the venue to Dublin. What are the facts of this Whiteboy case as they appeared in Court? There was a widow lady who lived near Tralee. She was the widow of a certain major in the Army, and had with her in the house a sister-in-law, a serving maid, and two daughters. The serving maid was away at the time. At about half-past 8 o'clock in the evening four men came to the house and carried off two swords and a gun. It was only arms they wanted, and when the lady discovered this she appeared to have entertained no further fears of personal violence. These men then proceeded to the house of a farmer in the neighbourhood to take his gun. The man was in a state of drunkenness at the time, and was unable to defend himself in consequence, and his daughter was so frightened that she immediately handed over the gun, although her father, who was almost drunk, tried to prevent her. They also carried off some ammunition. It was arms alone they wanted. The police patrol, of whose courage and skill it is impossible to speak too highly, came down the road at the time. They were five in number, and three went on one side of the ditch, and two on the other. They allowed the marauders to pass them, and followed them up the road to see where they were going. They saw them go into a house, and when the police entered they found the four men there. They not only identified them, but also the sword and the guns which they had stolen. The men were arrested by the constables on the spot, and there could be no doubt whatever of the evidence of identification before an impartial jury. In the pocket of the leader were found the papers. One was a summons to attend a meeting—obviously a Fenian meeting —convened in Tralee. It was addressed to him, and contained a caution that the person receiving that summons should produce it as his credential of being a proper person to attend it. The meeting was convened for half-past 2 o'clock on the day as it appeared upon this summons, and I take it for granted that he and his comrades did attend that meeting. Probably they were not able to return home, as they lived seven miles off, but started on the road with these documents in their leader's pocket. The second contained general orders of a military character issued to the Irish Republican Brotherhood. These military orders stated the way in which this secret organization should act, and the way in which arms should be forwarded under the title of "Goods." That was accompanied by a printed political manifesto, and I am sorry that the papers are not on the Table of the House, that the House might judge of their tendency. These men were arrested on a charge of endeavouring to carry out a treasonable conspiracy, and were never out of the hands of the police from the time of their arrest until they came before the jury. I appeal to the House whether it is not a case upon which a fair and impartial jury could not do otherwise than convict. Now I come to the case of Doloughty. I would not trouble the House with all the details but for the speeches of hon. Members for Ireland. Of course, if I do not answer, it would be taken as an admission on my part of those statements. In this case a person of the name of Francis Hynes was indicted for the murder of a man named Doloughty. It appeared that Doloughty had not an enemy in the world. His sole offence was this. He was herd to the Hynes family, but for some reason or other transferred his allegiance in that capacity to another farmer in the neighbourhood. From that time he was subjected to repeated nocturnal visits. When they found it was impossible to intimidate him they endeavoured to seduce his allegiance by coaxing. They failed equally in this. I should state that the three Hynes, the man indicted for murder, and his two brothers, were brought before the magistrate a year and a-half before this for the purpose of being bound over to keep the peace towards this unfortunate man. His employer armed him with a revolver, which the police were obliged to show him how to use for his own protection. This man who was subsequently charged with murder was bound over to keep the peace for 12 months upon sureties. In this state of things, upon this Sunday morning poor Doloughty and his wife came into Mass at the Roman Catholic Chapel at Ennis, and left after the benediction—the last benediction before the murder was committed. On leaving Mass he walked on in advance of his wife; but, shortly afterwards, the wife was found sitting on the roadside with the bleeding head of her dying husband in her lap. After the murder had been committed some relief was got from the residence of the priest, and the wife was heard to exclaim—"Will no one go for the police?" The dying man mentioned the name of Hynes in such a way as to suggest that he was denouncing his murderer. Before he died he received the consolations of his religion from the priest, who, by inadvertence, was not called. Reflecting on the case overnight, I felt that this was an omission; and in the morning the jury, who were alleged to have been guilty during the night of what could not be described by the word misconduct, spontaneously expressed a desire to hear what the priest could tell them, although the case was concluded, with the exception of the reply and the summing up. The evidence of the priest was this. Those who are well acquainted with the Catholic Service well know that the Act of Contrition is very long, and is very difficult to go through.

MR. SEXTON: Five lines repeated.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): It takes some time.

MR. SEXTON: It is only five lines repeated.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): Well, it takes some considerable time.

MR. CALLAN: Repeated, repeated.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): At any rate, the man's articulation was imperfect. He had received the gun charge of shot in the face, and it must have been delivered so close that it was very little spread. A great deal of shot was scattered all over the face and into his cheek-bones; some had gone through the balls of his eyes, and lodged in the skull, and one had lodged in the brain. The medical evidence distinctly showed that none could possibly say whether death was attended with previous insanity.

MR. SEXTON: It might have been.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): "No one could say that it was, and no one could say that it was not" were the words used by the medical man. The priest stated that articulation was continued by the dying man until just before he died the following night, at about

10 o'clock. He followed the priest in the Act of Contrition until his articulation could be no longer heard. No doubt, paralysis of the nerves and muscles accounted for the defective articulation, and rendered the power of speech almost impossible even with the aid of stimulants. During the time the priest was there he administered, from time to time, some whiskey and water from his own house, and this greatly revived him. Not to go through the whole of the evidence, what was proved was this. When the Resident Magistrate arrived he knelt down by the dying man, and heard from him his charge by name against the man who was arrested for the murder, a man whom he had known nearly all his life, a man about whom, therefore, if he were in possession of his senses, there could be no doubt, a man whom he must have seen, because the gun charge must have been delivered at a very short distance directly in front of him. This was corroborated by the Sub-Inspector, it was corroborated by the county magistrate, it was corroborated by the head constable, it was corroborated by the wife and by the son, who both heard the husband and the father repeat the very same statement in reference to this person. It was also corroborated by the fact that the person thus accused, when arrested, had in his pocket shot of the description that had been used, and some powder also for the purpose of the charge. The explanation he gave of the possession of this ammunition was that, two years before, his brother had put it into his pocket. The prisoner set up the usual defence—an *alibi*. That was disbelieved by the jury, and I do not think it was credited by anyone. It was proved that, in order that a person who had committed a murder at this time and spot might not be found until the lapse of the interval had taken place between the commission of the crime and the arrest of Hynes, he would have had to go across some marshy land. The *alibi* defence, that he was at the time of the murder loafing about a public-house, was disproved by the fact of his stockings and shoes being damp when he was arrested. Such was in outline the case on which the jury convicted the prisoner. Undeniable facts were before them, and they formed their opinion upon the evidence. I prosecuted in the case on behalf of the Crown. I was there the whole of the first day, and when the evidence was concluded the counsel for the prisoner asked that he might delay his reply till next morning. The Judge said—"What do you say, Mr. Attorney?" I said—"My Lord, I consider it a most reasonable request." And the reply was postponed to next morning accordingly. Having other public business, I did not go to the Court until after the trial had recommenced, and then I was informed of what had taken place with regard to the calling the clergyman. It is obvious that the jury must have been considering with some deliberation the grave issues before them. I have only again to state to the House—and I believe the House will admit my statement—that I did not know the religion or politics of a single person on the panel, that I gave no directions whatever, nor would I for a moment have tolerated the exclusion of a person for his religion, and that I did not, until I heard it here, know what were the politics or religion of a single person who was ordered to stand aside. There is only one other technical matter. The Crown, in point of fact, does not challenge a jury at all. The whole panel in this case consisted of 200 names—100 of the county and 100 of the city. These names are called, and those who do not answer become subject to a fine of £20 each. About 150 or 160 answered, and the names of these were put on cards in a ballot-box. The cards which corresponded in number with the number of the jurymen on the panel were then drawn, and thus, by looking at a number, persons in court could at once see who was the juror drawn.

Mr. CALLAN: No, no! [*Cries of* "Order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: I have observed that the hon. Member for Louth has repeatedly interrupted the discussion. If he continues to do so, I shall feel it my duty to take notice of the matter.

Mr. CALLAN: I only wished to correct the Attorney General for Ireland to the effect that when the names of the jurors are called they are put down, and until the whole panel answer that there is no objection made.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson): The hon. Member is entirely mistaken. [Mr. Callan: I am not.] I ought to know what happened. I am speaking of what took place before my own eyes. I did not interfere to say that a certain number of jurors were sufficient. I allowed the Clerk to the Crown to take the names of those who had answered without any interference, and it was only when the Judge asked if the prisoner's counsel and I did not consider there were sufficient, that the jury was completed. I think 70 was the number from which the jurors were taken. The hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) was not right when he said 49.

MR. SEXTON: I said 49 was the total of the challenged.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): I beg pardon; I did not understand. We had then to obtain from the list of names in the ballot-box a jury, and as the names were drawn they were challenged by the prisoner's counsel, and the fact that he did not exhaust his right to challenge is pretty conclusive evidence that he was not dissatisfied with the nature of the jury, nor was there any suggestion of any attempt to pack the jury until it was made in the newspapers. The Crown has no right to challenge; but the prisoner's counsel can challenge 20 names without showing any cause whatever, and if his challenges are exhausted he can appeal to the Crown to show reason why men are ordered to stand aside. What the Crown can do is, that when they consider a person ought not to serve on the jury—no reason is assigned in the first instance—but the Crown Solicitor says—"You cannot leave the Court, but you will not be sworn at present." Then, if the jury is not made up with that number, they go round again, and the Crown have to prove the cause and assert the reason why certain persons should not serve on the jury. These reasons are then tried and decided upon by two triers in Court. Of course, for practical purposes, that almost always amounts to an exclusion of the jurors who are ordered to stand aside, because all that is necessary is to make up the jury to 12; but in this case the prisoner's counsel did not think it necessary to push it to that extent, because he did not by any means exhaust his right to challenge; he availed himself of only 11 peremptory challenges out of a possible 20. I have only to add that I did not know, nor did I inquire into, whether the jurors happened to be Protestants or Catholics. I took it for granted that the challenges which were made on behalf of the Crown were for good cause, and I did not interfere with them. The instructions I gave were simply that an impartial jury should be empanelled, and if I had thought it could have been suggested that religion or politics could have anything to do with it I should have stated there was nothing of the sort. With regard to Mr. Morphy, he is a competent, fearless, and perfectly fair official, and relying on those qualities I gave him my directions, which were simply to empanel an impartial jury.

MR. PLUNKET: Sir, I do not intend at this period of the Session to enter at any great length into this discussion; but I would not be doing justice to myself or to my constituents if I did not say that I can give no countenance to the attacks which have been made upon the Judge, Jury, Crown Solicitor, and the other Law Officers in the dangerous and difficult circumstances in which they were placed with regard to the administration of justice in Ireland. It is impossible that this discussion can lead to any good result. The Motion of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) that the communication made to the Speaker should lie on the Table is not, so far as I can know, challenged. The hon. Member for Sligo, who followed the Prime Minister, did not conclude his speech with any Motion; therefore, we have no other issue before us. I do not intend to follow my right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General for Ireland in his defence of the conduct of himself or of the Crown Solicitor for the counties of Kerry and Cork. I entirely concur in all that he has said in defence of himself and his colleagues. I can also bear testimony to the high and blameless character and ability of Mr. Morphy. But as regards the attacks made on Judge Lawson, I should like to add a word or two. No doubt, it is a very strong step to take; it is a very important circumstance when a Judge presiding in one of Her Majesty's Courts thinks it necessary to impose a serious penalty upon an individual holding the position enjoyed by the hon. Member for Carlow as High Sheriff of the City of Dublin; but the very nature of that position required that the Judge should be more fearless in dealing with Mr. Gray, if he were an offender, and that the punishment, if inflicted at all, should be of a character adequate to the gravity of the offence committed. So far as I know, there has been no criticism by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) against the kind or amount of sentence imposed by Judge Lawson on Mr. Gray, the contention of the hon. Member being that there should have been no sentence at all. The hon. Member for Sligo divided his attack on that eminent Judge into three heads. He said, in the first place, that the Judge of his own accord set in motion the Law Officers of the Crown to begin proceedings which they would otherwise not have instituted. He also asserted that the Judge prevented Mr. Gray from stating his case; and, thirdly, that the Judge would not allow Mr. Gray to be heard by counsel in his defence. As to the charge that it was the Judge who first put this matter in motion, no one would imagine that a Judge would allow such facts to go unpunished when his attention had been called to them if justice was to be administered in Ireland. The charges made by Mr. O'Brien against the jury were scandalous and intolerable; but the Judge's attention was called to them in open Court by the foreman of the jury—a man of the highest respectability—who denied everything in the statement of Mr. O'Brien, and gave reasons that showed it was impossible that his allegations should be correct without their coming to his knowledge. The Judge had no alternative, and when the foreman had made his complaint, it was then that the Solicitor General stated that as the matter had been mentioned, he would do what he had otherwise intended to do later in the day—namely, state to his Lordship that it was his intention, as the representative of the Crown, to call the attention of the Court to the matter in a more formal manner, and to the articles which had appeared in *The Freeman's Journal*. The Solicitor General added that he hoped it might not be inconvenient to the Court to entertain the matter on the Wednesday following. He stated that he believed that the publication of such articles were calculated to interfere, in a most serious degree, with the administration of justice in Ireland. There was, therefore, nothing to defend, nothing to apologize for, in the action of Judge Lawson in this respect. I confidently say, when an attempt is made to separate the action of Judge Lawson from that of the others, and to fix upon him that he was the first to start, what otherwise would not have been started, that there is nothing to justify it. It was the plain duty of the Law Officers of the Crown, in the discharge of their office, to notice the attack made upon the jury, and theirs it was to take the initiative. As to the other charges, I will read only a single passage from the report of the proceedings. It was said that the Judge interrupted Mr. Gray, gave him no fair hearing, and refused him time to have his case prepared. But so far back as last Monday, two days before the matter was brought forward, Mr. Gray was fully informed in Court of what was intended, and he had it published in his paper. Notice of the motion made by the Solicitor General on Wednesday was served on Mr. Gray the evening before. Mr. Gray stated his case, and, instead of apologizing for what he had done and retracting, stuck to the charge. What did the Solicitor General say? He said—

> "If Mr. Gray had made his application for an adjournment in the first instance he would have been inclined not to oppose it, but now the Crown could not consent to it."

That was after Mr. Gray had made a very full statement. Now, I am not going to say anything about the trial of Hynes. That is over, and we cannot try it here again. The Attorney General for Ireland has given reasons, which I think ought to satisfy any reasonable man, that the verdict was in accordance with the evidence. Nor shall I say one word in defence of the jury, notwithstanding the curious documents read by the hon. Member for Sligo. I am content for the present to rest the case of the jury upon this—that the whole story was emphatically denied by the foreman, who challenged investigation. The Solicitor General, and those who acted with him, did not believe there was any charge against the jury, and the Judge himself not only said these charges were utterly unworthy of belief, but that he had the highest and best reasons for knowing that throughout the case they conducted themselves with the greatest propriety and attention. As to Justice Lawson himself, I deem it a high honour to stand here to-day and say that he is an old and well-known personal friend of my own, and he is one of the ablest, most learned, and most fearless Judges on the Bench. It has been that learned Judge's lot, again and again, in the course of his life, to confront lawlessness—I may say insurrection—in Ireland, and he has dealt with it in a manner that has made his name honoured by every fair and loyal man in the country. It is not to be supposed that in the course he has thought it his duty to pursue he has not incurred the ill-will of others; but, conscious of right and fearless of reproach, he views that ill-will with indifference. The hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) concluded his speech by an eloquent appeal to the Prime Minister that he should not allow these things to happen to in-interrupt the policy which he has carried out in Ireland, and lead it to failure; and that policy he also took occasion to praise. It has been my misfortune again and again to condemn that policy. As time goes on I see no reason to retract; but, on the contrary, I do more deeply and more bitterly condemn much of the vacillation and much of the weakness of that policy. I shall again, I hope, have an opportunity of expressing my opinion further on these subjects; but, whether the policy be good or bad, if any benefit is to come from all the time which has been spent by Parliament on Irish questions, it is impossible to allow Judges and juries to be attacked in the Press and denounced for endeavouring, in the face of great danger, to do that which is necessary and right for the welfare and safety of the country. If you are to give fair play to that new policy, which now, with new-found zeal, you are ready to praise on this particular occasion, take care that the course of that policy is not interrupted by such attacks upon the procedure of justice as would be impossible in any other free country in the world. The issue before us is a very small one. It was thus described by Judge Lawson himself—

> "I see perfectly well the design of these articles. It is to endeavour to destroy in the public mind the moral effect of these convictions, and to interfere with the trial of prisoners yet to be tried, and to prevent jurors from bringing to the discharge of their duties that free and unfettered judgment, that judgment free from alarm and trepidation, which every man ought to have when he comes to discharge his duty."

The simple issue, then, to be decided is whether the action of juries in the future is or is not to be free and serviceable to their country. That being so, however much I may differ from the Government on their past policy, I cannot hesitate for a moment to support them on this occasion, when they are again threatened with disorder and lawlessness.

MR. MACFARLANE: The hon. Member for Sligo has plainly exhausted the facts of this case, and there is, therefore, no necessity for me to refer to them again. He has established a case which the Government admits is one worthy of inquiry. That is a substantial gain. All I desire to do on the present occasion is to say a word on behalf of my Friend and Colleague who suffered yesterday, at the hands of Mr. Justice Lawson, what I believe to be a gross injustice. I believe that Mr. Gray did no more than the duty of a humane, public-spirited man when he called attention to the cases that had been tried before this Judge. The right hon. and learned Member who has just sat down spoke very warmly of his friend, the Judge, and I have no objection to that; but I am aware there is a widespread feeling in Ireland that there is no public confidence in the administration of justice when presided over by such men as Mr. Justice Lawson. [*Cries of* "Order!"] I am not in the habit of using strong language in this House, and sometimes, when I have heard hon. Colleagues behind me condemn the Judges, I have thought they were going beyond what was necessary; but I think the action of Mr. Justice Lawson yesterday to a very large extent justifies the language of hon. Members, because this is not a case of a sentence of a Judge against an outrage on justice, but it is the malevolent sentence of private malignity. ["Order, order!"] I say that deliberately, and for this reason, that I know *The Freeman's Journal*, the property of my hon. Colleague, has been the means of exposing and holding up—I do not say rightly or wrongly—to public condemnation the conduct of Mr. Justice Lawson upon the Bench. It is not a pleasure to me—in fact, it is a pain—to discuss the character of any of the Judges upon the Bench; but I am bound to say of this case, that of all the devious paths that have led to the Irish Bench, that followed by Mr. Justice Lawson was the most devious.

["Order, order!"] I happen to know the way by which he obtained his seat on the Bench, and I say, without fear of contradiction, that a more gross and shocking case of wholesale corruption than was practised by that Judge in a Southern borough never was known.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member, when he speaks of the Judges of the land, must use temperate and moderate language. If he has any censure to pass upon a Judge, the Law and the Constitution point out the course to be followed. If he does not adopt that course, he is bound to speak of the learned Judge in temperate language.

Mr. MACFARLANE: I would be sorry to hold any intemperate or improper language; but in criticizing the career of this Judge I have thought it right to state what I know as respectfully as the circumstances will admit. Passing, however, to another matter, I would make an appeal to the Prime Minister. I understand him to express regret that the circumstances of the case would not allow him to release Mr. Gray pending the consideration of his case by a Committee. But this Committee could not do anything until October, and by that time two out of three months would have expired. What I would suggest to the Prime Minister is this—that there is a power which could release Mr. Gray, and that is the power of the Lord Lieutenant. If the Lord Lieutenant ordered the release, there would be no difficulty in opening the prison doors. Mr. Gray ought to be released in the meantime pending the appointment of a Committee, and the consideration of its decision by the House. Is it really the case that in this country, upon the irresponsible action of a Judge, any citizen may be imprisoned for any length of time that a Judge may name without there being any redress? If that is the case, the sooner the law is changed the better. It is a most grievous hardship, because a Judge acting in this irresponsible manner is acting as a jury in his own case. If the Prime Minister puts his mind to it, I am sure he will find some way to order the release of Mr. Gray. I am one of those who have been longing for the restoration of peace and order in Ireland, and if the Prime Minister has been disappointed, still I have not despaired of it. It is because I still have that hope that I deplore these things, because they will lead to a prolongation of that deep-rooted belief in the minds of the Irish people that justice cannot be obtained. Nothing will satisfy the Irish people that justice has been done in this case. And looking upon this as one of the false steps which have landed the Government in their present position, I regret exceedingly that such a man as Justice Lawson should have been selected to preside at these trials, because there are other Judges on the Irish Bench whose decisions would have given more confidence, and which would have been received with feelings of greater confidence by the whole of Ireland. I understood that the Attorney General for Ireland would make some statement, and I ask him will he endorse the view which has been taken upon this matter—that no matter what the Judge may do, nothing less than his impeachment or removal will suffice to reverse his action, and that the law is all powerful in the infliction of a heavy fine, serious imprisonment, and heavy sureties upon whomsoever a Judge likes, without it being possible to have such proceedings considered and reversed? If there is no redress in this matter, I hope he will advise the Government as to the means of preventing any person suffering such injustice and such punishments in the future.

Sir PATRICK O'BRIEN: Sir, being absent when the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) made his attack upon a friend and connection of my own—Mr. Alexander Morphy, the Solicitor to the Crown—I have been only able to obtain a very general idea as to what he stated. I deny entirely that I contributed in any degree to the appointment of Mr. Morphy, but I should be wanting in a proper feeling were I not to rise and defend a friend who has been most outrageously attacked in this House. The hon. Member attributes to him, a Roman Catholic and a Liberal like myself, an attempt to throw discredit upon the people of his religion and politics. Those who know Mr. Morphy, and they are the multitude in Ireland, will need no justification of him; but for the many in this House it is necessary that I should state that the observations of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) are as unfounded as many others delivered in the same highfalutin, distorted language have proved to be. He has attacked him for his proceedings at the Cork Winter Assizes. But will the hon. Member assert before this House, and in the face of the people of Ireland, that his proceedings were unjustifiable? The "Moonlight" outrages have been suppressed in the county of Cork—a result which, I believe, the majority of this House and the country rejoice at. To turn to the case now before the House. Mr. Gray has been an intimate friend of mine, as his father, Sir John Gray, was before him, for very many years; and if I was asked here—supporting, as I do, the Administration of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone)—whether I thought that he has got fair play in this matter, I should say unhesitatingly that I do not think he has. I have known Judge Lawson for many years. I knew him at the Bar, and in the University; he was a distinguished member of the Circuit which for some years I went in my early life. I never knew an abler or fairer man than this learned Judge was during a long period of his acquaintance. But I care not what may have been his previous character; I have to deal with the circumstances which appeared in the columns of the Press this morning, and especially in the paper which I have read myself—*The Times.* According to my humble lights, the learned Judge had no right to refuse the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray) the opportunity of justifying himself, thereby subjecting him to the injury and suffering which might follow in his position as a representative of the people and a journalist. I believe that the Judge did not rightly perform his functions in not allowing him the fullest opportunity of being represented and of making a further statement in his defence. As regards the unfortunate man Hynes, who is connected with an ancient and respectable family in the county of Clare, I regret that the hon. Member for Sligo has, perhaps, in some degree, weakened the efforts which I trust will be made to remove the stigma of a public execution from that family. I believe there is no Member in this House who can seriously impugn the verdict; and in my opinion it would have been better if, instead of attacking the Judge and jury who tried Hynes, the hon. Member for Sligo had joined in efforts with others in making an appeal on his behalf.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: Sir, I trust the House will excuse me entering with any degree of detail into the speech we have just listened to, and I shall content myself by saying that the hon. Member's remarks have, by the language he has used, been greatly weakened in their effect. In addressing myself to the speech of the Attorney General for Ireland, I must say there is a very considerable difference between that speech and that of the right hon. and learned Gentleman who preceded him in the Office; and if I fairly interpret the speech, I think I am right in saying that he has thrown over the Judge, and he admits our case. [The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND: No.] Well, that is my interpretation of the speech, and I will proceed to prove to the House that that is the correct and only interpretation of his language. What is the case as brought before the House by my hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), and answered by him? My hon. Friend laid down this—that a statement was made with regard to the conduct of the jury who were trying the case of "The Queen *v.* Hynes." He asks that this statement with regard to a most momentous inquiry shall be carefully inquired into and investigated. The Judge who presided over the trial declared that the statement was a calumny and unworthy of investigation. But, said the Attorney General for Ireland, the statement requires investigation, and will be investigated. That is to say, Mr. Justice Lawson says this calumny will not be investigated, and the right hon. and learned Gentleman says it is so important that it ought to be investigated. My interpretation of that is a throwing over of the Judge by the right hon. and learned Gentleman. The right hon. and learned Gentleman on the first point admits our case. On the second point he admits our case too. Mr. Gray in his newspaper stated that the juries which were empannelled to try these cases were, by the action of the Crown, made to consist exclusively of Protestants of Conservative politics. The right hon. and learned Gentleman does not challenge any part of that statement at all. As I understand the right hon. and learned Gentleman's language, while the official responsibility of the selection of the jury remains to him, the practical carrying out this responsibility, the instrument of the right hon. and learned Gentleman was Mr. Morphy, the Crown Solicitor. Then, I say, the right hon. and learned Gentleman is not in a position to deny the truth of what we say, because the acts we complain of were acts not done by him, but by somebody else. It was no answer for him to say that "I did not exclude any person from the jury on account of his politics or religion." What the right hon. and learned Gentleman should have been able to say as a satisfactory answer to our charge was that neither he, nor Mr. Morphy, nor anybody else, excluded any person from the jury on account of his politics or religion; but that he did not say, for the very good reason that he could not say it. I put disclaimers on one side, and admitted facts on the other. Suppose Mr. Speaker, in the course of a long debate upon a great Party question, in the exercise of his discretion, selected the speakers exclusively from the Tory side of the House, would any person say that his selection was entirely made by accident, and altogether unconnected with political partizanship? The inevitable conclusion would be that the Speaker was acting from partizan and Party purposes. And in the same way if we find, as we did find, that these jurors had exclusively belonged to people of one faith and political creed, I say the inevitable conclusion is that this selection was a deliberate selection by the person who had the power of making the choice. The inevitable conclusion is that the jury was a packed jury, and a packed jury it was in spite of the sophistry and disclaimers of the right hon. and learned Gentleman. We now come to Mr. O'Brien's letter. The right hon. and learned Gentleman has not ventured to deny the truth of Mr. O'Brien's letter. Were these "horrible and indecent proceedings" ordered to be investigated into by the Judge? Not at all. "I reject the idea," says Mr. Justice Lawson, "that such a thing could take place. I dismiss it as a calumny." I have received, since my hon. Friend the Member for Sligo spoke, another sheet of affidavits with regard to this case. I will not trespass on the attention of the House by reading all these affidavits; but there is one affidavit which I think I would not be justified in abstaining from bringing before the attention of the House, to show the character of these gentlemen on the night before they found a verdict putting a fellow-being to a violent death. The affidavit is as follows:—

"I, Margaret Walsh, assistant at the bar of the Imperial Hotel, Sackville Street, Dublin, 17 years of age and upwards, make oath, and say that on the night of Friday last, the 11th instant, I remember closing the bar at 20 minutes past 12 o'clock. The bar is usually closed at 12 o'clock; but it was later that night. After closing the bar I went up stairs to the upper corridor, where I met one of the jury. As I was entering at one end of the corridor in which the stairs to my bedroom was situated, three or four persons were jumping about at the other end of the corridor. When I was going up the corridor with a candle in my hand, one said—'Look at the young female going to bed at this hour of the night.' I said nothing, but put out the candle that I might not be seen, because from their conduct I was afraid of them. They were jumping across each other, and ran towards the end at which I was coming up. I judged from their appearance they might assault me. I ran up stairs—another flight of stairs—to my own room. When I was in it about five minutes I thought I heard them coming upstairs, and I put my head out when someone dashed up against me. I drew in my head and locked the door. They made no attempt to enter the room further; but I could hear them rattling at the baths all the time and shouting.

MARGARET WALSH.

"Sworn before me this 17th day of August, 1882, at the Imperial Hotel, Lower Sackville Street, in the county of the city of Dublin, a Commissioner for taking Affidavits in the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland, and I know the deponent.

"JOHN STONE, Commissioner."

Sir, I want to ask the Government if they really lay down the doctrine that a journalist, if he finds these facts become known, is not at liberty, or rather not bound by his duty to the public, to bring these facts before the public? Was there a single fact stated in these articles that was not more than corroborated? The packing of the jury is undeniable, the jury consisting exclusively of Protestants, and every person being excluded who was either a Catholic or a Liberal in politics. The drunkenness and indecency of these jurors is not denied, it having been brought before the House on affidavit; and then as to the serious statement that these facts, some of which are admitted, most of which cannot be denied, should not be brought before the public, why, is it not a notorious fact that many of the capital sentences that have been passed in this country have been afterwards commuted by the agency of the Press, which drew attention to the conduct of the Judge and jury? In my own time, I think I remember two or three cases in which men had been sentenced to death, and the strong force of public opinion, which could only express itself through newspapers, succeeded in overthrowing the verdict of the jury and the sentence of the Judge. I remember that in the case of two women and three men who were convicted for the Penge murder, one woman was discharged, and the sentence of the others was commuted to penal servitude for life. In this country the privilege of reviewing the acts of a jury in Court and of the sentence of a Judge in the case of criminals condemned to death is one of the highest and most valued privileges of the Press. In Ireland I think there is a very well-known case which occurred at Limerick, where the exposure of the conduct of the jury led to the commutation, if not the reversal, of the sentence of the Judge. It was proved that the jurors mixed with other people, and the result was that the verdict was overturned or the sentence was commuted. I am not familiar with the facts of the case; and my hon. Friend the proprietor of *The Freeman's Journal* was only endeavouring to bring the force of public opinion to bear upon what he considered was a verdict improperly obtained—taking away the life of a fellow-being. An hon. Gentleman who preceded me made some appeal to the Government, which, to my mind, looked like an appeal to the mercy of the Government. I think I know my hon. Friend sufficiently well to say that no man could more indignantly repudiate anything like an appeal for mercy to the Prime Minister, or the Law Officers, or the Executive. My hon. Friend the Member for Carlow is distinguished among Irish politicians for his moderation and sagacity. I think that every man must entertain a strong feeling of admiration for the courage and consistency of a Gentleman, the owner of the largest and most widely-circulated newspaper in Ireland, who, in spite of that position and of the fact that he represents a popular constituency, always dared to recommend a moderate policy. And this is the man whom the Government, of all others, desire to make the object of a persecution like this! Are the Government mad? Are the Government taking leave of their senses? Have they not already enough of the various classes in Ireland hostile to their rule without adding men of the class of Mr. Gray to their number? I tell the Government that the unjust imprisonment and arrest of a man like Mr. Gray—a man of high position, of well-known moderation in his political views—will be felt with regret by a class of men who would not have been startled even by the wholesale arrest of men in less humbler circumstances. Every man connected with municipal bodies, and every man holding an official or a *quasi*-popular position in Ireland, will regard himself assailed and affronted by this attack upon Mr. Gray, and that, in consequence, the bitter and vehement enemies of the Government will be increased in that country. I have only a word or two to say in conclusion. Is it likely that just legislation will gradually remove enemies to British rule? And I myself think that no amount of legislation will satisfy, or ought to satisfy, the Irish people so long as it is accompanied by coercion; but all hopes for the decline of disaffection in Ireland are blighted by such proceedings as this. It is a terrible thing that legislation in Ireland—that the legislation of change—should proceed in the paths of outrage and crime. I feel that nothing can be worse than this, except that it be assassination. Assassination under any circumstances was deplorable; but assassination by legal tribunal was worse than assassination from behind a hedge, because if the people once lose confidence in the administration of the law, a blow is struck at all peace and order. How can the people be impressed with a due regard for justice when they see the juries packed by men belonging to the religious creed and political Party that have always been hostile to the majority in Ireland?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson): I wish to make an explanation with regard to something the hon. Member has said, to the effect that I have thrown over the learned Judge who sentenced Mr. Gray——

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: What I said was that you had regarded the statements made in the course of the debate as grave, though Mr. Justice Lawson stated that they were not worthy of consideration.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson): The statements are not the same. I stated that the reason I did not allude to the judgment of the learned Judge in the case was because it would be prejudicing the issue. I said that this matter now demanded inquiry in consequence of the statements made by hon. Members and the affidavits brought forward by them. I considered that the evidence that had now been adduced should be brought under the notice of the Lord Lieutenant. I also said that I had nothing to do with the exclusion of certain gentlemen from the jury-box, and I further stated that if such a thing had been done it was done in opposition to any instructions given by me.

Colonel NOLAN: I wish, Sir, to make some observations with reference to the extraordinary sentence passed by Mr. Justice Lawson upon Mr. E. D. Gray. The general question has been ably dealt with by the hon. Member for the City of Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor), and therefore I shall say very little on that head. The whole question turns upon this one point. Was *The Freeman's Journal* justified in making comments on the progress of the trials taking place in Dublin? The editor of that paper had certain facts placed before him by a letter received in the ordinary way, and the question is—Was *The Freeman's Journal* justified in publishing that letter? That letter was from Mr. William O'Brien, who is probably well known to many Members of this House, and he is likely to succeed the Attorney General for Ireland as Member for Mallow in this House. That being so, Mr. O'Brien was a gentleman who was likely to weigh and consider well the importance of everything that he sent to *The Freeman's Journal* for publication. In my opinion, I think that *The Freeman's Journal* was justified in publishing a letter of that kind, because the evidence it contained was supplied by a gentleman known to the members of the staff of the paper. This was one of the reasons why the extraordinarily heavy sentence was passed upon Mr. Gray. *The Freeman's Journal* is a powerful newspaper representing the Catholic interest of Ireland; and it is certainly a very curious thing that, in a population two-thirds of which are Catholics, only a single Catholic was to be found on the two juries empannelled. This, certainly, is a strong case in favour of inquiry, and it looks as if the juries were constituted as they were with an object. I think that if the Judge had administered a caution to the hon. Member for the County of Carlow, or imposed a slight penalty, it would have been sufficient. The imprisonment was severe, and the penalty was enormous. The hon. Member would have to find sureties, himself in £5,000, at the end of three months' imprisonment, and two other sureties of £2,500 each. If he refused to find this guarantee, he would be liable to several additional months of imprisonment. This is a system of crushing persons that, although frequent in past times, is most dangerous in modern days. I happen to know something of Mr. Justice Lawson. He was one of the Commissioners of the Irish Church after it was disestablished; and, on the authority of the Protestant *Daily Express*, it was stated that Judge Lawson had, by taking a liberal view, given £1,000,000 more money to the Protestants of Ireland than they would otherwise have received. This, therefore, is evidence that Mr. Justice Lawson is the friend of the Protestants of Ireland. This I do not give upon my own authority, but upon the statement of the Protestant *Daily Express*. The Judges in England never do anything outside a Judge's work. They sedulously keep themselves out of all public affairs. It is totally different in Ireland. Judges in Ireland are very often promoted and selected, as in the case of Mr. Justice Lawson, for their support of their Party. They have considerable sums of money in addition to their Judgeship. They are members of the Privy Council, and are intimately associated with the Government. In England you have Judges who are nothing else but Judges. In Ireland every one of your Judges is tempted to be a political partizan, and to do things to gain favour with their Party, or gain the praise of gentlemen like the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket), who spoke to-day. This House must remember what they are doing in Ireland, and they must not encourage parties to establish what they call Whiteboyism, and strike down all Catholics and Catholic organs. I think this really is a case which calls for the interference of the Crown. This extravagantly heavy sentence ought to be reconsidered by the Attorney General for Ireland. I have no objection whatever to say that the Judges should be enabled to protect themselves and impose some penalties; but in the present case, I am glad to see, from several of the London newspapers, that a large section of the public have been shocked by the enormity of this sentence. The hon. Member for Carlow, it has been said, occupies an important position and wields so much power that it was necessary to strike hard. It is a very dangerous doctrine to preach that a person in high office should be punished more than ordinary people. The present case evidently requires the careful attention of the Government. They might remit the enormous £500 penalty and imprisonment. I do not mean to override the Judge; but it is a case in which the Crown have the power. Justice Lawson may be said to be a Liberal; but I believe him to be a very strong Conservative from an Irish point of view.

MR. DALY: The communication to you to-day, Sir, of the arrest of Mr. Gray is important, not so much because the person arrested is a Member of this House and a distinguished politician, as it is evidence of an attempt, I believe, on the part of Justice Lawson to crush fair expression of public opinion in Ireland. A great many statements have been made from time to time about the first question, and the question was the construction of juries by reason of the exercise by the Crown of their power to order jurors to stand aside. I noticed that the Attorney General for Ireland denied that the Crown had power to challenge except under very extreme circumstances; but really to anyone connected with the mechanism of jury construction under the present administration, it is apparent that the power of the Crown to order men to stand by allows them to put into the jury-box men who have prejudices inimical to the prisoner at the bar. Mr. Gray, in the exercise of his profession as a journalist, adverted to that fact in the most courteous terms—in language that was extremely moderate. Now, that constituted, so to speak, the primary reason why Mr. Gray was brought before Mr. Justice Lawson on the occasion that has been referred to. The second was the appearance in Mr. Gray's journal of a letter bearing the name of a man who was well known to the City of Dublin, and, indeed, to Ireland, and of whom, had the Crown condescended to make the slighest inquiry, they could have established the fact that he was a man of established reputation, and one not likely to commit himself to a false statement of the facts if signed by his own name. Now, what were the facts? Any person who listened to the sheaf of affidavits which were to-day read by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) must admit the fact that on that occasion some of the jury locked up to consider the case of this unfortunate man Hynes were guilty of most discreditable practices. Now, it is not material to the issue whether Hynes was found guilty or not; it is not material to the issue as regards the construction of the juries whether the prisoners were innocent or guilty. What I complain of is this—that there is an arbitrary attempt by a Judge to suppress a legitimate expression of discontent. The Attorney General for Ireland avoided what I consider the point underlying this, and he confined himself entirely to statements of those two cases which were the subject of the observations of *The Freeman's Journal.* Now, I do not consider that at all material—what I do consider is that Mr. Justice Lawson, with what I plainly believe to be a desire to terrorize and intimidate the expression of public opinion in Ireland, causes Mr. Gray to be summoned before him, and refuses to allow him time to prepare his defence. Anyone reading the proceedings of Mr. Justice Lawson in *The Times* cannot approach the subject in a fair or candid manner if he does not admit that on that occasion Mr. Gray did not get proper time to prepare for his defence. It was idle for the Solicitor General for Ireland to say that because Mr. Gray had been heard he should have no opportunity for preparing for his defence. The majesty of the law, if Mr. Gray were a criminal, would have been as well vindicated 24 hours after as then. There was Mr. O'Brien in Court, who offered to substantiate, on his oath, the statements in his letter, to which his name had been appended. There was Mr. Justice Lawson on the Bench, without any reason whatever for the statement, credited with a statement in *The Times* referring to the charges against the jury—"I believe the statement to be totally devoid of truth." I say, Sir, that that showed the animus of Mr. Justice Lawson, and was, to all intents and purposes, an extra-judicial expression. Now, Mr. Justice Lawson is an old and trained politician, and he should remember well that an incident of the kind that has happened will create a great deal of indignation and excite a great deal of sympathy in Ireland; and I, for my part, look on the consequences of this great, and I hope not fatal, mistake of Justice Lawson as likely to postpone for a long time peace and tranquillity in Ireland, and to create a fervour and indignation that will not soon be suppressed. I do not care for the position of Mr. Gray, whether it be High Sheriff of the City of Dublin or a Member of this House. I look on the real importance of this question to be that any Judge can summon to the bar a man for no other reason than that on a public subject he expressed himself fairly and legitimately in censure of what he believed to be wrong; and I own that I am rather puzzled at the power of the British Coustitution when I hear from the Premier that the alternative they propose is that after two months of what I believe a wrong imprisonment, the case of Mr. Edmond Dwyer Gray should be considered on the 24th of October. Now, Sir, the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket) spoke for a long time to-day in defence of his "old and valued friend" Mr. Justice Lawson. I have no knowledge of Mr. Justice Lawson. He may possess a great many qualities that may endear him to the right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin; but I say in this case in question, and the more it comes to be examined the more it will be conceded, that Mr. Justice Lawson, in the exercise of his judicial functions, has done a most serious and lamentable action. When the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland says that he does not recognize any political or religious distinction in jurors, I would point to coincidences that have occurred not only in Cork, but elsewhere. In some cases 40, 30, and 20 jurors have been asked to stand aside by the Crown, and the coincidence was extremely curious—they were all Catholics. I believe myself that Mr. Justice Lawson, in his desire to intimidate and repress public opinion in Ireland, has given this Government the greatest stab that it has yet received. I believe myself that the most curious corollary to the moral denunciation of our distinguished Premier for his enthusiastic devotion to liberty is the fact that in Ireland—and it is only in Ireland that it would be attempted—a journalist making a comment in moderate and respectful terms on a grievance that was widely known through the land is summoned to a bar by a summons issued only the night before, and when he asks for legal assistance to enable him to defend himself he is told he is to be sentenced there and then. Mr. Gray said—"You are sentencing me first and trying me afterwards." Join one of those articles with another which expressed a firm hope, and, indeed, a conviction, that with a good harvest at the hands of Almighty God and the beneficent legislation to a qualified extent that had been given to Ireland, next winter would see us past our troubles, and that we would get forward in a career of peace and prosperity; but, Sir, with such Judges as Mr. Justice Lawson, it is impossible for the Government to keep clear of pitfalls.

Mr. LEWIS: Sir, as an Irish Member, I think it would be cowardly on my part if I were not to say that I do not consider that this is a question as between Catholic or Protestant, Liberal or Conservative, Englishman or Irishman. It is perfectly clear to those who are acquainted with legal proceedings in England that if what has been done in Ireland had been done in England the English Courts would have taken pretty much the same course. [" Hear, hear!" *and* "No, no!"] Do the House and those Members who cry "No, no!" recall the case of Mr. Whalley or of the Lancashire squire, Mr. Skipton, who, for a much lighter offence, was brought before the Court and summarily sentenced to heavy penalties. If ever there was a case in which it was the duty of those who represented the Crown in the Court, and of the Judge who presided in the Court to interfere, it surely must be a case of this sort, where the person who had the important duties to discharge of High Sheriff of the City of

Dublin, and had in charge the jury whose conduct was the basis of one of the articles complained of, was the one to call in question, by his own act, as he himself admitted, the very fount of justice in some of its most tender and delicate duties. It is rather curious to notice how some of my Colleagues representing Irish constituencies deal with this matter. The hon. and gallant Member for the County Galway (Colonel Nolan) fell into grievous mistakes. He tried to make out that the Judges in Ireland were promoted, and those in England were not, for political services. In so speaking the hon. and gallant Member showed lamentable ignorance of the facts of the case. I do not say I admire the practice; but there is no difference between the two countries. When the Government is appealed to in this case to arrest the sentence passed by Mr. Justice Lawson, they forget—at least, it is my belief—that the Crown has no power to interfere, this being a sentence for contempt of Court. It is in the power of the Judge alone to interfere, and the Government can no more interpose than they can in the case of Mr. Green. If that be the law, as I think it is, no responsibility can rest upon the Government to deal with this sentence. It is not an offence against the general law of the country, but against the administration of that law in the highest Courts, and nobody but the Judge who has passed the sentence can interfere to the extent of a single day or a single hour. Mr. Justice Lawson is one of the best-abused men that could possibly be found. He is invariably put forward to receive the attacks of hon. Members from Ireland; but why is that? It is because he is a manly and an intrepid Judge. I do not say that some things he has done may not be subject to criticism; but he has been a fearless Judge. The hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) said that he read in a newspaper three years ago something about Mr. Justice Lawson not being liberal to the Protestant clergy; but that, surely, did not prove that he was not entitled to or justified in interfering with Mr. Gray. The amiable, gentlemanly manners of the hon. Member for Carlow, and his uniform courtesy, make me sorry that he has got into this trouble, which is not creditable to his discretion. I leave out of sight the question as to challenging the jury. The other matter is more serious. He claims to have the right to put into his paper the uninvestigated statement of a man who said that the jurors were in a drunken state during the time that the evidence was being given, and before the judgment. That was an offence which should be brought to justice; but there was a public question behind this. There can be no doubt as to the propriety of the action of Mr. Justice Lawson; but I must confess that I am affected by the argument that this exercise of power by Judges for contempt of Court should be closely watched. Judges are too much inclined to act in a hasty and peremptory way; and in this case it would have been more advantageous to the administration of justice, considering the trial was over, had the Judge not acted in such a hasty manner. There was obviously no advantage in acting hastily. To-morrow or the day after would have been equally effective. But the question does not end there. I contend that Justice Lawson was perfectly justified in pronouncing this sentence; but is it not a grave evil that Judges should have the power, without anyone sitting with them, in a case in which their own temper, their own prestige, their own bias may be involved—that a Judge sitting alone, without colleague to temper his decision, should have the power to heavily fine and commit to prison without any appeal, not even to the clemency of the Crown? Is that not a great public evil that ought to be put right? I recollect perfectly a case happening seven or eight years ago in which a Judge on the Bench acted hastily and sent a man to prison for contempt of Court; but he was released very shortly afterwards by the pressure which was brought to bear upon the Judge and by a Question put by myself in Parliament. Now, when you are dealing with a man of great public standing, you ought not to give this power to a single Judge to inflict a heavy fine and deprive a man of his liberty. Undoubtedly, it was a grave and serious offence that was committed by the hon. Member for Carlow, which, in his inmost heart, he could not attempt to justify. Is it a light thing to say that a man has been sent to his grave by the verdict of a drunken jury? Is that true? [Mr. BIGGAR: Yes.] The hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray) made this charge without inquiry, and put it forth with the imprimatur of his own authority, and in order to destroy the authority of the law in Ireland. While it is necessary in the public interest that there should be a power to deal with such contempt, the power of single Judges should be put under control. At the same time, we are justified in saying, with the greatest possible regret and sorrow, that the grave offence of the hon. Member for Carlow was properly punished by the sentence passed upon him.

Mr. O'DONNELL: Sir, the hon. Member who has just sat down has stated that the offence of the hon. Member for Carlow was that he put forward this statement as absolutely true, and so forth. Now, that is not the case, although he might well have done so, seeing that it was made upon the faith of the word of Mr. O'Brien, who is a gentleman of perfectly stainless honour. Mr. Gray only asked for an inquiry into the grave accusations made in Mr. O'Brien's letter. There have been placed in my hands a number of telegrams addressed to the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), stating that previous to the occurrence of yesterday the Catholic jurors were going to hold meetings to protest against their being summoned to attend under heavy penalties, only to be set aside. I have another telegram in these terms—

> "We, the undersigned Catholic jurors of the City of Dublin, summoned to attend the Commission Court now sitting in Green Street, and ordered to stand aside by the Crown on Thursday and Friday last, hereby declare our belief that we were so ordered to stand aside solely on the ground that we were Catholics; and we further declare we came to the conclusion at the time when so set aside, and prior to and quite independent of any comments in *The Freeman's Journal* on the subject."

This document was signed by Mr. Hugh Vaughan and a large number of other Catholic jurymen. The hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) has attempted to justify the practice of Mr. Justice Lawson by stating that the procedure of an English Court in such a case would be substantially identical with that pursued in the case of Mr. Gray. I maintain that there is no foundation whatever for the statement, although it was cheered by the lawyers on both sides of the House; and I further inform the hon. Member that there is not a single case reported in the law books in which any man in England has been punished for observations on a case which had been concluded. The great distinction which at once strikes the eye in the case of Mr. Gray from every other case is this—that the comments were made in reference to trials which had already been completed. Therefore, as I say, there is no foundation to justify the statement that Mr. Justice Lawson proceeded according to the practice of the English Courts. The hon. Member for Londonderry has very properly censured the extreme haste in which Mr. Justice Lawson acted in this matter. What advantage, it is asked, was there in doing so? What advantage was there in this political partizan acting as he did? There was this permanent advantage—to insult before the whole country such an eminent politician as Mr. O'Brien. But the Judge does not proceed to punish Mr. O'Brien, but the gentleman who published the letter, which Mr. Justice Lawson denounced as a calumny. In this way Mr. Justice Lawson inflicted as gross an insult on Mr. O'Brien as it was in the power of one in his position to inflict. Anyone who knew the manner in which nine out of ten Representatives of the Government bear themselves towards the Representatives of the Irish National Party will have very little doubt that a desire to give pain and inflict insult was not absent from the great indifference with which Mr. Justice Lawson treated charges which the Attorney General for Ireland now admitted, if substantiated, exhibited a most atrocious state of things. I desire, however, myself to state that I can by no means dissociate Mr. Justice Lawson from others. I cannot attack him alone for his total absence of examination and the entirely contemptuous manner in which he treated these charges—such grave charges of maladministration of justice in Ireland. Before Mr. Justice Lawson delivered the judgment in Green Street yesterday morning, long before a Question was asked in this House of the Law Officers of the Crown whether attention had been drawn to the serious charges contained in the letter of Mr. O'Brien, and published in *The Freeman's Journal*, the Attorney General for Ireland replied that his attention had been drawn to it, and that the Government intended to take very decisive steps in regard to it

Consequently, the position of the Attorney General for Ireland to-day in admitting the atrocious character of the charges, and the necessity for serious investigation, was a marked contrast with his conduct when he replied to that Question. Had this been done before Mr. Justice Lawson had been called upon to utter any opinion on the subject, had the Law Officers of the Crown made the representations they have now that charges of so grave and so deliberate a description, and made on so respectable an authority, were such as should be inquired into, it is only a fair conclusion to say that Justice Lawson would not have committed the grave—and worse than grave—blunder he has. Consequently, I cannot separate the responsibility of Mr. Justice Lawson from the responsibility of the Attorney General for Ireland; but I go further. The House must remember that this very question of jury-packing, for calling attention to which Mr. Gray has been sentenced to six months' imprisonment and a heavy fine, for the imprisonment amounts to six months, the Irish Members in this House attempted to bring forward, and that upon the spur of serious telegrams from Dublin and serious information which had reached them. For attempting to do this with the seriousness and with the urgency which such charges demand, we were accused by no less a personage than the Home Secretary that we were only endeavouring to secure and to procure for crime in Ireland perfect immunity. I therefore cannot separate the atrocious charge made by the English Home Secretary from the action of Mr. Justice Lawson; and, for my part, I can only warmly congratulate my hon. Friend the Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray)—a man of high integrity, of known moderation and sagacity, and deservedly of distinguished position in Irish politics—that he should have been selected a victim for showing to the people of Ireland that the rule of the British Government is incompatible with an honest distribution of justice and honest law. I feel satisfied, too, that no distinction will be drawn between Mr. Justice Lawson and the more important part of the Cabinet in this country. I feel that this action, also, has the entire and enthusiastic approval of the Home Secretary for England; and so long as the right hon. and learned Member remains in the Liberal Cabinet, so long will Ireland have a bitter and determined enemy in the Administration of the Empire. We learn from the careful statement of the Prime Minister that there is no practical redress to be expected. I know that Mr. Gray's state of health will not fit him for prolonged confinement; but this I know likewise—that Mr. Gray will bear that confinement, or ten times that confinement, rather than yield an inch in the slightest to make the least entreaty. He has defended public rights in the manner demanded by their importance. It is beside the question to talk of Mr. Gray being technically responsible as High Sheriff for the conduct of the jury. It was not for this technical responsibility with regard to the jury that Mr. Gray was sent to gaol for six months. It is as an Irish journalist, an Irish politician, an Irish patriot, that he has been condemned. For my part, I congratulate him upon the honour which has been done him by Her Majesty's Government.

MR. NEWDEGATE: Sir, as one of the Members of the House, representing that long-suffering part of Her Majesty's Dominions called England, I have been watching the course of this debate and asking myself whether there is really any need to transfer the site of Parliament to College Green, Dublin; for the Irish Party in the House have, during the present and recent Sessions, been in such exclusive possession of the House, however small a minority they may form, that it would be impossible, even in Dublin, that a discussion could be more exclusively Irish than that to which we have been for some hours listening. If anyone turned to the pages of *Hansard* for the last three or four Sessions, he would, in absence of other information, come to the conclusion that, instead of Ireland forming only one-third of the United Kingdom, she must, in space and population, form at least two-thirds, and that the Members for Ireland hold a position more important in the eyes of the Speaker and of Her Majesty's Ministers than the Representatives of the other third, including England and Scotland. I give hon. Members of the extreme Irish section credit for this feat—I have never known such a case of imposition on the time and patience of the House as they have accomplished by the course they have pursued. The legitimate occasion of this debate was that the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray), High Sheriff for the City of Dublin, and in charge of the jury, was, as his friends have testified, grossly culpable for permitting the most licentious conduct on the part of the jury while under his charge. The hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) has produced telegrams, containing declarations, he says, made on oath—the truth of which the House has no opportunity of testing—and every one of those declarations seems to prove that the conduct of the jurors, when nominally locked up for the night under the charge of the High Sheriff, the Member for Carlow, has been most disgraceful. Hon. Members from Ireland seem to be proud of that, because they affirm that the jury was exclusively Protestant, and they are full of complaints that no Roman Catholics had been permitted to participate in the orgies which the hon. Member for Carlow, the High Sheriff for Dublin, had provided. They had also said that the hon. Member for Carlow is one of the most high-minded and gifted models of those who occupy the Irish Bench in this House, and that he has been most unjustly treated, because, having published the disgrace of the jury of which he had charge in his newspaper the next day, Mr. Justice Lawson, whom they describe as a tyrannical Judge, was so impressed by the *quasi*-evidence which the hon. Member for Carlow provided for his information that he committed him for contempt of Court. The hon. Member for Sligo has led his client into a trap; because, whatever may have been the misconduct of the jury, when nominally locked up, for that misconduct the Member for Carlow—this distinguished Member of the Irish section, which dominates the House of Commons—was distinctly responsible. I have supported Her Majesty's Government in passing the Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Bill, and I feel most painfully the necessity for dispensing with juries in Ireland. Some hon. Members of the extreme Irish Party were eloquent against that measure. I have felt most keenly the severe necessity for committing to two Judges, or to a single Judge without a jury, the liberties and the lives of the people; but it was because of the misconduct of Irish juries during the last three years that I felt compelled to vote for this part of the Prevention of Crime Act. I wish to call the attention of the House to the fact that Her Majesty's Ministers will be betraying the honest support, which I and other Members of the Opposition have given them, if they continue to allow the conduct of the Irish Judges to be attacked as it has been in the House this day, for these attacks tend to invalidate the position, authority, and efficiency of the Judges, especially when unsupported by juries.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY: I presume, Sir, the usual course will be followed with regard to this matter, and that a division will be taken upon it. ["No, no!"] Well, whether there is a division or not, I desire to say a few words upon the subject. The Prime Minister has suggested that the question should be postponed until October, so that an hon. Member of this House (Mr. Gray) is to remain in prison a considerable length of time. I cannot understand that view of the matter, or support that doctrine. I do not see why the House should delay discharging one of its most cherished and important duties, simply upon the plea that a large number of Members are not within call. Such a doctrine I think most dangerous. It is one of the first duties, and I appeal to the great Constitutional authority in this House—the hon. Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate)—if I am not correct when I assert it is one of the most sacred privileges of this House to inquire by a Committee whenever the question of the imprisonment of a Member is brought before it. In this particular instance the hon. Member imprisoned has been imprisoned under most peculiar circumstances, and I cannot imagine circumstances more necessary to be inquired into by a Committee of this House. If ever these circumstances ought to be inquired into it is now; and if ever this House inquired into the imprisonment of any of its Members it ought to inquire into this case. That inquiry should be immediate. If the Government are desirous of putting upon the Committee hon. Members who are not now present, they should have a Call of the House, and have the hon. Members present. Under the circumstances, I, for one, cannot agree with the Motion of the Prime Minister that the Letter should simply lie on the Table, believing, as I do, that such a course would be quite unworthy. It is not my intention to use strong language, but this I believe—that what will be done this afternoon will not redound to the credit of the House, nor will it tend to consolidate the liberties of the people. ["Oh, oh!"] I do not suppose that some hon. Members calling themselves Liberals will agree to this; but those Liberals are remarkable for sinking their principles whenever it is convenient to do so. No one will be able to turn to this discussion without feelings of the greatest pain; and I do hope that henceforth we may not be troubled with the details of criminal trials at the length to which the Attorney General for Ireland has thought it necessary to adduce facts this afternoon. Everyone must be shocked at the allegations with respect to the jury; but I stand here to positively assert my belief that such a thing as jury-packing did not take place. ["Oh, oh!"] Well, that is my belief; and the fact that the jury were composed to a large extent of one particular class of religionists—— [Mr. SEXTON: Of one religion entirely.] Whilst it may be a matter to be inquired into, it is easily to be explained. You must recollect that in Ireland Roman Catholics prevail largely in excess of Protestants; and those ordered to stand aside would naturally be in a larger proportion Roman Catholics. Now, in several cases, as we have heard, jurors themselves asked to be excused, and the prisoner did not exhaust his challenges. There were numerous matters in connection with this question much more serious requiring investigation, and they are the conduct of those who had the custody of the jury, as appeared upon the affidavit which has been read. It was said these allegations were not true. They might be true or they might not; and if they were not true there was all the greater necessity for an immediate investigation. The Attorney General for Ireland, in the honesty of his spirit, has been shocked by what he has heard; so much so, that he at once gave up the case, and said that inquiry was absolutely necessary. That a jury in a most solemn case of murder should, if the telegrams we heard are true, be allowed to frequent the public billiard-room of an hotel and mix with other persons, is most extraordinary. This was a circumstance which required instant investigation; and if that investigation is necessary now, it was surely required before the whole proceeding was so summarily dismissed by the Judge and the Solicitor General for Ireland. Surely if the people were to be impressed with the majesty of the law and justice, the first step would have been to show that justice herself desired to walk with her eyes open, and not shut. But not only did the Judge and the Solicitor General not desire that the statements should be investigated, but they summarily dismissed them as untrue; and now we shall have to wait several months before we shall know whether, officially, they are true or not. If a Committee is appointed, this question would be decided within a very few days. The investigation should take place at the present time, in order to satisfy the public mind; but to defer the investigation to next October, when a great many hon. Members, as is well known, will not be present, is a highly inconvenient and an improper course. Upon all these grounds, I cannot vote for allowing the Judge's letter to lie on the Table as if it were a matter of no moment. I deeply regret the comments that have been made on the proceedings of the Special Commission. I have felt humiliated at the failure of justice in Ireland for months past, and I was gratified that trial by jury was again vindicated, for I did not believe that even the Irish Members opposite doubted the justice of the verdicts that have been given in Dublin. It is lamentable, in the interests of Ireland, that it is possible for Irish Members to attack first the Judge and then the jury—in fact, the whole administration of justice—and to insure a reply and a vindication from a Law Officer of the Crown in this House, which can only be partial and imperfect, because the facts are not fully ascertained. The right hon. and learned Gentleman and the Government must bear this in mind—that the foundations of social order cannot be strengthened unless the people believe in the absolute purity of justice and the impartial administration of the law.

MR. BIGGAR: The discussion that has taken place to-day is extremely valuable from two points of view. The hon. Member for North Warwickshire

(Mr. Newdegate) and the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland have both confessed that the conduct of the jury in Hynes's case was perfectly disgraceful.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): No, no!

MR. NEWDEGATE: I said, if the statements which had been made were true; but that we have no power to investigate them.

MR. BIGGAR: Exactly, if the evidence of Mr. William O'Brien's letter, with his name signed, and the evidence of a number of independent witnesses, is true. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland also made another admission. The right hon. and learned Gentleman entirely gave up the case with regard to the packing of the jury. He declared most positively, and I suppose truly, that he did not direct the Crown Solicitor, Mr. Morphy, to pack the jury, and that he only directed him to have a good jury.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): What I did say was that my directions were to have an impartial jury.

MR. BIGGAR: Mr. Morphy was a gentleman who would interpret that to mean that he should get a jury that would find a verdict on the most slender evidence. In point of fact, the evidence was most conclusive that the jury was packed by Mr. Morphy, because every Catholic upon the panel whose name was called was struck out as a matter of course, and very few of supposed popular tendency left upon the jury. More than one-half of the names called were struck out by the Crown. If that was not jury-packing, I should like to know what jury-packing is. With regard to the case of Hynes, the evidence was of the slenderest character, and would not justify any jury in finding a verdict of guilty. It was outrageous that a man should be condemned to death on the verdict of men who held a carousal in a public hotel on the night before the verdict was given, and while the trial was pending. The case depended entirely upon the evidence of the person who was shot. It was proved by the priest who called to see the murdered man before Mr. M'Ternan came, and who continued in the company of the murdered man till Mr. M'Ternan arrived, that during the time he was there the man was perfectly incompetent to form or give any decided opinion upon any question. In point of fact, when the priest came he was perfectly unconscious. Then, also, the two doctors who were called in to see the murdered man were both of the opinion that the man was not competent to give evidence in the case. More than that, I am informed that Mr. M'Ternan and the family of the prisoner had a quarrel about shooting at game, and that made him prejudiced against the prisoner. Taking all the facts into consideration—first, that the jury was packed, next that the jury had a carousal during the night when the trial was pending, and next that the evidence was of the very slightest nature—I do contend that *The Freeman's Journal* was thoroughly justified in drawing attention to the case. More than that, the arguments of *The Freeman's Journal* were of a perfectly temperate nature. There was no high-flown language. There was no use of any extra number of adjectives in the arguments that appeared. *The Freeman's Journal* articles simply gave a description of what took place. In point of fact, it came to this—that if a newspaper, after a trial had ended, was not to draw attention to the facts of the case, then journalism, and, in point of fact, a description of what took place on the trial, would seem to compel the owner of a newspaper to run the very greatest risk. There was another point raised in this case which really proved the contemptible nature of the case made out by the Government—namely, that Mr. Gray was technically the party whose duty it was to have custody of these jurors. Anyone who knows anything about this matter must know that it was perfectly impossible that Mr. Gray could personally superintend the housing of these jurors. The Sub-Sheriff performed the part of the High Sheriff with regard to the custody of jurors, and he always delegated the duty to his subordinates. It, therefore, seems to me that there is no case against Mr. Gray, and that the Government would do well to use their influence in whatever way it can be used to allow Mr. Gray his liberty, and that his punishment should be taken away. It was suggested by some of my friends that, after all, Mr. Justice Lawson was not the guilty party, but that he was merely the instrument, and that the Government must take the responsibility. I think my friends are more or less right. The Government can always find useful tools, and I do not think it is the tools that should be reprobated, but the Government that used them.

Mr. CALLAN: I do not wish, Sir, to prolong the debate upon this question; but I would really wish that the Attorney General for Ireland, or some competent Representative of the Treasury Bench, would reply to the charges that have been made. With regard to the question of packing juries in Ireland, it is a very serious matter, and I had no idea when I last spoke on this question that it would assume such a serious aspect. I have no wish to make any serious personal charge against the Attorney or Solicitor General; but they are responsible for the acts of their subordinates. On Thursday last, in Dublin, in the presence of the Attorney General for Ireland, 19 Catholics were ordered to stand aside. The next day, upon a case involving the capital offence, 20 Catholics were ordered to stand aside, the Attorney General for Ireland being present on the occasion. Amongst those ordered to stand aside were men of the highest character, and, as capitalists, they were worth the whole lock, stock, and barrel of the Treasury Bench. *The Freeman's Journal*, on Friday and Saturday, drew attention to the exclusion of Roman Catholics from the jury panel, and what was the result? On Monday six men, who had been told to stand aside, were permitted to come forward and act as jurors, and a few minutes after leaving the box they found a verdict of guilty, showing in the most unmistakable manner that the decision that they should be ordered to stand aside on Saturday was wholly wrong and indefensible, because if they were unfit to sit as jurors on Saturday, they were equally unfit on Monday. With reference to Mr. Justice Lawson, Mr. Justice Lawson made, I will say, an unfortunate and unhappy allusion in the course of his judgment as to his conduct in reference to Belfast.

And it being ten minutes before Seven of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *this day*.

QUESTIONS.

———

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—ARMS LICENCE—MR. JAMES BIGLEN.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether a gun given up last January to the police of Carbury, county Kildare, by Mr. James Biglen, a farmer of that district, is still retained by the police; whether three local magistrates, Messrs. More O'Ferrall, Pilkington, and Palmer, applied that Mr. Biglen should be allowed a licence for the gun; whether Mr. Biglen pays eleven hundred pounds a year rent, and holds three large farms fully stocked with sheep and cattle, for the due protection of which it is requisite have firearms; and, whether the Government intend to return his gun to Mr. Biglen, and to allow him a licence; and, if not, why not?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson), in reply, said, the Viceroy had considered the matter, and refused the application.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—PROCEEDINGS IN CO. SLIGO.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that many tenants in the Ballintogher and other districts of the county Sligo, served originating notices in the Land Court so long ago as the month of last December, or thereabout, and that the Sub-Commissioners, at their sitting in Sligo last May, heard only a small proportion of those cases, leaving the great majority of them still undecided and unheard; whether it is the fact that in numerous cases the tenants who served originating notices have been pursued at Law by their landlords for the full rack-rent due; that the landlords have refused to take any payment on account; and that, in consequence of the delay of the Land Court in dealing with their cases, many tenants have been compelled to pay the unreduced rents up to and including the last May gale, together with heavy legal costs; whether care will be taken that the Sub-Commissioners sit again in Sligo in time to apply the fixing of judicial rent to the gale due next November, and thus save the tenants who served originating notices long since from further exaction in respect of unreduced rents and law costs; whether it is true that, early last November, about 250 tenants on Lord Huntingdon's estate in the county of Waterford, and about 100 tenants on Mr. Chearnley's estate in the same county, served originating notices in the Land Court, and, although a Sub-Commission has sat in the county, and cases from other estates have been heard and disposed of, the cases of the tenants in question have not yet been heard, or listed for hearing; whether arrangements will be made to have judgments given upon the cases of the Huntingdon and Chearnley tenants before another gale falls due; and, whether the Government will lay upon the Table Copies of any correspondence between Mr. Richard Rice, the solicitor to the tenants, and Mr. Godley, secretary to the Land Commission?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) in reply, said, that there were 1,500 applications to fix fair rents, and they were all taken in their order.

RAILWAYS—IMPROVED COUPLINGS FOR ROLLING STOCK.

SIR EDWARD REED asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether the various Railway Companies have replied to the Board of Trade Circular of February last on the loss of life and personal injury sustained by Railway servants during the coupling and uncoupling of vehicles; whether any of the Companies have intimated their intention of adopting improved couplings, with the object of diminishing the risks of their servants; and, whether the Board will at an early date publish the Circular and such replies as have been sent in?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Sir, the Circular to the Railway Companies, which the Board of Trade issued in February last, in order to draw attention to the loss of life and personal injury sustained by railway servants in coupling and uncoupling vehicles, has elicited only two or three replies from the Railway Companies. The Great Northern Railway Company report that they have had several plans before them, and had consulted their men on the subject, but that nothing possessing the needful simplicity and handiness has yet been designed. Two other Companies report that a stick is to some extent used in uncoupling wagons to trip the coupling chain off, but that it is little use for coupling, as that operation is performed when the trucks are at rest, and little risk is incurred by the men. I do not think that, under the circumstances, any good would arise from publishing the Papers.

ARMY—ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT—SURGEON M'GANN AND OTHERS.

MR. O'SHEA asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the cases of Surgeon M'Gann, and other officers of the Army Medical Department, whose distinguished services in South Africa were mentioned in General Orders and Despatches, will be recognised in any way?

MR. CHILDERS: In reply to my hon. Friend, I beg to state that several medical officers did excellent service in the late war in South Africa, of whom Surgeon M'Gann was one. They have been thanked for their services, and their services have been duly recorded.

RUSSIA—THE POSTAL CONVENTION—DELIVERY OF NEWSPAPERS.

MR. GOURLEY asked the Postmaster General, Whether it is in accordance with the Postal Convention which the Government of Russia has entered into with Great Britain, that any newspaper should be forbidden by the postal authorities at St. Petersburg to be delivered to correspondents when such newspapers are duly stamped and clearly directed?

MR. FAWCETT: In reply to my hon. Friend, I may state that the Postal Union Convention, to which both Great Britain and Russia are parties, expressly reserves to every country of the Union the right to refuse delivery of newspapers in certain circumstances, and the Russian Government has no doubt in some cases availed itself of this power to refuse delivery of newspapers sent from this country to persons in Russia.

EGYPT—(MILITARY OPERATIONS)—THE NAVAL ARMOURED TRAIN.

MR. WARTON asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether the "Naval armoured train" which, under the command of Captain Fisher, R.N., is at present in operation with our forces in Egypt, is constructed on the same principles as those embodied in the invention of "Improved Mechanical Arrangements for Working and Protecting Ordnance and other Firearms, and for the men in charge of the same," for which Letters Patent, No. 2611, were granted to John Evelyn Liardet, sealed the 26th March 1872, and dated the 3rd October 1871; whether the consent of the said John Evelyn Liardet had been secured before his invention was thus brought into use; and, if Her Majesty's Government will take steps suitably to recompense the patentee?

Sir THOMAS BRASSEY: The Admiralty have no information with reference to the details of the construction of the "armoured train," nor are they in possession of any information from what source the idea was taken. When such information is in their possession they will be able to determine whether recompense is due.

Mr. WARTON said, in October next he would furnish the House with some information on the subject.

LAW AND JUSTICE (SCOTLAND)—THE GROUND GAME ACT, 1879—CASE OF "FRAZER *v.* LAWSON."

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR asked the Lord Advocate, If he has read the case of Frazer *v.* Lawson, known as the "Castle Frazer rabbit case," decided by Sheriff Wilson, in the Sheriff Court of Aberdeen, in favour of the defendant, but which decision was reversed by the Sheriff Principal; and, whether any authoritative opinion can be expressed as to the proper interpretation to be placed on the Law; or, if not, whether a Bill will be promptly submitted to Parliament to declare the rights of tenants holding leases before and subsequent to the Ground Game Act, in respect to shooting and trapping rabbits?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) said, he had seen the newspaper report of the case to which the hon. and gallant Gentleman referred; but he had not seen the pleadings or the proof. In these circumstances, he did not feel justified in expressing an opinion upon the judgment. He should, however, obtain a copy of the Papers, and if he thought that the law required amendment he would take the necessary steps.

ARMY (INDIA)—GRIEVANCES OF CAVALRY OFFICERS.

Mr. TOTTENHAM asked the Secretary of State for India, Whether it is a fact that certain officers of Cavalry, now on the cadres of the three Presidencies, who elected to remain "local," are at present, and have been since the formation of the Staff Corps in 1861, when holding an appointment, compulsorily reduced to and obliged to accept an inferior rate of pay, viz. the Staff Corps pay of their rank, although they do not belong to that corps, and that, through this act of compulsion, a Cavalry Captain is a loser per annum of Rs.2,268, a Cavalry Major of Rs.3,468 per annum, and a Cavalry Lieut.-Colonel of Rs.3,960 per annum; whether it is a fact that all these Cavalry officers above-mentioned, on entering the service of the late East India Company, were guaranteed and received a superior rate of pay to Infantry officers, and that their compulsory reduction since 1861 to the Staff Corps scale, on being nominated to an appointment, is a direct infringement of the guarantee given under the "Henley" Clause, and ratified by Parliament; and, whether he will cause inquiry to be made into the cases of these officers, with a view to removing the grievances of which they complain?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: In 1861, on the re-organization of the Native Army, all regiments were placed on what was then called the "irregular" footing, and all regimental appointments became staff appointments. The whole question of staff salaries was then reviewed, and the regimental as well as all other military staff salaries were based on a fixed and low rate of military pay, the two forming a consolidated and adequate remuneration, framed on the principle that all officers employed on staff duties, whether Cavalry, Infantry, or Staff Corps, shall receive in their respective grades identical payment for the performance of identical duties. When not receiving staff salaries, which are, of course, higher than the ordinary regimental pay of the officers—that is, when unemployed—officers of the whole Cavalry and Infantry local service receive the regimental rates of pay guaranteed to them. Cavalry officers were not guaranteed that they should, under all circumstances, receive superior rates of pay to Infantry officers, nor could the guarantee be strained to admit such a conclusion, for long prior to the change in the Government of India Cavalry officers commanding irregular Cavalry regiments received precisely the same remuneration as Infantry officers holding similar commands. I do not propose to cause any inquiry to be made into the matter.

POST OFFICE (SAVINGS BANK DEPARTMENT)—FEMALE CLERKS.

MR. J. G. TALBOT asked the Postmaster General, Whether it is to be inferred from his recent answer on the subject of the Savings Bank Department, that the existing male staff will be gradually replaced by a female establishment; and, whether he can give an assurance that further changes in this direction shall be made with greater regard than heretofore to the vested interests of the male officers, whose reasonable prospects of promotion are thereby jeopardized?

MR. FAWCETT: In reply to the hon. Member, I may state that I altogether deny that the vested interests of the male officers of the Post Office Savings Banks have been interfered with. So far from the superior appointments in the male branch having been diminished in number, they have been increased. But, even if this had not been the case, the Government is bound, if it becomes necessary to increase the numbers in any Department in the Civil Service, to make the addition in the manner which most conduces to the public advantage. The addition to the staff, which has recently become necessary in the Saving Bank, in consequence of the rapid growth of business, has been to a considerable extent supplied by the appointment of female clerks. In my opinion, the course thus adopted has been very beneficial. With regard to the future, I can give no other promise than that if it again becomes necessary to make an addition to the force that addition will be made in such a manner as will, I believe, most promote the public interest.

POST OFFICE—THE LETTER CARRIERS —INCREASED PAY.

MR. BROADHURST asked the Postmaster General, Whether the sum voted for the increase of the pay of postmen is to be used for the increase of the pay of the present Staff; or, whether it is to be available for any increase of the Staff that may take place in the future; and, whether the £60,000, which the Postmaster General has mentioned as the annual cost of his new scheme for improving the pay of the letter-carriers of the United Kingdom, will be wholly divided amongst the existing Staff, or is intended to provide the pay required for all forthcoming additions to that Staff?

MR. FAWCETT: In reply to the two Questions of my hon. Friend I may state that the Estimate lately given of £60,000, as representing the cost of the new scheme affecting letter carriers, does not include any outlay which would be required should it become necessary to add to the numbers of the existing Staff. The £60,000 will be required for the new scales contemplated, and in conferring a large additional number of good-conduct stripes. As my hon. Friend in one of his Questions uses the expression "wholly divided," it may be well to state, in order to prevent misapprehension, that, although the new scheme will, I believe, materially improve the position of the letter carriers as a body, yet it does not necessarily follow that every letter carrier will immediately obtain an increase of pay.

VACCINATION—ALLEGED DEATH OF CHILDREN AT NORWICH FROM EFFECTS OF OPERATION—REPORT OF THE MEDICAL INSPECTOR.

MR. HOPWOOD asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he had received the Report of the Medical Inspector in regard to the cases of alleged deaths from vaccination at Norwich?

MR. DODSON: The Report has not been received; but, at the suggestion of the Medical Inspector, I have, in view of the gravity of the case, and the strong public feeling excited, directed a public inquiry to be held. For this purpose, I have associated with the Medical Inspector, Dr. Airy, one of our most experienced general Inspectors, Mr. Henley,

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I beg to move that this House will, at the rising of the House To-morrow, adjourn till Tuesday, the 24th day of October next.

Mr. BIGGAR: I beg leave to oppose that Motion.

Mr. SPEAKER: Then the matter must stand over until the Evening Sitting.

The House suspended its Sitting at Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE.

Resolved, That this House will, at the rising of the House To-morrow, adjourn till Tuesday the 24th day of October next."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

PARLIAMENT—PRIVILEGE—MR. GRAY (COMMITMENT OF A MEMBER OF THIS HOUSE.)

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [17th August], "That the Letter of Mr. Justice Lawson do lie upon the Table."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed*.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Ordered, That the Letter of Mr. Justice Lawson do lie upon the Table.

PAYMENT OF WAGES IN PUBLIC HOUSES PROHIBITION BILL [*Lords.*]

(*Mr. Morley.*)

[BILL 185.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. BROADHURST, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that the Bill had passed the House of Lords——

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Broadhurst.*)

Mr. WARTON said, it was generally understood in the early part of the day that Members would be brought down to the House that evening only for the purpose of providing for the adjournment to-morrow, and now the hon. Member proposed to ask the House to discuss a question of importance with short Notice. He begged to move the rejection of the Bill.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

[The Amendment, not being seconded, could not be put.]

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Tuesday* 24th October.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at a quarter
after Nine o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 18*th August*, 1882.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*Royal Assent*—Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 71]; Civil Imprisonment (Scotland) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 42]; Somersham Rectory [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 81]; Bills of Sale Act (1878) Amendment [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 43]; Arrears of Rent (Ireland) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 47]; Entail (Scotland) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 53]; Turnpike Acts Continuance [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 52]; Supreme Court of Judicature (Ireland) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 70]; Bombay Civil Fund [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 45]; Isle of Man (Officers) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 46]; Pensions Commutation [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 44]; County Courts (Costs and Salaries [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 57]; Lunacy Regulation Amendment [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 82]; Municipal Corporations [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 50]; Poor Law Amendment [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 58]; Labourers' Cottages and Allotments (Ireland) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 60]; Bills of Exchange [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 61]; Electric Lighting [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 56]; Reserve Forces Acts Consolidation [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 48]; Militia Acts

Consolidation [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 49]; Artizans' Dwellings [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 54]; Merchant Shipping (Mercantile Marine Fund) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 55]; Government Annuities and Insurance [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 51]; Educational Endowments (Scotland) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 59]; Intermediate Education (Ireland) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 69]; Turnpike Roads (South Wales) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 67]; Corrupt Practices (Suspension of Elections) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 68]; Passenger Vessel Licenses (Scotland) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 66]; Expiring Laws Continuance [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 64]; Public Works Loans [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 62]; Royal Irish Constabulary [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 63]; Prison Charities [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 65]; Married Women's Property [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 75]; Allotments [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 80]; India (Home Charges Arrears) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 79]; Revenue, Friendly Societies, and National Debt [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 72]; Ancient Monuments [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 73]; Citation Amendment (Scotland) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 77]; Merchant Shipping (Colonial Inquiries) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 76]; Parcel Post [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 74]; Fishery Board (Scotland) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 78]; Wellesley Bridge (Limerick) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. ccxxi].

Their Lordships met; — And the ROYAL ASSENT having been given, by Commission, to several Bills,

House adjourned at Three o'clock, to
Tuesday the 24th day of October
next, a quarter past
Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 18*th August*, 1882.

The House met at a quarter after Two of the clock.

Message to attend the LORDS COMMISSIONERS.

The House went;—and being returned;—

Mr. SPEAKER *reported* the *Royal Assent* to several Bills.

QUESTION.

—∽:o:∽—

ARMY—THE GRENADIER GUARDS—CASE OF LIEUTENANT FARRER.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether Lieutenant Farrer, of the Grenadier Guards, did, on the 25th day of July last, send a letter to his battalion commanding officer, with a request that it should be forwarded to the Secretary of State for War, and praying that he might be allowed to withdraw his resignation, or that his application to retire might not be acted upon for thirty days, in order to carry through proceedings for the annulment of his bankruptcy, which took place during his leave of absence abroad, and that no notice of the fact had been given to him; whether in that letter he set forth that his bankruptcy was entirely due to the fact that his rents on his Irish property were some years in arrear; whether this letter was approved of, and forwarded to the officer commanding the regiment by his battalion commanding officer; whether, at a subsequent date, on 1st August, he wrote a letter to his battalion commanding officer, and enclosed two documents (a statement of how the bankruptcy occurred, and a petition to be allowed to remain in the Army, on the ground that his bankruptcy did not arise from any fault of his own, and for leave to exchange into another regiment); whether his battalion commanding officer forwarded these documents to the officer commanding the regiment; whether the commanding officer of the regiment refused to forward these documents to the Commander in Chief and Secretary of State for War; whether it is the duty of any commanding officer to forward any petitions to the authorities from his subordinate officers; and, whether, under the circumstances, his case may be brought under reconsideration, and, as a sufficient opportunity has not been given him to clear himself with the Secretary of State for War, that his claim for reinstatement may be considered?

MR. CHILDERS: Sir, the hon. Member gave me no Notice of this Question, but only put it on the Paper last night. I could not possibly, between 11 and 2 o'clock to-day, obtain information as to the details contained in the eight paragraphs of the Question; and I must, therefore, decline to answer them.

On the Motion of The Marquess of HARTINGTON,

House adjourned at Three o'clock
till Tuesday 24th October.

[INDEX.

INDEX

TO

HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

VOLUME CCLXXIII.

EIGHTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1882.

EXPLANATION OF THE ABBREVIATIONS.

In Bills, Read 1^{o}, 2^{o}, 3^{o}, or 1^{a}, 2^{a}, 3^{a}, Read the First, Second, or Third Time.—In Speeches 1R., 2R., 3R., Speech delivered on the First, Second, or Third Reading.—*Amendt.*, Amendment.—*Res.*, Resolution.—*Comm.*, Committee.—*Re-Comm.*, Re-Committal.—*Rep.*, Report.—*Consid.*, Consideration.—*Adj.*, Adjournment or Adjourned.—*cl.*, Clause.—*add. cl.*, Additional Clause.—*neg.*, Negatived.—*M. Q.*, Main Question.—*O. Q.*, Original Question.—*O. M.*, Original Motion.—*P. Q.*, Previous Question.—R. P., Report Progress.—*A.*, Ayes.—*N.*, Noes.—*M.*, Majority.—*1st. Div.*, *2nd. Div.*, First or Second Division.—*l.*, Lords.—*c.*, Commons.

When in this Index a * is added to the Reading of a Bill, it indicates that no Debate took place upon that stage of the measure.

When in the Text or in the Index a Speech is marked thus *, it indicates that the Speech is reprinted from a Pamphlet or some authorized Report.

When in the Index a † is prefixed to a Name or an Office (the Member having accepted or vacated office during the Session) and to Subjects of Debate thereunder, it indicates that the Speeches on those Subjects were delivered in the speaker's private or official character, as the case may be.

Some subjects of debate have been classified under the following "General Headings:"—ARMY—NAVY—INDIA—IRELAND—SCOTLAND—PARLIAMENT—POOR LAW—POST OFFICE—METROPOLIS—CHURCH OF ENGLAND—EDUCATION—CRIMINAL LAW—LAW AND JUSTICE—TAXATION, under WAYS AND MEANS.

ABERCORN, Duke of
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 191; Report, *cl.* 1, Amendt. 342, 343; 3R. Amendt. 348; Commons Amendts. to Lords Amendts Consid. Amendt. 1336

ABERDARE, Lord
Electric Lighting, 2R. 576

ABERDEEN, Earl of
Mercantile Marine—Pouring Oil upon the Sea, 8

ACLAND, Mr. C. T. D., *Cornwall, E. Div.*
Supply—Lunacy Commission, England, 139

Adulteration of Food Act
Adulterated Butter and Milk, Question, Lord Eustace Cecil; Answer, Mr. Dodson *Aug* 3, 587
Butter and Butter Substitutes, Question, Viscount Folkestone; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Aug* 3, 603

Africa (*South*)
LORDS
Cetewayo, Ex-King of Zululand—Visit to this Country—Official Reception, Question, Observations, Lord Norton; Reply, The Earl of Kimberley *Aug* 4, 734;—*Contemplated Restoration*, Question, Observations, The Earl of Milltown; Reply, The Earl of Kimberley; short debate thereon *Aug* 15, 1803

Africa (*South*)
COMMONS
Cetewayo, Ex-King of Zululand—Contemplated Restoration, Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *Aug* 10, 1373;—Question, Mr. J. G. Hubbard; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *Aug* 15, 1836
The Transvaal—The Boers and the Native Tribes, Question, Mr. Arthur Pease; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *Aug* 3, 593; Observations, Mr. R. N. Fowler, Mr.

[cont.

Africa (South)—Commons—*cont.*
Cropper; Reply, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *Aug* 4, 789; Questions, Mr. R. N. Fowler, Mr. Gorst; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *Aug* 10, 1381

Zululand—Collection of Taxes by John Dunn,
Question, Mr. R. N. Fowler; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *Aug* 14, 1684

Africa, South (Natal)—Native Subjects of the Crown
Amendt. on Committee of Supply *Aug* 3, To leave out from "That," and add "an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty that She will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before this House, further Papers relating to the policy pursued by the Government of Natal towards the Native subjects of the British Crown" (*Sir George Campbell*) *v.* 633; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

Agnew, Mr. W., *Lancashire, S.E.*
Education Department—Victoria University (Manchester)—Power to grant Degrees in Medicine, 1136

Agricultural Commission—Cork Butter Market
Question, Mr. Moore; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 10, 1379

Agricultural Holdings, Notices of Removal (Scotland) Bill
(*Sir Alexander Gordon, Mr. M'Lagan, Mr. Barclay*)
c. Committee; Report *Aug* 1, 502 [Bill 5]

Agricultural Tenants' Compensation Bill
(*Mr. Chaplin, Mr. Guy Dawnay, Mr. Pell, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Birkbeck, Mr. Stanhope*)
c. Report of Select Comm. * *Aug* 1 [No. 334]

Agricultural Tenants' Compensation (No. 2) Bill (*Sir Thomas Acland, Mr. Evans, Mr. Hussey Vivian, Lord Moreton, Mr. Duckham, Sir John Kennaway, Mr. Story-Maskelyne*)
c. Report of Select Comm. * *Aug* 1 [No. 335]
(Nos. 1 & 2) Special Report [No. 336]

Ailesbury, Marquess of
Metropolitan Improvements — Hyde Park Corner, 1798

Aldershot Camp Roads Bill
(*Mr. Secretary Childers, Sir Arthur Hayter*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *Aug* 2 [Bill 177]

Alexander, Colonel C., *Ayrshire, S.*
Army Estimates—Commissariat, Transport, &c. Establishments, 1017
Citation Amendment (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1485, 1617; Consid. 1854
Egypt (Military Expedition)—Major General Feilding, C.B., 612
Officers holding Staff Appointments, 973, 978, 979, 983
Fishery Board (Scotland), 2R. 1615
Peru—Murder of Mr. Rose, 1826
Supply—Board of Supervision for Relief of the Poor, &c. Scotland, 327
Fishery Board in Scotland, &c. 323; Amendt. 325, 326
Local Government Board, &c. Amendt. 127, 132, 133, 134
Report, 329

Alkali, &c. Works Regulation Act, 1881 *—Inspectors*
Questions, Mr. Arthur Arnold, Mr. Warton; Answers, Mr. Dodson *Aug* 3, 586

Allen, Mr. H. G., *Pembroke, &c.*
Married Women's Property, Comm. *cl.* 6, 1609
Navy Estimates—Dockyards, &c. 483
Woolmer Forest—Recent Fires, 1532

Allen, Mr. W. S., *Newcastle-under-Lyne*
Post Office—Female Clerks, 1374

Allotments Bill (*Mr. Jesse Collings, Mr. Burt, Mr. Brand, Mr. Bryce*)
c. Committee (*on re-comm.*)—R.P. *Aug* 3, 724
Committee (*on re-comm.*); Report *Aug* 4, 883
Considered; read 3^o, after short debate *Aug* 10, 1488 [Bill 227]
l. Read 1^a * (*Lord Carrington*) *Aug* 11 (No. 248)
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a" *Aug* 14, 1668; after short debate, on Question? Cont. 13, Not-Cont. 7; M. 6; resolved in the affirmative; Bill read 2^a
Committee * *Aug* 15
Report *; read 3^a *Aug* 16 (No. 259)
Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 80]

Ancient Monuments Bill
Questions, Mr. Cavendish Bentinck; Answers, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *Aug* 9, 1278; *Aug* 12, 1627

Ancient Monuments Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Chancellor*)
l. Committee, after short debate *July* 28, 15
Report * *July* 31 (No. 197)
Read 3^a * *Aug* 1
c. Read 1^o * (*Mr. Shaw Lefevre*) *Aug* 1 [Bill 263]
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^o" *Aug* 11, 1598
Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day three months" (*Mr. Warton*)
[The Amendment, not being seconded, could not be put]
Bill read 2^o, after short debate
Committee, after short debate; Report; Considered; read 3^o *Aug* 15, 1847
l. Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 73]

Ancient Monuments [*Purchase, &c.*]
c. Resolution considered in Committee and agreed to *Aug* 9, 1326
Resolution reported *Aug* 10

ANDERSON, Mr. G., *Glasgow*
Army — Ordnance Department — Moncreiff Battery at Alexandria, 1686
Army Estimates—Army Reserve Force, 1008
Brazil—Claims of British Subjects, 607
Citation Amendment (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1487; Consid. 1855
Cruelty to Animals, 2R. 888, 1624, 1667
Educational Endowments (Scotland), Consid. *cl.* 6, 514, 515; *cl.* 13, 523; *cl.* 15, 527; *cl.* 25, 532; 3R. 538; Lords Amendts. Consid. 1864, 1865, 1874
Fishery Board (Scotland), 2R. 1616
Malta—Executive Council, 612
Malta—Administrative Reforms—British Rule, Res. 84
Portugal—The "City of Mecca," 607
Supply—Fishery Board in Scotland, &c. 324
  Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in Exchequer, Scotland, &c. 321
  Secret Services, 314

ARMY
MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS
Aldershot Camp—Drunkenness, Question, Mr. Caine; Answer, The Judge Advocate General *Aug* 8, 1150
Allowances to Families of Soldiers on Active Service, Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Childers *July* 28, 33
Appointments to the Staff, Questions, Mr. Tottenham, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Childers *July* 28, 42
Army Chaplains, Question, Mr. Gibson; Answer, Mr. Childers *Aug* 8, 1137
Army Hospital Corps, Question, General Feilden; Answer, Mr. Childers *July* 28, 30

Army (India)
Conductor Bennett, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *Aug* 15, 1831
Grievances of Cavalry Officers, Question, Mr. Tottenham; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *Aug* 17, 2046
Roman Catholic Chaplains, Observations, Mr. Moore, Mr. Blake; Reply, The Marquess of Hartington; short debate thereon *Aug* 7, 966

Army Medical Department—Surgeon M'Gann and others, Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Childers *Aug* 17, 2044
Army Pay Department—Value of Officers' former Commissions and Retirement, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Childers *Aug* 3, 591; Question, Mr. Warton; Answer, Mr. Childers *Aug* 10, 1378
Captains of the Royal Artillery—The Royal Warrant, 1882, Question, Mr. Warton; Answer, Mr. Childers *Aug* 10, 1361

Egyptian Expeditionary Force
Roman Catholic Chaplains (Egyptian Expedition), Question, Mr. Moore; Answer, Sir Arthur Hayter *Aug* 3, 608; Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *Aug* 11, 1517
Promotion from the Ranks, Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, Mr. Childers *Aug* 10, 1379

Grenadier Guards—Case of Lieutenant Farrer, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Childers *Aug* 18, 2051
Guards' Regulations, Explanation, Mr. Childers *July* 31, 214
Long and Short Service, Observations, Sir George Campbell *Aug* 7, 973
Malta, Garrison at — Married Soldiers' Families, Question, Colonel O'Beirne; Answer, Mr. Childers *Aug* 11, 1519
Officers Seconded for Civil Service in Cyprus, Question, Lord Waveney; Answer, The Earl of Kimberley *Aug* 17, 1977
Ordnance Department—The Moncreiff Battery at Alexandria, Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Mr. Childers *Aug* 14, 1686
The Norfolk Regiment, Question, Mr. Birkbeck; Answer, Mr. Childers *Aug* 1, 368
Vacancies in Cavalry Regiments, Question, Sir Baldwyn Leighton; Answer, Mr. Childers *July* 28, 41

The Reserves
Question, The Earl of Longford; Answer, The Earl of Morley *July* 28, 1
Fraudulent Enlistments, Questions, Sir Henry Fletcher; Answers, The Judge Advocate General *Aug* 8, 1138; *Aug* 14, 1695
The First Class Army Reserve—Calling Out, Question, Sir Henry Fletcher; Answer, Mr. Childers *Aug* 4, 753

The Auxiliary Forces
The Militia
Question, Mr. Macliver; Answer, Mr. Childers *Aug* 3, 611; Question, Colonel Stanley; Answer, Mr. Childers, 617
The Militia Act, 1875, Question, The Earl of Galloway; Observations, The Marquess of Lothian; Reply, The Earl of Morley *Aug* 3, 578
Embodiment of Militia Regiments, Question, Colonel Stanley; Answer, Mr. Childers *Aug* 8, 1135

The Volunteers
Examination of Volunteer Officers, Question, Mr. Moss; Answer, Mr. Childers *Aug* 3, 611

The Yeomanry
Commissions in the Cavalry to Yeomanry Officers volunteering for Service in Egypt, Question, Mr. Salt; Answer, Mr. Childers *Aug* 8, 1138

Army—The Reserve Forces—The Queen's Message—Address to Her Majesty, July 27
LORDS
The Queen's Answer reported *July* 31, 150

COMMONS
The Queen's Answer reported *July* 31, 218

Arnold, Mr. A., *Salford*
Alkali, &c. Works Regulation Act, 1881—Inspectors, 586
Criminal Law (Ireland)—Michael Larkin, 1142
Customs and Inland Revenue, Comm. *cl.* 6, 232
Cyprus (Finance, &c.), 750, 1376
Egypt (Military Expedition)—Services of the Marines—Turkish Military Intervention, 957
  Political Affairs—Intervention of Turkey, 1358
Entail (Scotland), Comm. 892
India (Finance, &c.)—East India Revenue Accounts—Comm.—Annual Financial Statement, 1738
Ireland—Relief of Distress Act, 1880—Loans and Grants, 1362
Parliament—Privilege—Suspension of Irish Members (July 1), 1298
Revenue, Friendly Societies, and National Debt, Comm. *cl.* 19, 1100
Supply—Colonies—Grants in Aid, 1478
  Copyhold, Enclosure, and Tithe Commission, 112
  Cyprus—Grant in Aid of the Revenue, 1586
  Diplomatic and Consular Buildings, &c. 1570
  Local Government Board, &c. 114, 121
  Mint, Including Coinage, 141
  Public Works in Ireland, 830, 831, 842
  Suppression of Slave Trade, 1477
  Temporary Commissions, 1533, 1536
Woolmer Forest—Recent Fires, 1532

Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill—The Emigration Clauses—General Emigration from Ireland
Question, Mr. Rathbone; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 31, 212

Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill
(*The Lord Privy Seal*)
l. Committee, after debate *July* 31, 150 (No. 205)
Report, after short debate *Aug* 1, 331
Read 3ª and passed, after debate, 347 (No. 213)
c. Lords Amendts. considered *Aug* 8, 1150; one disagreed to; Committee appointed, "to draw up Reasons to be assigned to the Lords for disagreeing to the Amendt;" List of the Committee, 1197
Reasons for disagreeing to the Lords Amendt. reported, and agreed to; to be communicated to the Lords
l. Returned from the Commons with several of the Amendts. agreed to, several agreed to with Amendts., and with Consequential Amendts. to the Bill, and one Amendt. disagreed to, with reasons for such disagreement: The said Amendts. and reasons to be printed, and to be considered on Thursday next (No. 232) *Aug* 8
Orders of the Day postponed *Aug* 10, 1328
Commons Amendts. to Lords Amendts., and Commons Consequential Amendts., and reasons for disagreeing to one of the Lords Amendts., considered *Aug* 10, 1328; after debate, Bill returned to the Commons
c. Moved, "That the Lords Amendts. to the Commons Amendts. to the Amendts. made

[*cont.*

Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill—cont.
by the Lords be considered forthwith" (*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland*) *Aug* 11, 1510; after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Sexton*); after further short debate, Motion withdrawn
Question again proposed; Motion withdrawn
Lords Amendts. to Commons Amendts. to the Amendts. made by the Lords considered, and agreed to, after short debate *Aug* 11, 1624
l. Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 47]

Artizans' Dwellings Bill (*Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)
c. Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *Aug* 3, 714
Amendt. To leave out from "That," and add "in the opinion of this House, the cost of carrying out all improvement schemes in the Metropolis under this Act should be defrayed by the Metropolitan Board of Works, and not charged wholly upon the locality" (*Mr. Ritchie*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn
Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker, &c.," put, and agreed to; Committee; Report, 718
Considered; read 3°, after short debate *Aug* 7, 1101 [Bill 255]
l. Read 1ª * (*Earl of Rosebery*) *Aug* 8 (No. 231)
Read 2ª *Aug* 11, 1489
Committee *; Report *Aug* 14
Read 3ª * *Aug* 15
Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 54]

Asher, Mr. A. (Solicitor General for Scotland), *Elgin Burghs*
Citation Amendment (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 3, 1618
Entail (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 3, 900; *cl.* 14, 904, 907

Ashley, Hon. E. M. (Under Secretary of State for the Colonies), *Isle of Wight*
Africa (South)—Miscellaneous Questions
  Cetewayo, Ex-King of Zululand — Contemplated Restoration, 1373, 1836
  Transvaal—Boers and Native Tribes, 593, 790, 1381
  Zululand—Reported Collection of Taxes by John Dunn, 1685
Africa, South (Natal)—Native Subjects of the Crown, Res. 636
Cyprus (Finance, &c.), 1376
Fiji—The Land Commission, 749
Gibraltar—Newspaper Press, 607
Malta—Executive Council, 612
Malta—Administrative Reforms—British Rule, Res. 89
Merchant Shipping (Colonial Inquiries), Comm. *add. cl.* 1622
Merchant Shipping (Mercantile Marine Fund), 2R. 723
Metropolis—Parks—New Park for Paddington—Ecclesiastical Commissioners, 1148
Supply—Africa (South) and St. Helena, 1478, 1481
  Colonies—Grants in Aid, 1478
  Cyprus—Grant in Aid of the Revenue, 1591

ASHMEAD-BARTLETT, Mr. E., *Eye*
Egypt—Miscellaneous Questions
Conference—Intervention of the Porte, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39
Military Operations—Military Convention with Turkey, 1833
Political Affairs—Proclamation by the Conference of Arabi as a Rebel, 1524
Egypt (Political Affairs)—Policy of H.M. Government, Res. 1875, 1881, 1888
Foreign Policy of H.M. Government, 1528, 1529, 1959, 1961
Royal Irish Constabulary, Comm. 1094
Turkey and Egypt—Action of H.M. Consuls, 1904

ATTORNEY GENERAL, The (Sir H. JAMES) *Taunton*
Corrupt Practices (Suspension of Elections), 2R. 916, 919; Comm. 1601; *cl.* 2, 1602, 1603
East India (Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt), Res. 287
Imprisonment for Contumacy, 2R. 1965
Law and Justice—Judges and the Assizes, 43
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. 84
Revenue, Friendly Societies, and National Debt, Leave, 503; 2R. 724
Royal Irish Constabulary, Comm. *cl.* 3, 1252
Supply—Chancery Division and Supreme Court generally, 861, 862
Criminal Prosecutions—Sheriffs' Expenses, &c. 859
Land Registry, 865
Law Charges, 856, 857
Public Prosecutor's Office, 857
Supreme Court of Judicature—Central Office, 863

Augmentation of Benefices Act Amendment Bill (*Mr. Attorney General*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *Aug* 4 [Bill 106]

AYLMER, Captain J. E. F., *Maidstone*
Trade and Commerce—Spanish Tariff Duty on Cured Fish, 1149

BALFOUR, Lord
Educational Endowments (Scotland), 2R. 1120
Parcel Post, 2R. 1347

BALFOUR, Right Hon. J. B. (Lord Advocate for Scotland), *Clackmannan, &c.*
Citation Amendment (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1486, 1617; *cl.* 3, Amendt. *ib.*, 1619; *cl.* 4, Amendt. 1620; *cl.* 5, Amendt. *ib.*; Schedule, Amendt. 1621; Consid. 1852; *cl.* 2, Amendt. 1856; *cl.* A, *ib.*
Educational Endowments (Scotland), Consid. *cl.* 8, 517; Amendt. 518; *cl.* 13, 520; *cl.* 15, 525; *cl.* 29, 534
Entail (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 2, 896, 898; *cl.* 3, 899; *cl.* 6, Amendt. 900; *cl.* 7, 901; *cl.* 10, Amendt. 902; *cl.* 11, Amendt. 903; *cl.* 18, Amendt. 908, 909; *cl.* 27, 910, 911; *add. cl. ib.*, 912

BALFOUR, Right Hon. J. B.—*cont.*
Fisheries of the United Kingdom—Digest of Statutes and Regulations of Fishery Boards, with Index, 954, 955
Fishery Board (Scotland), 2R. 1613; Comm. 1649; *cl.* 4, Amendt. 1789, 1790; *cl.* 5, 1791, 1792; *cl.* 7, 1794; Schedule, 1858
Parliament—Scotch Business, 1674
Scotland—Miscellaneous Questions
Crofters in the Island of Skye—A Royal Commission, 779, 780
Fishery Board—The Report, 1525
Law and Justice—Cessio Fees in Hamilton Sheriff Court, 1359;—Ground Game Act, 1879—"Fraser *v.* Lawson," 2045
Magistracy—Provost of Dingwall, 952
Poor Law—Alleged Illegal Removal of a Pauper from Glasgow to Londonderry, 1675
Supply—Fishery Board in Scotland, &c. 324

BALFOUR, General Sir G., *Kincardineshire*
Army Estimates—Army Reserve Force, 994, 1004
Commissariat, Transport, &c. Establishments, 1010
Out-Pensions, 1044
Warlike Stores, 1025
Works, Buildings, &c. 1037
Beer—Abolition of the Malt Tax, Res. 53
Customs and Inland Revenue, Re-comm. *cl.* 11, 248
Dover Harbour, Consid. Amendt. 202
Fisheries of the United Kingdom—Digest of Statutes and Regulations of Fishery Boards, with Index, 954
Fishery Board (Scotland), Comm. 1648; Amendt. 1857, 1858, 1859
India (Finance, &c.)—East India Revenue Accounts—Comm.—Annual Financial Statement, 1757
India (Home Charges Arrears), 2R. 1649
Law and Justice (Scotland)—Ground Game Act, 1879—"Frazer *v.* Lawson," 2045
Militia Acts Consolidation, Comm. *cl.* 3, Amendt, 626; *cl.* 4, Amendt. 627; *cl.* 6, Amendt. 628; *cl.* 7, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 10, Amendt. 629; *cl.* 13, Amendt. 630, 631; *cl.* 15, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 34, Amendt. 632
National Expenditure, 79
Navy—Naval Reserve, 389
Valuation Statements, 1519
Navy Estimates—Coastguard Service and Royal Naval Reserves, 396
Scientific Branch, 403
Parliament—Scotch Business, 1674
Patent Museum (South Kensington), 1405
Supply—Board of Trade, 101, 102, 103, 108, 109, 110

Ballot Act Continuance and Amendment Bill (*Sir Charles Dilke, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Attorney General*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *Aug* 11 [Bill 84]

[cont

Bankruptcy Act, 1869
  Observations, Mr. Gregory ; Reply, The Solicitor General *July* 28, 94

BARING, Mr. T. C., *Essex, S.*
  Cruelty to Animals, 2R. 1624
  Customs and Inland Revenue, Comm. *cl.* 6, 241
  Supply—Africa (South) and St. Helena, 1481
    Board of Supervision for the Relief of the Poor, &c. Scotland, 327
    Chancery Division and Supreme Court generally, 862
    Disturnpiked Roads, 1583
    Mint, &c. 143
    Non-Effective and Charitable Services, 1482
    Record Office, 146
    Registrar General's Office, Scotland, 326
    Report, 328

BARNE, Colonel F. St. J. N., *Suffolk, E.*
  Beer—Abolition of the Malt Tax, Res. 46, 47
  Egypt — Suez Canal — Passage of English Ships, 1278

BARRINGTON, Viscount
  Egypt (Military Operations)—Alleged Misconduct of a Picket of the 60th Rifles, 563

BARTTELOT, Colonel Sir W. B., *Sussex, W.*
  Army Estimates—Army Reserve Force, 983
    Military Education, Establishments for, 1037
    Rewards for Distinguished Services, 1041
    War Office, 1039
    Works, Buildings, &c. 1037
  Beer—Abolition of the Malt Tax, Res. 50
  Customs and Inland Revenue, Re-comm. *cl.* 11, 250
  Egypt—Miscellaneous Questions
    Military Expedition—Officers holding Staff Appointments, 981
    Military Operations—Russian Cattle—Precautions against Rinderpest, 1833
    Political Affairs—Letter of Arabi Pasha, &c. 217, 753 ;—Suez Canal, 1144
  Fishery Board (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 5, 1790
  India (Finance, &c.)—East India Revenue Accounts, Comm.—Annual Financial Statement, 1773
  Parliament—Arrangement of Public Business, 376
    Business of the House—New Rules of Procedure, Ministerial Statement, 1700
  Public Departments—Vacancies at the War Office, 30
  Reserve Forces Acts Consolidation, Comm. *cl.* 5, 619 ; *cl.* 7, 622
  Supply—Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum, 869
    Police, Counties and Boroughs, Great Britain, 867

BAXTER, Right Hon. W. E., *Montrose, &c.*
  Egypt—Military Operations—Transports, 31

BECTIVE, Earl of, *Westmoreland*
  Egypt—Suez Canal—M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, 373

Beer—Abolition of the Malt Tax
  Amendt. on Committee of Customs and Inland Revenue Bill *July* 28, To leave out from "That," and add "no financial scheme will be satisfactory which does not amend the Law with regard to the use of ingredients other than sugar, malt, and hops in the brewing of beer for sale" (*Mr. Chaplin*) *v.*, 43 ; Question proposed, "That the words, &c. ;" after short debate, Question put ; A. 125, N. 52 ; M. 73 (D. L. 300)

Beer Dealers' Retail Licences Act (1880) Amendment Bill (*Earl Cadogan*)
l. Royal Assent *Aug* 10 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 34]

BELLINGHAM, Mr. A. H., *Louth*
  Ireland—Crime—Nocturnal Attacks—Return, 369

BELMORE, Earl of
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 191

BENTINCK, Right Hon. G. A. F. Cavendish, *Whitehaven*
  Ancient Monuments, 1627
  Customs and Inland Revenue, Comm. *cl.* 5, 222, 224, 226, 227 ; *cl*, 6, 231, 244
  Parliament—Arrangement of Public Business, 375
  Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall), 2R. 1663, 1664
  Supply, Report, 1631, 1646

BERESFORD, Mr. G. De La Poer, *Armagh*
  Ireland—Piers and Harbours—Rosslare Harbour, 1521

BIGGAR, Mr. J. G., *Cavan Co.*
  Army—Army Paymasters, 591
    Grenadier Guards — Case of Lieutenant Farrer, 2051
  Army Estimates—Retired Pay, &c. 1042
  Citation Amendment (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1487
  Customs and Inland Revenue, Consid. *cl.* 11, 560
  Entail (Scotland), Comm. 560
  Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions
    Evictions—Earl of Annesley's Estate at Glan, Co. Cavan, 377
    Peace Preservation Act, 1881 — Alleged Searches for Arms, 952
    Post Office—Belfast Letter Carriers, 1144
  Ireland — Magistracy — Legal Appointments, 1687
    Orange Meeting at Rossmore, 583
  Ireland—Poor Law—Miscellaneous Questions
    Belfast Board of Guardians, 32, 591, 1363
    Election of a Guardian for Belhubet, Cavan Union, 1141
    Rates, Collection of, in Manorhamilton Union, 1140
  Ireland — Royal Irish Constabulary—Miscellaneous Questions
    Police Barracks in Armagh, 1364
    Police in Belfast, 1365
    Removing Placards, 377
    Sub-Inspector O'Callaghan, 568

[*cont.*

BIGGAR, Mr. J. G.—*cont.*
  Militia Acts Consolidation, Comm. *cl.* 3, 627
  Municipal Corporations, Consid. *cl.* 9, Amendt. 378; *cl.* 11, Amendt. 379; *cl.* 12, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 46, Amendt. 380, 381; *cl.* 47, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 59, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 122, Amendt. 385; *cl.* 220, Amendt. 386
  National Expenditure, 82
  Navy Estimates—Dockyards, &c. 481, 485
  Parliament—Adjournment of the House, 2049
    Privilege—Mr. Gray—Commitment of a Member of this House, 2030, 2038, 2039
  Post Office—Female Clerks, 1680
    Provincial Letter Carriers, 1378
  Royal Irish Constabulary, Comm. 1098
  Royal Irish Constabulary, Res. 330
  Royal Irish Constabulary (Pay, &c.), Comm. 556
  Scotland—Magistracy—Provost of Dingwall, 952
  Supply—Board of Trade, 105
    Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 698, 705
    Convict Establishments in England and the Colonies, 868
    Criminal Prosecutions—Sheriffs' Expenses, &c. 859
    Law Charges, 856
    Local Government Board, Ireland, 824, 827
    Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Household, &c. Amendt. 663, 665
    Lunacy Commission, England, Motion for reporting Progress, 140, 141
    National Debt Office, Motion for reporting Progress, 143
    Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in Exchequer, Scotland, &c. 318; Amendt. 321, 322
    Report, 329
  Union Officers' Superannuation (Ireland), Nomination of Select Committee, 946

Bills of Exchange Bill
(*The Lord Bramwell*)
l. Select Committee nominated *July* 28; List of the Committee, 27
  Report of Select Committee* *Aug* 10 [No. 233]
  Bill reported * *Aug* 10 (Nos. 183-234)
  Committee*; Report; read 3ª *Aug* 11
  Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 61]

Bills of Sale Act (1878) Amendment Bill
[H.L.] (*The Lord Coleridge*)
l. Committee* *Aug* 1 (No. 203)
  Report* *Aug* 3
  Read 3ª* *Aug* 4
c. Consideration of Lords Amendts. *Aug* 8, 1272
  One disagreed to; Committee appointed "to draw up Reasons to be assigned to the Lords for disagreeing to the Amendt.;" List of the Committee, 1277
  Reasons for disagreeing to the Lords Amendt. reported, and agreed to; to be communicated to the Lords
l. Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 43]

BIRKBECK, Mr. E., *Norfolk, N.*
  Army—Norfolk Regiment, 368
  Merchant Shipping Acts—Collision between the "Mayfly" and "Valhalla" off Dungeness, 371

BLAKE, Mr. J. A., *Waterford Co.*
  Army (India)—Roman Catholic Chaplains, 967
  Canada, Dominion of—Emigration from Ireland, 1384
  East India (Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt), Res. 280, 284
  Reproductive Loan Fund Act — Irish Sea Fisheries, 1381
  Supply—Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 699, 702
    Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Household, &c. 661
    Post Office Packet Service, 1542
    Public Works in Ireland, 840

Bombay Civil Fund Bill (*The Marquess of Hartington, Lord Richard Grosvenor*)
c. Read 2º, after debate *July* 28, 147 [Bill 225]
  Committee; Report, after short debate *Aug* 3, 710
  Read 3º* *Aug* 4
l. Read 1ª* (*Viscount Enfield*) *Aug* 7 (No. 222)
  Read 2ª* *Aug* 10
  Committee*; Report *Aug* 11
  Read 3ª* *Aug* 14
  Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 45]

BOURKE, Right Hon. R., *Lynn Regis*
  Egypt (Military Expedition)—Administration of Military Law, 598
    Services of the Marines—Turkish Military Intervention, 958, 959
  Egypt (Military Operations)—Treatment of Prisoners, 966
  Egypt (Political Affairs)—Conference—Miscellaneous Questions
    606
    Intervention of the Porte, 37
    Letter of Arabi Pasha, &c. 216, 217
    Meeting of Ulemas, &c. at Cairo, 369

BRABOURNE, Lord
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 5, 194, 195; Report, *cl.* 5, 346

BRAND, Right Hon. Sir H. B. W., (*see* SPEAKER, The)

BRASSEY, Sir T. (Civil Lord of the Admiralty), *Hastings*
  Egypt (Military Operations)—Naval Armoured Train, 2045
  Navy—Naval Reserve, 389
  Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards, 443
    Greenwich Hospital and School, 498, 499
    Military Pensions and Allowances, 497
    New Works, Buildings, &c. 487
    Scientific Branch, 401

Brazil
Claims of British Subjects, Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Aug* 3, 607
Slave-Holding by English Subjects—St. John Del Rey Mining Company, Question, Mr. M'Coan; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *Aug* 3, 581;—*Province of Minas Geraes*, Question, Mr. O'Kelly; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Aug* 4, 744

Brise, Colonel S. B. Ruggles-, *Essex, E.*
Militia Acts Consolidation, Comm. 625
Reserve Forces Acts Consolidation, Comm. *cl.* 5, 622

Broadhurst, Mr. H., *Stoke-on-Trent*
Educational Endowments (Scotland), 3R. 536
Navy Estimates—Dockyards, &c. 464
Patent Museum (South Kensington), 1403
Payment of Wages in Public Houses Prohibition, 2R. 2049
Post Office—Letter Carriers—Increased Pay, 2048

Brodrick, Hon. W. St. J. F., *Surrey, W.*
Irish Land Commission—Sub-Commissioners—Mr. Meek, 1374
Supply—Irish Land Commission, 1207, 1224

Bruce, Hon. R. P., *Fifeshire*
Educational Endowments (Scotland), Consid. *cl.* 6, 516; *cl.* 13, 523; *cl.* 46, Amendt. 535

Bruce, Sir H. H., *Coleraine*
Supply—Irish Land Commission, 1228, 1240

Bryce, Mr. J., *Tower Hamlets*
Artizans' Dwellings, Comm. *cl.* 6, Amendt. 719, 720; *cl.* 11, 721
Educational Endowments (Scotland), Consid. *cl.* 7, 517; *cl.* 13, 521; *cl.* 15, 529
Metropolis—The Parks—New Park for Paddington—Ecclesiastical Commissioners, 1148

Buccleuch, Duke of
Ancient Monuments, Comm. Schedule, 16
Educational Endowments (Scotland), 2R. 1119; Comm. *cl.* 7, Amendt. 1350; *cl.* 12, Amendt. 1352; *cl.* 13, Amendt. 1353, 1356
Entail (Scotland), Commons Amendts. Consid. 1493, 1495

Buchanan, Mr. T. R., *Edinburgh*
Educational Endowments (Scotland), Consid. 508; *cl.* 7, 517; *cl.* 13, 523; *cl.* 15, 528; *cl.* 20, 530; *cl.* 25, 532; 3R. 541; Lords Amendts. Consid. 1859, 1869, 1874
Fishery Board (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 7, 1794
Supply—Local Government Board, &c. 129, 134
National Gallery, &c. Scotland, 1474
Registrar General's Office, Scotland, 326
Science and Art Department, 1470, 1471

Bulwer, Mr. J. R., *Cambridgeshire*
Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Gray—Commitment of a Member of this House, 1986

Burial Boards—Burial Fees—20 *&* 21 *Vic. Cap* 31
Question, Mr. Richard; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *Aug* 8, 1140

Burmah—Mission to the Viceroy of India
Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *Aug* 14, 1687

Burt, Mr. T., *Morpeth*
Coal Mines—Report of Recent Explosions, 955
Mines Regulation Act, Sec. 26—Ifton Colliery, 1369

Buxton, Mr. F. W., *Andover*
Customs and Inland Revenue, Comm. *cl.* 6, 242
Railways—Third Class Passenger Duty, 1525
Suez Canal—Administrative Council—M. De Lesseps, 1829
Supply—Board of Trade, 104

Caine, Mr. W. S., *Scarborough*
Army—Drunkenness at Aldershot Camp, 1150
Army Estimates—Chelsea and Kilmainham Hospitals, 1044
Half-Pay, 1042

Cairns, Earl
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 185, 188, 191; 3R. 359
Electric Lighting, 2R. 573
Settled Land—Commons Amendts. Consid. 360

Callan, Mr. P., *Louth*
Bombay Civil Fund, 2R. 148, 149
Channel Tunnel Railway, 2R. 1825
Consolidated Fund (Appropriation), Comm. 1904, 1905; Schedule 13, *ib.* 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911
Customs and Inland Revenue, Consid. *cl.* 11, 560
Expiring Laws Continuance, Comm. 1270, 1271
Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions
Law and Justice—Contempt of Court—"Queen *v.* Hynes," 1837; Motion for Adjournment, 1840, 1843
Royal Irish Constabulary—Alleged Discontent, 754, 755, 756, 964
State of—Proclamation of Co. Wicklow, 590
Navy Estimates — Miscellaneous Services, Motion for reporting Progress, 491, 494, 495
Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Gray—Commitment of a Member of this House, 1982, 2006, 2008, 2041
Parliament—Privilege — Suspension of Irish Members (July 1), Res. 1313, 1326
Post Office—Letter Carriers—New Scale, 213
Royal Irish Constabulary, 2R. 938, 939, 942; Comm. 1081; Motion for Adjournment, 1082; *cl.* 3, 1253, 1254, 1256; *cl.* 4, 1257, 1258
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall), 2R. 1656, 1662

[*cont.*

CALLAN, Mr. P.—*cont.*
Supply—Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 681, 698, 699, 701
  County Court Officers, &c. in Ireland, 1431, 1432
  Local Government Board, &c. 124
  Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Household, &c. Amendt. 655, 662, 664
  Public Works in Ireland, 850
  Report, 562
  Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland, 1068
Union Officers' Superannuation (Ireland), Nomination of Select Committee, 946

CAMBRIDGE, Duke of (Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief)
Egypt (Military Operations)—Alleged Misconduct of a Picket of the 60th Rifles, 564
Metropolitan Improvements — Hyde Park Corner, 1800

CAMERON, Dr. C., *Glasgow*
Educational Endowments (Scotland), Consid. 508; *cl.* 1, 511, 514; *cl.* 7, Amendt. 516; *cl.* 13, 521, 524, 525; *cl.* 15, 529; 3R. 537; Lords Amendts. Consid. 1866
Scotland—Crofters in the Island of Skye—A Royal Commission, 770
  Law and Justice—Cessio Fees in Hamilton Sheriff Court, 1359
Straits Settlements—Spanish Consul at Singapore, 1360

CAMPBELL, Sir G., *Kirkcaldy, &c.*
Africa, South (Natal)—Native Subjects of the Crown, Res. 633, 637
Ancient Monuments, Comm. Schedule, Amendt. 1851, 1852
Army—Long and Short Service, 973
  Roman Catholic Chaplains, 608
Army (India)—Roman Catholic Chaplains, 972
Customs and Inland Revenue, Comm. *cl.* 2, 220; *cl.* 6, 242; *cl.* 11, 253
East India (Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt), Res. 273
Educational Endowments (Scotland), Lords Amendts. Consid. 1870
Egypt (Military Expedition) — Expenses of Indian Contingent, 1372
Egyptian Budget—Policy of H.M. Government, Res. 1935, 1944
Entail (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 7, 902; *cl.* 14, 906, 907, 908
Fishery Board (Scotland), 2R. 1616
Imprisonment for Contumacy, 2R. 1965
India (Finance, &c.) — East India Revenue Accounts, Comm.—Annual Financial Statement, 1750
Married Women's Property, Comm. Amendt. 1603; *add. cl.* 1611
Parks (Metropolis) — Trees in Kensington Gardens, 1372
Parliament — Business of the House — New Rules of Procedure—Ministerial Statement, 1699
Royal Irish Constabulary, 2R. 930
Scotland—Crofters in the Island of Skye—A Royal Commission, 777

CAMPBELL, Sir G.—*cont.*
Supply—Cyprus—Grant in Aid of the Revenue, 1593
  Register House Department, Edinburgh, 1050

CAMPBELL, Mr. J. A., *Glasgow, &c. Universities*
Educational Endowments (Scotland), Consid. *cl.* 6, Amendt. 509, 514; 3R. 546
Revenue, Friendly Societies, and National Debt, Comm. *cl.* 13, Amendt. 1099

CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, Mr. H. (Secretary to the Admiralty), *Stirling, &c.*
Civil Service Commissioners—Scale of Fees on Appointments in H.M. Dockyards, 373
Egypt—"Convicts" at Alexandria, 585
  Suez Canal—Passage of English Ships, 1278
Egypt (Military Expedition)—Promotion of Officers of the Marines, 1278
  Service of the Marines—Turkish Military Intervention, 957
Egypt (Military Operations)—Royal Marines, 1679
  Transports, 31
Navy—Miscellaneous Questions
  Armaments for Merchant Steamers, 1676
  Dockyard Employés, 1525
  Mediterranean Fleet — Roman Catholic Clergymen, 956
  Naval Sick Berth Staff, 373
  Re-engagements, 750
  Royal Marines—Brevet Promotion, 209
  Valuation Statements, 1519
Navy Estimates—Coast Guard Service and Royal Naval Reserves, &c. 394, 395, 396
  Dockyards and Naval Yards, 409, 410, 428, 433, 466, 472, 476, 480, 482, 483, 485
  Extra Estimate for Services not Naval, &c. on Account of the Army Department, 498
  Machinery and Ships Built by Contract, &c. 486
  Martial Law, &c. 490
  Medicines, Medical Stores, &c. 489
  Miscellaneous Services, 490, 491, 493, 494, 495
  Naval Stores for Building and Repairing the Fleet, &c. 486
  Scientific Branch, 402, 404, 405, 407, 408
Supply, Report, 562

CAMPERDOWN, Earl of
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. 150
Educational Endowments (Scotland), 2R. 1116, 1126; Comm. *cl.* 6, 1349, 1350; *cl.* 15, Amendt. 1356
Electric Lighting, 2R. 573

Canada, Dominion of—Emigration from Ireland
Question, Mr. Blake; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 10, 1384

CARBUTT, Mr. E. H., *Monmouth, &c.*
Parliament—Business of the House, 39

[*cont.*

CARINGTON, Colonel Hon. W. H. P., *Wycombe*
Army Estimates—Army Reserve Force, 1009

CARLINGFORD, Lord (Lord Privy Seal)
Allotments, 2R. 1672
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. 153; *cl.* 1, 155, 161, 182, 184, 190, 191; *cl.* 3, 193; *cl.* 4, 194, 195; *cl.* 13, 200; *cl.* 18, *ib.*, 201; Report, *cl.* 1, 336, 341; *cl.* 5, 345; Commons Amendts. to Lords Amendts. Consid. 1328, 1331, 1336, 1337, 1338, 1339, 1342
Educational Endowments (Scotland), 2R. 1110; Comm. *cl.* 6, 1349, 1350; *cl.* 7, 1351; *cl.* 12, 1352, 1353; *cl.* 13, 1355; *cl.* 19, Amendt. 1357; *cl.* 29, Amendt. *ib.*; Report, 1495
Endowed Schools—Dulwich College Scheme, Motion for an Address, 26
Ireland—Labourers' League, 740
  Royal Irish Constabulary, 742;—Alleged Discontent, 1489
Parliament — Public Business — Autumn Sitting, 1673
Royal Irish Constabulary, 2R. 1797, 1798

CARNARVON, Earl of
Africa (South)—Cetewayo, Ex-King of Zululand—Visit to this Country—Official Reception, 735
Channel Tunnel Scheme, 17
Cyprus—Arrival of Refugees from Alexandria, Motion for Papers, 23, 26
Mercantile Marine—Pouring Oil upon the Sea, 6
Merchant Shipping Acts — Emigrant Ships (Canada), 739

CARRINGTON, Lord
Allotments, 2R. 1668

Casual Poor Bill (*The Earl Stanhope*)
l. Royal Assent *Aug* 10 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 36]

Cathedral Statutes Bill [H.L.]
(*Mr. Beresford Hope*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *Aug* 15, 1918
Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Dillwyn*); Question put; A. 21, N. 31; M. 10 (D. L. 339)
Question again proposed, "That the Bill be now read 2°" [House counted out]

CECIL, Lord E. H. B. G., *Essex, W.*
Adulteration of Food Act—Adulteration of Butter and Milk, 587
Army Estimates—Army Reserve Force, 996
  Clothing Establishments, &c. 1019
  Commissariat, Transport, &c. Establishments, 1011, 1017, 1018
  Warlike Stores, 1028
Egypt (Military Expedition)—Officers holding Staff Appointments, 979
Public Departments—Vacancies at the War Office, 29, 30

Cemeteries Bill
(*Mr. Richard, Mr. H. Fowler, Mr. George Russell, Mr. Caine, Mr. Woodall*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *Aug* 2 [Bill 40]

CHAMBERLAIN, Right Hon. J. (President of the Board of Trade), *Birmingham*
Channel Tunnel Railway, 2R. 1816, 1821
Channel Tunnel Scheme, 1522
Electric Lighting, Lords Amendts. Consid. 1779, 1781
Irish Lights—Strangford Lough, 1361
Merchant Shipping Acts—Miscellaneous Questions
  Collision between the "Mayfly" and "Valhalla" off Dungeness, 372
  Emigrant Ships—Wreck of the "Mosel," 1522, 1830
  Emigrant and Passenger Ships, 602
Passenger Acts—Royal Netherlands Steamship Company—Ill-treatment of Emigrants, 752
Passenger Acts—Emigrant Ships, Res. 762
Patent Museum (South Kensington), 1402
Railways — Improved Couplings for Rolling Stock, 2043
  Printing Fares on Railway Tickets, 1677
Supply—Board of Trade, 104, 105, 107, 108, 109, 110
  Fishery Board in Scotland, &c. 225
Trade and Commerce—Butter and Butter Substitutes, 603

CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER—See GLADSTONE, Right Hon. W. E.

CHANCELLOR, The LORD (LORD SELBORNE)
Allotments, 2R. 1671
Ancient Monuments, Comm. 15; Schedule, 16
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 176, 192; *cl.* 4, 193; *cl.* 5, 194, 196; Report, *cl.* 1, 343; *cl.* 5, 346
Electric Lighting, 2R. 576
Entail (Scotland), Commons Amendts. Consid. 1494
Fishery Board (Scotland), 2R. 1924, 1925, 1928; Comm. 1974
Parliament — Public Business — Autumn Sitting, 1673
Settled Land, Commons Amendts. Consid. 361
Tripoli—Safety of British Subjects, Motion for Papers, 1802

Channel Tunnel Railway Bill (*by Order*)
c. Order for 2R. discharged; Bill withdrawn, after short debate *Aug* 15, 1816

Channel Tunnel Scheme
Question, Observations, Lord Forbes, Viscount Powerscourt; Reply, Lord Sudeley *July* 28, 16; Questions, Mr. Bromley Davenport; Answers, Mr. Childers *Aug* 3, 618; Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Aug* 11, 1522

CHAPLIN, Mr. H., *Lincolnshire, Mid*
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Lords Amendts. Consid. 1170, 1171
  Beer — Abolition of the Malt Tax, Res. 43, 48, 49, 50

Charity Commission—see title *Endowed Schools*

CHILDERS, Right Hon. H. C. E. (Secretary of State for War), *Pontefract*
  Army—Miscellaneous Questions
    Allowances to Families of Soldiers on Active Service, 34
    Appointments to the Staff, 42, 43
    Army Chaplains, 1137
    Army Hospital Corps, 30
    Army Medical Department — Surgeon M'Gann and others, 2044
    Army Pay Department—Value of Officers' former Commissions and Retirement, 1379
    Army Paymasters, 592
    Calling out the First-Class Army Reserve, 753
    Captains of the Royal Artillery—Royal Warrant, 1361
    Expeditionary Force—Promotion from the Ranks, 1379
    Garrison at Malta—Married Soldiers' Families, 1519
    Grenadier Guards—Lieutenant Farrer, 2052
    Guards' Regulations—Explanation, 214
    Norfolk Regiment, 369
    Ordnance Department—Moncreiff Battery at Alexandria, 1686
    Vacancies in Cavalry Regiments, 41
  Army—Auxiliary Forces—Miscellaneous Questions
    Examination of Volunteer Officers, 611
    Issue of Commissions in the Cavalry to Yeomanry Corps Volunteering for Foreign Service, 1138
    Militia, 611, 618, 1136
  Army Estimates — Army (Indian Home Charges), 1045
    Army Reserve Force, 989, 994, 999, 1007, 1008, 1009
    Chelsea and Kilmainham Hospitals, 1044
    Clothing Establishments, &c. 1019, 1020
    Commissariat, Transport, &c. Establishments, 1010, 1012, 1016
    Military Education, Establishments for, 1038
    Miscellaneous Effective Services, 1038
    Pensions for Wounds, 1043
    Retired Pay, &c. 1042
    Rewards for Distinguished Services, 1041
    War Office, 1038, 1039, 1041
    Warlike Stores, 1023, 1025, 1036
    Works, Buildings, &c. 1037
  Channel Tunnel Scheme, 618
  East India (Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt), Res. 302; Amendt. 307
  Egypt (Military Expedition)—Miscellaneous Questions
    Alleged Misconduct of a Picket of the 60th Rifles, 613, 614
    Composition of the Force — Troops for Egypt, 207, 371

[cont.

CHILDERS, Right Hon. H. C. E.—*cont.*
    Major General Feilding, C.B., 612
    Officers holding Staff Appointments, 977, 978
  Egypt (Military Operations)—Miscellaneous Questions
    Newspaper Correspondents — Regulations, 1139
    Occupation of Suez, 757
    Russian Cattle—Precautions against Rinderpest, 1833
    Treatment of Prisoners, 966
  Militia Acts Consolidation, Comm. 626
  New Zealand—Case of Roderick Mannion, 1686
  Parliament—Arrangement of Public Business, 376
    Business of the House—Saturday Sitting, 752
  Public Departments—Vacancies at the War Office, 30

Church Patronage Bill
(*Mr. Stanhope, Mr. J. G. Talbot, Mr. Stuart-Wortley, Mr. Stanley Leighton*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *Aug* 1 [Bill 53]

Citation Amendment (Scotland) Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Monson*)
l. Read 2ª * *July* 28 (No. 206)
  Committee *; Report *July* 31
  Read 3ª * *Aug* 1
c. Read 1° * (*The Lord Advocate*) *Aug* 4 [Bill 267]
  Read 2° * *Aug* 7
  Committee * —R.P. *Aug* 8
  Committee—R.P. *Aug* 10, 1485
  Committee; Report *Aug* 11, 1617
  Moved, "That the Bill be now taken into Consideration" *Aug* 15, 1852
  Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day three months" (*Mr. Warton*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 78, N. 6; M. 72 (D. L. 335)
  Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill considered; read 3°, after short debate
l. Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 77]

Civil Imprisonment (Scotland) Bill
(*Lord Rosebery*)
l. Read 2ª *Aug* 3, 566 (No. 208)
  Committee *; Report *Aug* 4
  Read 3ª * *Aug* 7
  Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 42]

Civil Service Commissioners—Scale of Fees on Appointments in H.M. Dockyards
  Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 31, 212; Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Aug* 1, 372

CLARKE, Mr. E. G., *Plymouth*
  Customs Department—Out-door Officers, 965

Coal Mines—Reports of the Recent Explosions
  Question, Mr. Burt; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *Aug* 7, 955

Colchester, Lord
Allotments, 2R. 1669
Endowed Schools—Dulwich College Scheme, Motion for an Address, 27

Collings, Mr. J., *Ipswich*
Allotments, Consid. Amendt. 1488

Collins, Mr. T., *Knaresborough*
Parliament—Privilege—Suspension of Irish Members (July 1), Res. 1325

Colman, Mr. J. J., *Norwich*
Customs and Inland Revenue, Comm. *cl.* 5, 229; *cl.* 6, 238

Colville of Culross, Lord
Merchant Shipping Acts—Collision between the "Mayfly" and "Valhalla" off Dungeness, 367

Commins, Dr. A., *Roscommon*
Parliament—Privilege—Suspension of Irish Members (July 1), Res. 1300
Supply—Criminal Prosecutions, &c. in Ireland, 1064

Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill
(*Mr. Playfair, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Courtney*)
c. Resolution in Committee *Aug* 11
Resolution reported; Bill ordered; read 1°* *Aug* 12
Read 2°* *Aug* 14
Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *Aug* 15, 1875; after debate, Question put, and agreed to; Committee, 1904
Mr. Callan, Member for the County of Louth, having been Named by the Chairman for having disregarded the authority of the Chair
Motion made, and Question put, "That Mr. Callan be suspended from the service of the House during the remainder of this day's sitting (*Mr. Gladstone*); A. 58, N. 3; M. 55
Whereupon the Chairman left the Chair in order to report the said Resolution to the House
Mr. Speaker resumed the Chair, and Mr. Playfair reported to Mr. Speaker that Mr. Callan had been Named by him to the Committee as disregarding the authority of the Chair, and that the Committee had resolved that Mr. Callan be suspended from the service of the House during the remainder of this day's sitting
Mr. Speaker thereupon forthwith put the Question, "That Mr. Callan be suspended from the service of the House during the remainder of this day's sitting;" A. 60, N. 3; M. 57
Mr. Callan withdrew accordingly
House again in Committee; after short time spent therein, Bill reported
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3°" *Aug* 16, 1929; after debate, Question put; A. 57, N. 4; M. 53 (D. L. 340); Bill passed
l. Read 1ª* (*Earl Granville*) *Aug* 16
Read 2ª*; Committee negatived; read 3ª *Aug* 17
Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 71]

Contagious Diseases Acts—Report of the Metropolitan Police for 1881—*Withdrawal of Licences from Public-Houses and Beer-Houses*
Question, Mr. Dick-Peddie; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *Aug* 9, 1279

Contumacious Clerks Bill
(*Mr. Lloyd, Baron De Ferrieres, Mr. Hussey Vivian, Sir Thomas Chambers, Mr. Abel Smith, Mr. Greer, Mr. Cecil Forester*)
c. Bill withdrawn* *Aug* 4 [Bill 41]

Conveyancing Bill [H.L.] (*The Earl Cairns*)
l. Royal Assent *Aug* 10 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 39]

Copyright (Musical Compositions) Bill
(*The Earl Cadogan*)
l. Royal Assent *Aug* 10 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 40]

Corbet, Mr. W. J., *Wicklow Co.*
Ireland—Poor Law—Rathdrum Union—Election of a Guardian, 1373

Corn Returns (No. 2) Bill
(*The Lord Sudeley*)
l. Royal Assent *Aug* 10 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 37]

Corrupt Practices (Disfranchisement) Bill (*Mr. Attorney General, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)
c. Bill withdrawn* *Aug* 10 [Bill 118]

Corrupt Practices (Suspension of Elections) Bill (*Mr. Attorney General, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Aug* 4 [Bill 265]
Moved "That the Bill be now read 2°" *Aug* 5, 914
Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day three months" (*Mr. Warton*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to; main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2°
Committee; Report; read 3° *Aug* 11, 1601
l. Read 1ª* (*Lord Rosebery*) *Aug* 14 (No. 251)
Read 2ª*; Committee negatived *Aug* 15
Read 3ª* *Aug* 16
Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 68]

Cottesloe, Lord
Mercantile Marine—Pouring Oil upon the Sea, 9

Cotton, Mr. W. J. R., *London*
Customs and Inland Revenue, Comm. *cl.* 6, 238

County Courts (Advocates' Costs) Bill
Afterwards—
County Courts (Costs and Salaries) Bill
(*Mr. Hastings, Sir Eardley Wilmot, Mr. Staveley Hill, Mr. Rowley Hill*)

c. Committee * ; Report *Aug* 7 [Bill 188]
Considered ; read 3°, after short debate *Aug* 8, 1272
l. Read 1ª * (*The Lord Chancellor*) *Aug* 10
Read 2ª * *Aug* 11 (No. 240)
l. Committee * ; Report ; read 3ª *Aug* 14
c. Lords Amendts. considered, and agreed to *Aug* 14, 1795
l. Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 57]

Courtney, Mr. L. H. (Financial Secretary to the Treasury), *Liskeard*
- Civil Service Commissions—Scale of Fees on Appointments in H.M. Dockyards, 212
- Convict Labour—Report of the Committee, 1374
- Cruelty to Animals, 2R. 888, 1624
- Customs and Inland Revenue, Re-comm. *cl.* 5, 223, 225, 228, 229 ; *cl.* 6, 230, 232, 237, 239 ; *cl.* 11, 247 ; Consid. *cl.* 5, Amendt. 559 ; *cl.* 11, 560 ; 3R. 710
- Customs Consolidation Act, 1876 — "Irish National Land League Flour"—Seizure at Liverpool, 750
- Customs Department—Out-door Officers, 965
- Cyprus (Finance), 750
- Egypt—Refugees at Malta, 1679
- Friendly Societies Acts—Issue of Contribution Tables, 1137
- India (Home Charges Arrears), 2R. 1649
- Ireland—Magistracy—Mr. Hill, R.M. 213
  - Relief of Distress Act, 1880—Loans and Grants, 1362
- Irish Land Commission (Expenses), 608, 609
- Law and Police (England)—Insecurity of Life and Property, 648
- National Expenditure, 81
- Parks (Metropolis)—The Enclosure in Regent's Park, 1832
- Revenue, Friendly Societies, and National Debt, 2R. 724 ; Comm. *cl.* 13, 1099 ; *cl.* 18, Amendt. *ib.* ; *cl.* 19, 1100 ; *cl.* 20, *ib.* ; *cl.* 23, Amendt. 1101 ; *cl.* 25, Amendt. *ib.* ; Consid, 1786 ; 3R. 1788
- Scotland—Medical Grant, 215
  - Sasine Office (Edinburgh)—Results of Lord Clerk Register Act, 1879, 1376
- Supply—Africa (South) and St. Helena, 1481
  - Board of Supervision for the Relief of the Poor, &c. Scotland, 327
  - Board of Trade, 101, 102, 103
  - Chancery Division and Supreme Court generally, 860, 862
  - Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 703, 706
  - Comm. 707
  - County Courts, 865
  - Deep Sea Exploring Expedition (Report), 1474
  - Distressed British Seamen Abroad, 1483
  - Foreign Office, 98
  - Friendly Societies Deficiency, 1484
  - Irish Land Commission, Motion for reporting Progress, 1224

[cont.

Courtney, Mr. L. H.—*cont.*
  - Local Government Board, &c. 131
  - Lunacy Commission, England, 140, 141
  - Mint, &c. 142
  - National Debt Office, 143
  - National Gallery, &c. Scotland, 1475
  - Non-Effective and Charitable Services, 1481, 1482
  - Pauper Lunatics, England, 1483
  - Post Office Packet Service, 1552
  - Public Works in Ireland, 831, 832, 833, 842, 843, 844, 846, 849
  - Public Works Loan Commission, 145
  - Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in Exchequer, Scotland, 319, 321, 322
  - Record Office, 146
  - Register House Department, Edinburgh, 1049
  - Registrar General's Office, Scotland, 326
  - Registry of Deeds, Ireland, 1070
  - Report, 500
  - Secret Services, 315, 317
  - Stationery and Printing, 311
  - Suppression of the Slave Trade, 1477
  - Supreme Court of Judicature — Central Office, 863
  - Wreck Commission, 864

Cowen, Mr. J., *Newcastle-on-Tyne*
- Egypt (Military Expedition)—Composition of the Forces, 371
  - Services of the Marines—Turkish Military Intervention, 959
- Parliament—Business of the House, 40
- Parliament—Privilege—Suspension of Irish Members (July 1), Res. 1279, 1287, 1310
- Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act—Re-arrest of Mr. George, 1529, 1530
- Protection of Person and Property (Ireland) Act, 1881—Mr. Patrick J. Duffy, 1383
- Supply—County Court Officers, &c. in Ireland, 1433

Craig, Mr. W. Y., *Staffordshire, N.*
- Parliament—Public Business—Ballot Act Continuance and Amendment Bill, 1835
- Supply, Report, 1645

Cranbrook, Viscount
- Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. 153 ; *cl.* 1, 171, 172

Crawford and Balcarres, Earl of
- Electric Lighting, 2R. 572 ; Comm. *cl.* 3, Amendt. 1106 ; *cl.* 11, Amendt. 1107 ; *cl.* 24, Amendt. 1108 ; *cl.* 27, Amendt. 1109

Criminal Law
- *Convict Labour—Report of the Committee,* Question, Sir R. Assheton Cross ; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Aug* 10, 1374
- *Juvenile Depravity—Report of the Lords Committee,* Question, Mr. O'Donnell ; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *Aug* 15, 1837

Cropper, Mr. J., *Kendal*
- Africa (South)—Transvaal—Boers and Native Tribes, 790

[cont.

CROPPER, Mr. J.—*cont.*
East India (Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt), Res. 292
India (Bombay)—Reduction of the Import Duties on Opium, 376
India (Finance, &c.)—East India Revenue Accounts, Comm.—Annual Financial Statement, 1737
Supply—Africa (South) and St. Helena, 1478, 1479
Local Government Board, &c. 117, 118

CROSS, Right Hon. Sir R. A., *Lancashire, S. W.*
Artizans' Dwellings, Comm. 717; *cl.* 11, 722; Consid. *cl.* 8, 1103
Convict Labour—Report of the Committee, 1374
Ireland—Convict Prisons—Unofficial Inspection, 208
Royal Irish Constabulary—Alleged Discontent, 963
Parliament—Public Business, 614, 615
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. 83
Revenue, Friendly Societies, and National Debt, 2R. 723, 724
Supply—Board of Trade, 107, 108
Charity Commission, 112
Local Government Board, &c. 113, 130, 134
Lunacy Commission, England, 136

Cruelty to Animals Bill [Bill 206]
(*Mr. Anderson, Mr. Samuel Morley, Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. Passmore Edwards, Mr. Buchanan*)
Moved, "That the Bill be read 2° To-morrow" *Aug* 4, 888
Amendt. to leave out "To-morrow," and insert "upon Monday next" (*Mr. Warton*) *v.*; Question put, "That 'To-morrow,' &c.;" A. 20, N. 27; M. 7 (D. L. 315)
Words inserted; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to
Moved, "That the Bill be read 2° To-morrow" *Aug* 11, 1623
Amendt. to leave out "To-morrow," and insert "upon Monday next" (*Mr. Warton*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That 'To-morrow,' &c.;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to; main Question put, and agreed to
Order for 2R. read *Aug* 12, 1667 [House counted out]

Customs and Inland Revenue Bill
(*Mr. Playfair, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Frederick Cavendish*)
Order for Committee (*on re-comm.*) read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *July* 28, 43; after debate, Question put, and agreed to; Committee—R.P. [Bill 239]
Committee (*on re-comm.*); Report *July* 31, 218
Considered *Aug* 2, 559
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3°" *Aug* 3, 709
Amendt. to leave out "now read 3°," and insert "re-committed" (*Mr. Warton*) *v.*; Amendt. withdrawn

Customs and Inland Revenue Bill—cont.
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 3ª
l. Read 1ª * (*Earl Granville*) *Aug* 4
Read 2ª *; Committee negatived *Aug* 7
Read 3ª * *Aug* 8
Royal Assent *Aug* 10 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 41]

Customs Consolidation Act, 1876—"*Irish National Land League Flour*"—*Seizure at Liverpool*
Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Aug* 4, 750

Customs Department—Out-Door Officers
Question, Mr. Edward Clarke; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Aug* 7, 965

Cyprus (*Finance, &c.*)
Question, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Aug* 4, 750; Question, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *Aug* 10, 1376

Cyprus—Refugees from Alexandria, Preparations for receiving
Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for papers, if any, relating to the arrival in Cyprus of refugees from Alexandria during the recent troubles, and the preparations, if any, for their permanent reception" (*The Lord Waveney*) *July* 28, 17; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

DALY, Mr. J., *Cork*
Ireland—Law and Justice—Contempt of Court—"Queen *v.* Hynes," 1843
Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Gray—Commitment of a Member of this House, 2025
Parliament—Privilege—Suspension of Irish Members (July 1). Res. 1326
Poor Law (Scotland)—Alleged Illegal Removal of a Pauper from Glasgow to Londonderry, 1674
Royal Irish Constabulary, Comm. *cl.* 4, 1258
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall), 2R. 1665

Danube Commission—Navigation of the Danube
Question, Mr. Charles Palmer; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Aug* 14, 1688

DAVENPORT, Mr. W. BROMLEY-, *Warwickshire, N.*
Channel Tunnel Scheme, 618

DAWNAY, Colonel Hon. L. P., *Thirsk*
Egypt (War)—Newspaper Reports, 31

DAWSON, Mr. C., *Carlow*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Lords Amendts. Consid. 1188
Parliament—Privilege—Suspension of Irish Members (July 1), Res. 1299

[*cont,*

Death Sentences (Appeal) Bill
(*Sir Eardley Wilmot, Mr. Serjeant Simon, Mr. Willis*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *Aug* 2 [Bill 81]

De Ferrieres, Baron, *Cheltenham*
  Corrupt Practices (Suspension of Elections), Comm. *cl.* 2, Amendt. 1601
  Supply—Post Office Packet Service, 1548

De La Warr, Earl
  Egypt (Military Operations)—Co-operation of the Sultan, 150
    Riots at Alexandria—Massacre of Europeans, 577
  Tripoli—Safety of British Subjects, Motion for Papers, 1800, 1802

Derby, Earl of
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 166, 172

De Worms, Baron H., *Greenwich*
  Egypt (Military Affairs)—Turkish Military Intervention, 960
    (Military Operations)—Occupation of Suez, 757
  Turkey—War Indemnity, 749

Dickson, Mr. T. A., *Tyrone*
  Royal Irish Constabulary, Comm. 1092
  Supply—Irish Land Commission, 1230, 1240

Dilke, Sir C. W. (Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs), *Chelsea, &c.*
  Brazil—Claims of British Subjects, 607
    Province of Minas Geraes—Slave-holding by English Subjects, 744
  Danube Commission—Navigation of the Danube, 1688
  Egypt—Miscellaneous Questions
    Conference, 605, 606
    Egyptian Budget, &c.—Chamber of Notables, 1145, 1523
    Egyptian Loans, 1862 and 1864, 1689, 1834
    European Control, 1691
    Law of Liquidation, 1683, 1684
    Military Affairs—Turkish Military Intervention, 960, 961
    Suez Canal—M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, 373;—Administrative Council—M. de Lesseps, 1830
    The Porte and the Revenues of Egypt, 610
  Egypt (Military Expedition)—Miscellaneous Questions
    Administration of Military Law, 597, 599, 600
    Composition of the Forces, 371
    Services of the Marines—Turkish Military Intervention, 957, 958, 959
  Egypt (Military Operations)—Military Convention with Turkey, 1833
  Egypt (Political Affairs)—Miscellaneous Questions
    Conference—Intervention of the Porte, 37, 1358;—Letter of Arabi Pasha, &c. 216, 217;—Meeting of Ulemas, &c. at Cairo, 370

[*cont.*

Dilke, Sir C. W.—*cont.*
    Proclamation by the Conference of Arabi as a Rebel, 1524
    Suez Canal, &c. 1144
  Egypt (Political Affairs)—Policy of H.M. Government, Res. 1881, 1895
  Egyptian Budget—Policy of H.M. Government, Res. 1931, 1959
  England and France—Islands of the Pacific—Treaty of 1847, 1518
  Foreign Affairs—Policy of H.M. Government, 1959, 1961
  Parliament—Public Business, 1835
  Peru—Murder of Mr. Rose, 1827
  Portugal—Native Emigration from Mozambique, 618
    The "City of Mecca," 607
  Straits Settlements—Spanish Consul at Singapore, 1360
  Trade and Commerce—Treaty with Corea, 1360
  Turkey—War Indemnity, 749
  Turkey and Egypt—Action of H.M. Consuls, 1903

Dillwyn, Mr. L. L., *Swansea*
  Cathedral Statutes, 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 1920
  Customs and Inland Revenue, Comm. *cl.* 5, 225, 226, 230; *cl.* 6, *ib.*
  Electric Lighting, Lords Amendts. Consid. 1781
  Imprisonment for Contumacy, 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 1965
  Merchant Shipping—Wreck of the "Mosel," 1830
  Municipal Corporations, Consid. *cl.* 59, 382
  Parliament—Privilege—Suspension of Irish Members (July 1), Res. 1300
  Revenue, Friendly Societies, and National Debt, Consid. 1787
  Supply—Africa (South) and St. Helena, 1479
    Lunacy Commission, England, 137
    Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in Exchequer, Scotland, &c. 321
    Report, Amendt. 328

Dixon-Hartland, Mr. F. D., *Evesham*
  Egypt (Military Expedition)—Officers of Royal Marine Artillery and Light Infantry—Promotion, 1687

Dodds, Mr. J., *Stockton*
  Municipal Corporations, Consid. *cl.* 9, 379; *cl.* 59, 382; 3R. 386

Dodson, Right Hon. J. G. (President of the Local Government Board), *Scarborough*
  Adulteration of Food Act—Adulterated Butter and Milk, 587
  Alkali, &c. Works Regulation Act, 1881—Inspectors, 586, 587
  Customs and Inland Revenue, Comm. *cl.* 6, 233, 241
  Poor Law Amendment, Comm. 500; *cl.* 13, 501

[*cont.*

DODSON, Right Hon. J. G.—*cont.*
  Poor Law (England)—Proselytism in a Workhouse School, 757, 1520
  Supply—Disturnpiked Roads, 1575, 1579, 1580, 1583, 1584, 1585
    Report, 330
  Vaccination—Alleged Death of Children at Norwich from Effects of Operation—The Report, 609, 1130, 2048
  Ways and Means—Financial Statement—Highway Expenditure—Grant in Aid, 1147

DONOUGHMORE, Earl of
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 156
  Royal Irish Constabulary, 2R. 1798

DOUGLAS, Mr. A. AKERS-, *Kent, E.*
  Navy Estimates—Dockyards, &c. 478

Dover Harbour Bill (*by Order*)
c. Bill considered *July* 31, 201
  Moved, "That Standing Orders 223 and 243 be suspended, and that the Bill be now read 3°" (*Sir Charles Forster*)
  Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "it is not desirable to confer on the Dover Harbour Board the powers sought for in this Bill, to construct a Harbour in Dover Bay, because this Board, by its constitution, is not suited for supervising or managing a great national work; and, finally, that there are important public rights involved in this objectionable scheme, which will be seriously injured by this Bill being passed" (*Sir George Balfour*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to
  Main Question put, and agreed to (Queen's Consent signified); Bill read 3°

DUFF, Mr. R. W. (Lord Commissioner of the Treasury), *Banffshire*
  Fishery Board (Scotland), 2R. 1616

DUNRAVEN, Earl of
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Commons Amendts. to Lords Amendts. Consid. 1340

DUNSANY, Lord
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 155, 156; *cl.* 18, Amendt. 200
  Cyprus—Arrival of Refugees from Alexandria, Motion for Papers, 26

ECROYD, Mr. W. F., *Preston*
  National Expenditure, 78

Educational Endowments (*Scotland*) *Bill*—*The Commissioners*
  Question, Mr. Henderson; Answer, Mr. Mundella *Aug* 1, 372

Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill
(*Mr. Mundella, The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland*)
c. Considered; read 3°, after debate *Aug* 2, 506 [Bill 253]

Educational Endowments (*Scotland*) *Bill*—cont.
l. Read 1ª * (*The Lord Privy Seal*) *Aug* 3
  Read 2ª *Aug* 8, 1110 (No. 220)
  Committee *Aug* 10, 1348
  Report, after short debate *Aug* 11, 1495
  Read 3ª * *Aug* 14 (No. 239)
c. Lords Amendt. considered, and, after debate, agreed to *Aug* 15, 1859
l. Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 59]

Education Department
  Hall of Science, Old Street, E.C., Observations, Sir Henry Tyler, Mr. Labouchere; Reply, Mr. Mundella *Aug* 10, 1405
  Instructions to H.M. Inspectors of Schools, Question, Mr. J. G. Talbot; Answer, Mr. Mundella *Aug* 10, 1378
  Selwyn College, Cambridge, Question, Mr. W. Fowler; Answer, Mr. Mundella *Aug* 1, 372
  Victoria University (*Manchester*)—*Power to Grant Degrees in Medicine,* Question, Mr. Agnew; Answer, Mr. Mundella *Aug* 8, 1136

EGERTON, Admiral Hon. F., *Derbyshire, E.*
  Navy Estimates—Dockyards, &c. 452
    Scientific Branch, 404

Egypt
  LORDS
  Military Expedition
    Despatch of Troops from Turkey, Questions, The Duke of Somerset, The Marquess of Salisbury; Answers, Earl Granville *July* 28, 4
    Co-Operation of the Sultan, Question, Earl De La Warr; Answer, Earl Granville *July* 31, 150
    Postal Communication with the Army, Question, Viscount Monck; Answer, The Earl of Morley *Aug* 8, 1127
  Military Operations
    Alleged Misconduct of a Picket of the 60th Rifles, Questions, Viscount Barrington, Lord Vivian; Answers, The Earl of Morley *Aug* 3 563
  Political Affairs
    The Suez Canal, Question, Observations, Lord Ellenborough; Reply, Earl Granville *Aug* 8, 1127
    Riots at Alexandria—Massacre of Europeans, Question, Observations, Earl De La Warr; Reply, Earl Granville *Aug* 3, 577; Explanation, Earl Granville *Aug* 4, 727

Egypt (*Political Affairs*)
  Moved, "That there be laid before this House further papers respecting the Affairs of Egypt" (*Lord Lamington*) *Aug* 4, 727; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

[*cont.*

Egypt
Commons
Military Expedition
Composition of the Force—Troops for Egypt, Question, Mr. Schreiber; Answer, Mr. Childers *July* 31, 207; Questions, Mr. Gorst, Mr. Joseph Cowen; Answers, Mr. Childers, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Aug* 1, 370
Administration of Military Law, Questions, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. E. Stanhope, Mr. Bourke, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke, The Marquess of Hartington *Aug* 3, 596
Major General Feilding, C.B., Question, Colonel Alexander; Answer, Mr. Childers *Aug* 3, 612

Service of the Marines—Turkish Military Intervention, Questions, Mr. Hopwood, Mr. Gorst, Mr. Arthur Arnold, Mr. Bourke, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. Joseph Cowen; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Aug* 7, 956
Promotion of Officers of the Marines, Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Aug* 9, 1277
The Royal Marines—The Command, Question, Sir Henry Fletcher; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Aug* 14, 1679
Officers of Royal Marine Artillery and Light Infantry — Promotion, Observation, Mr. Dixon-Hartland *Aug* 14, 1687

Officers Holding Staff Appointments, Observations, Colonel Alexander; Reply, Mr. Childers; short debate thereon *Aug* 7, 973
The Indian Contingent—Expenses of, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *Aug* 10, 1372;—*Roman Catholic Chaplains*, Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *Aug* 11, 1517

Military Operations
Transports, Question, Mr. Baxter; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *July* 28, 31
Newspaper Reports, Question, Colonel Dawnay; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *July* 28, 31
Newspaper Correspondents—Regulations, Question, Colonel North; Answer, Mr. Childers *Aug* 8, 1139
Alleged Misconduct of a Picket of the 60th Rifles, Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answers, Lord Richard Grosvenor, Sir Arthur Hayter *Aug* 2, 504; Questions, Mr. Tottenham; Answers, Mr. Childers *Aug* 3, 612
Treatment of Prisoners, Questions, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answers, Mr. Childers, Mr. Gladstone *Aug* 7, 966
Supply of Russian Cattle—Precautions against Rinderpest, Question, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answer, Mr. Childers *Aug* 15, 1833
The Naval Armoured Train, Question, Mr. Warton; Answer, Sir Thomas Brassey *Aug* 17, 2044

Political Affairs
Question, Observations, Lord Elcho; Reply, Mr. Gladstone *Aug* 10, 1384; Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Lord Elcho*); after short debate, Question put, and negatived

Egypt—cont.
The Conference
Questions, Mr. O'Donnell, Mr. Bourke; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Aug* 3, 605
Intervention of the Porte, Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Bourke, Mr. Onslow, Sir John Hay; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Sir Charles W. Dilke *July* 28, 34; Question, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Aug* 10, 1358
Turkish Military Intervention, Questions, Baron Henry De Worms, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. Healy; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Aug* 7, 960
The Military Convention with Turkey, Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Aug* 15, 1833
Letter of Arabi Pasha, &c., Questions, Mr. Bourke, Mr. M'Coan, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Gladstone *July* 31, 216; Question, Mr. M'Coan; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Aug* 3, 619
Communication with Arabi Pasha, Question, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Aug* 4, 753
Proclamation by the Conference of Arabi as a Rebel, Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Aug* 11, 1524
Meeting of Ulemas, &c. at Cairo, Questions, Mr. Bourke, Mr. J. Lowther, Lord Elcho; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Aug* 1, 369

The Egyptian Budget—The Chamber of Notables, Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Aug* 8, 1145; Questions, Mr. Molloy, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Aug* 11, 1522; Question, Mr. Molloy; Answer, Mr. Gladstone, 1524; Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Aug* 15, 1835

The Suez Canal
Questions, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Gladstone *Aug* 8, 1143
M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, Question, The Earl of Bective; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Aug* 1, 373
Occupation of the Suez Canal—Protests of M. de Lesseps, Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Aug* 7, 962
The Administrative Council—M. de Lesseps, Question, Mr. Buxton; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Aug* 15, 1829
Occupation of Suez, Question, Baron Henry De Worms; Answer, Mr. Childers *Aug* 4, 757
Passage of English Ships, Question, Colonel Barne; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Aug* 9, 1278

Miscellaneous Questions
"*Convicts*" *at Alexandria*, Questions, Mr. Healy, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Aug* 3, 585
Egyptian Loans, 1862 & 1864, Questions, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Goschen *Aug* 14, 1688; Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Aug* 15, 1834

Egypt—Miscellaneous Questions—cont.
Refugees at Malta, Question, Sir Henry Fletcher; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Aug* 14, 1679
The European Control, Question, Mr. Molloy; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Aug* 14, 1691
The Law of Liquidation, Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Aug* 14, 1683
The Porte and the Revenues of Egypt, Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Aug* 3, 609
Turkey and Egypt—Action of H.M. Consuls, Observations, Mr. O'Donnell; Reply, Sir Charles W. Dilke; short debate thereon *Aug* 15, 1896

Egypt—Egyptian Budget—Policy of Her Majesty's Government
Amendt. on 3R. of Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill *Aug* 16, To leave out from "That," and add "this House, before sanctioning the Appropriation of the Supplies for the year, requests an assurance from Her Majesty's Government that they will take immediate steps to ascertain from the 'de facto' Egyptian Military Authorities, whether they will lay down their arms on being guaranteed the right of voting their own Budget, which they demanded last January" (*Sir Wilfrid Lawson*) *v.*, 1929; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put, and agreed to

Egypt (Political Affairs)—Policy of Her Majesty's Government
Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Aug* 11, 1528
Amendt. on Committee of Supply *Aug* 15, To leave out from "That," and add "this House condemns Her Majesty's Government for their neglect and mistakes which have brought about the War in Egypt, and especially for the Bombardment of Alexandria without a landing force sufficient to have saved life and property, and considers that the Foreign Policy of the Government has alienated the Allies, and weakened the influence and power of the Country" (*Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett*) *v.*, 1875; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put, and agreed to
Observations, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Reply, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Aug* 16, 1959

ELCHO, Lord, *Haddingtonshire*
Army Estimates—Army Reserve Force, 1003
  Clothing Establishments, &c. 1019
  Warlike Stores, 1030, 1036
  War Office, 1038
Egypt—Military Expedition—Officers holding Staff Appointments, 980
  Political Affairs, Motion for Adjournment, 1384;—Conference—Meeting of Ulemas, &c. at Cairo, 370
Fishery Board (Scotland), Comm. 1649
Metropolitan Improvements—Hyde Park Corner, 215
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall), 2R. 1656, 1658, 1660
Supply—Board of Trade, 106, 107
  Report, 1637, 1638, 1639, 1643

Electric Lighting Bill
(*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Ashley*)
c. Read 3°* *July* 28 [Bill 200]
l. Read 1ª* (*Lord Sudeley*) *July* 28 (No. 212)
Read 2ª, after short debate *Aug* 3, 567
Committee *Aug* 8, 1105
Report* *Aug* 10 (No. 229)
Read 3ª* *Aug* 11
c. Lords Amendts. considered, and, after short debate, agreed to *Aug* 14, 1779
l. Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 56]

ELLENBOROUGH, Lord
Africa (South)—Cetewayo, Ex-King of Zululand—Visit to this Country—Official Reception, 736
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Report, 331
Egypt (Political Affairs)—Suez Canal, 1127
Egypt (Political Affairs), Motion for Papers, 734
Electric Lighting, 2R. 577
Entail (Scotland), Commons Amendts. Consid. 1495
India—Suchait Singh, Motion for an Address, 950
Royal Irish Constabulary—Alleged Discontent, 1489

ELLIOT, Hon. A. R. D., *Roxburgh*
Entail (Scotland), Comm. 894; *cl.* 2, Amendt. 895, 897; *cl.* 3, 898, 899; *cl.* 7, 901; *cl.* 14, Amendt. 903, 905, 907; *cl.* 27, Amendt. 909, 910, 911; *add. cl.* 912
Fishery Board (Scotland), 2R. 1616

ELLIOT, Sir G., *Durham, N.*
Egypt (Political Affairs), 1397

Emigrant and Passenger Ships—see titles *Merchant Shipping Acts—Passenger Acts—Emigrant Ships*

EMLY, Lord
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Report, *cl.* 1, Amendt. 332, 342
Electric Lighting, 2R. 571
Merchant Shipping Acts—Emigrant Ships—Canada, 738

Endowed Schools Commission, Continuance of the—The Charity Commissioners
Question, Mr. J. G. Talbot; Answer, Mr. Mundella *Aug* 3, 585

Endowed Schools—Dulwich College Scheme
Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty praying Her Majesty to withhold Her assent from the scheme of the Charity Commissioners for the administration of Alleyne's College of God's Gift at Dublin, now on the Table of this House" (*The Earl of Milltown*) *July* 28, 26; after short debate, on Question, resolved in the negative

ENFIELD, Viscount (Under Secretary of State for India)
India—Suchait Singh, Motion for an Address, 950

Entail (Scotland) Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Advocate*)
c. Order for Committee read ; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *Aug* 2, 560 ; after short debate, Debate adjourned
Debate resumed *Aug* 5, 892 ; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to ; Committee ; Report [Bill 248]
Considered ; read 3° *Aug* 9, 1326
l. Moved, "That the Commons Amendts. be now considered" *Aug* 11, 1490 ; after short debate, Motion agreed to ; several of the Amendts. agreed to, with Amendts.
Moved to agree to one other of the Amendts. ; objected to ; and, on question, resolved in the affirmative ; the rest of the Amendts. agreed to ; and Bill returned to the Commons
Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 53]

Expiring Laws Continuance Bill
(*Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Mr. Courtney*)
c. Ordered ; read 1°* *Aug* 4 [Bill 266]
Read 2°* *Aug* 7
Committee ; Report, after short debate *Aug* 8, 1270
Read 3°* *Aug* 11
l. Read 1ª* (*Lord Thurlow*) *Aug* 14 (No. 253)
Read 2ª* ; Committee negatived *Aug* 15
Read 3ª* *Aug* 16
Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 64]

FARQUHARSON, Dr. R., *Aberdeenshire, W.*
Entail (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 7, 901
Lunacy Regulation Amendment, Comm. 921

FAWCETT, Right Hon. H. (Postmaster General), *Hackney*
Government Annuities and Assurance, Comm. 707 ; *cl.* 2, Amendt. 872 ; *cl.* 4, Amendt. *ib.* ; *cl.* 5, Amendt. 873 ; *cl.* 6, 875, 876, 879 ; *cl.* 7, Amendt. *ib.* ; *cl.* 8, Amendt. 880 ; *cl.* 15, Amendt. *ib.* ; Preamble, Amendt. *ib.*
Parcel Post, Comm. Schedule 2, 709 ; 3R. 871, 872
Parliament—Business of the House, 369
Post Office—Miscellaneous Questions
  Female Clerks, 1374, 1680
  Letter Carriers—New Scale, 213 ;—Increased Pay, 2048
  Mail Carts (Metropolis), 1682, 1683
  Provincial Letter Carriers, 1378
  Reply Post Cards and Telegrams, 583
  Savings Bank Department—Female Clerks, 1826, 2047 ;—Promotions, 1834
Post Office (Ireland)—Miscellaneous Questions
  Belfast Letter Carriers, 1144
  Mail Service in Waterford Co. 1520
  Postmaster of Cleggan Post Office, 29
  Postmasters at Ballyfarnon, Co. Roscommon, and Cleggan, Co. Galway, 1827
Russia—Postal Convention—Delivery of Newspapers, 2044

[*cont.*

FAWCETT, Right Hon. H.—*cont.*
Supply—Post Office Packet Service, 1545, 1549
  Post Office Telegraphs, 1553, 1559
  Report, 1632

FEILDEN, General R. J., *Lancashire, N.*
Army—Army Hospital Corps, 30

FEVERSHAM, Earl of
Egypt (Political Affairs), Motion for Papers, 733

Fiji—The Land Commission
Question, Sir Henry Holland ; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *Aug* 4, 748

FINDLATER, Mr. W., *Monaghan*
Supply—Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 703, 706

FIRTH, Mr. J. F. B., *Chelsea*
Army Estimates — Miscellaneous Effective Services, 1038
  Retired Pay, &c. 1042
Municipal Corporations, Consid. *cl.* 78, Amendt. 383, 385

Fisheries (Ireland) (No. 2) Bill
(*Mr. Lewis, Captain Aylmer*)
c. Ordered ; read 1°* *Aug* 9 [Bill 271]

Fishery Board (Scotland) Bill
(*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland, Mr. Robert Duff*)
c. Read 2°, after short debate *Aug* 11, 1613
Committee—R.P. *Aug* 12, 1648 [Bill 240]
Committee—R.P. *Aug* 14, 1789
Committee ; Report ; Considered ; read 3° *Aug* 15, 1857
l. Read 1ª* (*Lord Rosebery*) *Aug* 15 (No. 264)
Read 2ª, after short debate *Aug* 16, 1921
Committee ; Report ; read 3ª *Aug* 17, 1968
Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 78]

Fishery Board (Scotland) [*Salaries and Expenses*]
c. Matter considered in Committee *Aug* 14, 1789 ; Resolution agreed to
Resolution reported *Aug* 15

FITZGERALD, Lord
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), 3R. 348

FLETCHER, Sir H., *Horsham*
Army—Miscellaneous Questions
  Calling out the First Class Army Reserve, 753
  Guards' Regulations, Explanation, 214
  Reserve—Fraudulent Enlistments, 1138, 1695
Army Estimates—Half-Pay, 1042
  Pensions for Wounds, 1043
  Retired Pay, &c. 1042

[*cont.*

Fletcher, Sir H.—*cont.*
Egypt (Military Operations)—Royal Marines, 1679
Refugees at Malta, 1679
Reserve Forces Acts Consolidation, Comm. *cl.* 5, 621
Supply—County Court Officers, &c. in Ireland, 1449
Local Government Board, &c. 126

Folkestone, Viscount, *Wilts, S.*
Trade and Commerce—Butter and Butter Substitutes, 603

Forbes, Lord
Channel Tunnel Scheme, 16, 17

Forster, Right Hon. W. E., *Bradford*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Lords Amendts. Consid. 1168, 1171

Forster, Sir C., *Walsall*
Standing Orders, Res. 1134

Fortescue, Earl
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. 154; *cl.* 5, 195; Report, *cl.* 1, 340
Electric Lighting, 2R. 576
Ireland—Labourers' League, 740

Fowler, Mr. H. H., *Wolverhampton*
Bills of Sale Act (1878) Amendment, Lords Amendts. Consid. 1273; *add. cl.* 1275, 1276
Married Women's Property, Comm. 1605
National Expenditure, 54
Royal Irish Constabulary, Comm. *cl.* 3, 1254, 1256
Standing Orders, Res. 1503
Supply—Non-Effective and Charitable Services, 1482

Fowler, Mr. R. N., *London*
Africa (South)—Transvaal—Boers and Native Tribes, 789, 1381
Zululand—Reported Collection of Taxes by John Dunn, 1684
Corrupt Practices (Suspension of Elections), Comm. *cl.* 2, 1603
Customs and Inland Revenue, Re-comm. *cl.* 6, 234
East India (Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt), Res. 305
Fishery Board (Scotland)—The Report, 1525
India (Finance, &c.)—East India Revenue Accounts—Comm.—Annual Financial Statement, 1755, 1778, 1779
National Expenditure, 81
Navy Estimates—Medicines, Medical Stores, &c. 489
Revenue, Friendly Societies, and National Debt, Leave, 503; Comm. *cl.* 20, 1100; Consid. 1786
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall), 2R. 1623
Supply—Africa (South) and St. Helena, 1479
Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 696

[*cont.*

Fowler, Mr. R. N.—*cont.*
Diplomatic and Consular Buildings, &c. 1571
Law Charges, 855
Lunacy Commission, England, 141
Non-Effective and Charitable Services, 1482
Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in Exchequer, Scotland, &c. 322
Stationery and Printing, 311

Freshfield, Mr. C. K., *Dover*
Dover Harbour, Consid. 204

Friendly Societies Acts—Issue of Contribution Tables
Question, Mr. Stevenson; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Aug* 8, 1137

Friendly Societies (Quinquennial Returns) Bill
(*The Lord Thurlow*)
l. Royal Assent *Aug* 10 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 35]

Galloway, Earl of
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Militia Act, 1875—578

Gibraltar—The Newspaper Press
Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *Aug* 3, 606

Gibson, Right Hon. E., *Dublin University*
Army—Army Chaplains, 1137
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Lords Amendts. Consid. 1166, 1184, 1188, 1192, 1194
Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions
Assistant Under Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant—Appointment of Mr. E. G. Jenkinson, 601
Irish Land Commission (Expenses), 608, 609
Land Law Act, 1881—Judge O'Hagan's Memorandum, 1367, 1521
Parliament—Public Business, 616
Royal Irish Constabulary (Pay, &c.), Comm. 549
Supply—Post Office Packet Service, 1547

Givan, Mr. J., *Monaghan*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Lords Amendts. Consid. 1182
Supply—Irish Land Commission, 1239

Gladstone, Right Hon. W. E. (First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer), *Edinburghshire*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Lords Amendts. Consid. 1151, 1165; Amendt. 1166, 1181, 1182, 1183, 1186, 1188, 1189, 1193, 1195; Lords Amendts. to Commons Amendts. Consid. 1512, 1513
Beer—Abolition of the Malt Tax, Res. 47, 48, 49, 50
Consolidated Fund Appropriation, Comm. Schedule B, Amendt. 1911

[*cont.*

Gladstone, Right Hon. W. E.—*cont.*
- Customs and Inland Revenue, Re-comm. *cl.* 2, 220; *cl.* 11, 252; Report, 255
- East India (Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt), Res. 267, 268, 269, 305
- Egypt — Chamber of Notables — Voting the Budget, 1524, 1835
- Egypt — Conference — Intervention of the Porte, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39
  - Letter of Arabi Pasha, &c. 216, 217, 619, 753
- Egypt (Military Operations)—Occupation of the Suez Canal—Protests of M. de Lesseps, 962
  - Treatment of Prisoners, 966
- Egypt (Political Affairs), 1389, 1391;—Suez Canal, 1144
- Egyptian Budget—Policy of H.M. Government, Res. 1940
- Foreign Policy of H.M. Government, 1529
- Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Agricultural Labourers of Ireland—A Royal Commission, 751
  - Prevention of Crime—Re-arrest of Mr. George, 1531
  - Royal Irish Constabulary—Alleged Discontent, 1528
- National Expenditure, 66
- Parliament—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Adjournment of the House, 2049
  - Arrangement of Public Business, 215, 216, 374, 375, 376
  - Autumn Sitting, 1526, 1527, 1528
  - Business of the House, 39, 40, 1929;—(Putting the Question), 376;—Saturday Sitting, 751, 752;—New Rules of Procedure, Ministerial Statement, 1695, 1699, 1700, 1701
  - Privilege—Mr. Gray—Commitment of a Member of this House, 1978
  - Public Business, 614, 615, 616
- Parliament—Privilege—Suspension of Irish Members (July 1), Res. 1287, 1306, 1307, 1309, 1310, 1313
- Railways—Third-Class Passenger Duty, 1526
- Supply—Cyprus—Grant in Aid of the Revenue, 1596
  - Foreign Office, 99
  - Irish Land Commission, 1234
  - Public Works in Ireland, 846, 847
  - Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens, 1567
- Trade and Commerce — Miscellaneous Questions
  - Duty on Cured Fish, 1149
  - Spanish Duties on British Goods—British Duties on Spanish Wines, 1693, 1695
  - Wine Imports, 1881, 212

Gladstone, Mr. H. J., *Leeds*
- Supreme Court of Judicature (Ireland), Comm. 1612
- Union Officers' Superannuation (Ireland), Nomination of Select Committee, 946

Gordon, General Hon. Sir A. H. *Aberdeenshire, E.*
- Agricultural Holdings, Notices of Removal (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 3, Amendt. 502; *cl.* 4, Amendt. 503
- Educational Endowments (Scotland), Consid. *cl.* 13, 521

Gorst, Mr. J. E., *Chatham*
- Africa (South)—Transvaal—Boers and Native Tribes, 1381
- Egypt (Military Expedition)—Composition of the Forces, 370
  - Services of the Marines—Turkish Military Intervention, 957
- Navy—Naval Sick Berth Staff, 373
- Navy Estimates—Dockyards, &c. 460

Goschen, Right Hon. G. J., *Ripon*
- Egypt (Political Affairs)—Policy of H.M. Government, Res. 1896
- Egyptian Loans, 1862 and 1864, 1689
- Turkey and Egypt—Action of H.M. Consuls, 1900, 1902

Gourley, Mr. E. T., *Sunderland*
- Egypt (Military Operations)—Occupation of the Suez Canal—Protests of M. de Lesseps, 962
- Navy—Naval Reserve, 387
- Russia—Postal Convention—Delivery of Newspapers, 2044

Government Annuities and Assurance Bill (*Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Courtney*)
- *c.* Committee—R.P. *Aug* 3, 707 [Bill 190]
- Committee—R.P. *Aug* 4, 872
- Committee *; Report *Aug* 7
- Considered *; read 3° *Aug* 8
- *l.* Read 1^{a} * (*Lord Thurlow*) *Aug* 10 (No. 243)
- Read 2^{a} * *Aug* 11
- Committee *; Report *Aug* 14
- Read 3^{a} * *Aug* 15
- Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 51]

Government Annuities and Insurance [*Annuities, &c.*]
- *c.* Resolution considered in Committee and agreed to *Aug* 5, 947
- Resolution reported *Aug* 7

Grant, Mr. D., *Marylebone*
- Parks (Metropolis)—The Enclosure in Regent's Park, 1832

Granville, Earl (Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs)
- Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 158; Report, *cl.* 1, 340, 342; *cl.* 17, 347; 3R 353; Commons Amendts. to Lords Amendts. Consid. 1341
- Cyprus—Arrival of Refugees from Alexandria, Motion for Papers, 24
- Educational Endowments (Scotland), 2R. 1126
- Egypt—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Military Expedition—Despatch of Troops from Turkey, 4, 6
  - Military Operations—Co-operation of the Sultan, 150
  - Political Affairs—Suez Canal, 1127
  - Riots at Alexandria—Massacre of Europeans, 578;—Explanation, 727
- Egypt (Political Affairs), Motion for Papers, 731, 733
- Fishery Board (Scotland), 2R. 1924, 1925, 1928
- National Gallery (Loan), 2R. 1976

[*cont.*

Granville, Earl—*cont.*
- Parliament—Business of the House—Adjournment, Ministerial Statement, 1795
- Tripoli—Safety of British Subjects, Motion for Papers, 1802

Gray, Mr. E. D., *Carlow Co.*
- Supply—Post Office Packet Service, 1536, 1549

Gregory, Mr. G. B., *Sussex, E.*
- Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Lords Amendts. Consid. 1196
- Bankruptcy Act, 1869, 94
- Channel Tunnel Railway, 2R. 1820
- Married Women's Property, Consid. *add. cl.* 1844
- Supply—Charity Commission, 111

Grosvenor, Right Hon. Lord R., *Flintshire*
- Egypt (Military Operations)—Alleged Misconduct of a Picket of the 60th Rifles, 505

Hamilton, Right Hon. Lord G. F., *Middlesex*
- Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Lords Amendts. Consid. 1190
- East India (Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt), Res. 292, 294
- India (Finance, &c.)—East India Revenue Accounts—Comm.—Annual Financial Statement, 1747

Harcourt, Right Hon. Sir W. G. V. (Secretary of State for the Home Department), *Derby*
- Brazil—St. John del Rey Mining Company—Slave-holding by British Subjects, 582
- Burial Boards—Burial Fees—20 & 21 Vic. c. 31, 1140
- Coal Mines—Reports of the recent Explosions, 955
- Consolidated Fund Appropriation, Comm. Schedule B, 1908, 1909
- Contagious Diseases Acts—Report of Metropolitan Police for 1881—Withdrawal of Licences from Public-houses and Beer-houses, 1279
- Criminal Law—Juvenile Depravity, 1837
- Egypt—The War—Newspaper Reports, 31
- Ireland — Prevention of Crime Act — Alien Clauses, 753
  - Re-arrest of Mr. George, 1529, 1530
- Law and Justice—Criminal Lunatics—Report of the Departmental Committee, 962, 1140
- Law and Police—Alleged Mormon Riots at Hackney, 596
- Law and Police—Mysterious Disappearances at West Ham, Res. 310
- Parliament — Privilege — Suspension of Irish Members (July 1), Res. 1292, 1300
- Prison Charities, Comm. 1269 ; 3R. 1270
- Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall), 2R. 1654, 1663
- Supply—Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum, 870
  - Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 697, 699
  - Convict Establishments in England and the Colonies, 867, 868

[*cont.*

Harcourt, Right Hon. Sir W. G. V.—*cont.*
  - Irish Land Commission, 1197
  - Police, Counties and Boroughs, Great Britain, 866
  - Prisons, England, 869

Hardinge, Viscount
- National Gallery (Loan), 2R. 1976

Hartington, Right Hon. Marquess of (Secretary of State for India), *Lancashire, N.E.*
- Africa (South)—Cetewayo, Ex-King of Zululand—Contemplated Restoration, 1373
- Army (India)—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Conductor Bennett, 1832
  - Grievances of Cavalry Officers, 2046
  - Roman Catholic Chaplains, 969
- Bombay Civil Fund, 2R. 147, 149 ; Comm. 712
- Burmah—Mission to the Viceroy of India, 1688
- East India (Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt), Res. 255, 263, 294
- Egypt (Military Expedition)—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Administration of Military Law, 597, 598
  - Expenses of Indian Contingent, 1372
  - Indian Contingent—Roman Catholic Chaplains, 1517
- India—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Bengal—Flogging of Prisoners, 1411
  - Bombay—Reduction of the Export Duty on Opium, 376
  - Consuls at the Native States—Case of Mr. Silbiger, 210
  - Finance, &c.—The Indian Budget, 606
  - Law and Justice — Salaries of Indian Judges, 33
  - Mortality in Indian Gaols, 1690
- India (Madras)—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Administration of Justice in Chingleput, 605
  - Mining Concessions in Mysore, 1681
  - Ranees of Baroda, 1370
- India (Finance, &c.)—East India Revenue Accounts—Comm.—Annual Financial Statement, 1701, 1775, 1778, 1779 ; Report, 1918

Hay, Admiral Right Hon. Sir J. C. D., *Wigtown, &c.*
- Egypt—Conference—Intervention of the Porte, 38
  - Military Expedition—Promotion of Officers of the Marines, 1277
- Navy—Re-engagements, 749
- Navy Estimates—Coast Guard Service and Royal Naval Reserve, &c. 394, 396, 397
  - Dockyards, &c. 410, 432, 433
  - Extra Estimate for Services not Naval, Freight, &c. on Account of the Army Department, 497
  - Machinery and Ships built by Contract, &c. 486
  - Military Pensions and Allowances, 497
  - Naval Stores for Building and Repairing the Fleet, &c. 485, 486
  - Scientific Branch, 401, 403
- Parliament—Arrangement of Public Business, 215
- Supply—Local Government Board, &c. 129

HAYTER, Colonel Sir A. D. (Financial Secretary to the War Office), *Bath*
Army—Roman Catholic Chaplains, 608
Army Estimates—Army Reserve Force, 1006
Out-Pensions, 1044
Egypt (Military Operations)—Alleged Misconduct of a Picket of the 60th Rifles, 505
Militia Acts Consolidation, Comm. *cl.* 13, 630
Reserve Forces Acts Consolidation, Comm. *cl.* 5, 621
Woolmer Forest—Recent Fires, 1532

HEALY, Mr. T. M., *Wexford*
Ancient Monuments, 2R. 1599
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Lords Amendts. Consid. 1177, 1181; Amendt. 1185; Lords Amendts. to Commons Amendts. Consid. 1510, 1513, 1625
Citation Amendment (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 1, Motion for reporting Progress, 1485
Egypt—"Convicts" at Alexandria, 585
Military Affairs—Turkish Military Intervention, 961
Fishery Board (Scotland)—The Report, 1526
Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions
Irish Land Commission—Official Valuators—Mr. James Butler, 1142
Irish Land Commissioners—Hon. Robert White, J.P. 1367, 1369
Irish Lights—Strangford Lough, 1360
Land Law Act, 1881—Judge O'Hagan's Memorandum, 1366, 1367
Magistracy— Mr. W. M. Miller, R.M. 584
Prevention of Crime Act—Re-arrest of Mr. George, 1530
State of—Employment of Soldiers and Marines, 584
Ireland—Protection of Person and Property Act, 1881—Duffy, Mr. Patrick J. 1383
Release of Persons detained under the Act, 644
Ireland—Royal Irish Constabulary—Miscellaneous Questions
Armagh Police Barracks, 1515
Moville, Co. Donegal, 1516, 1517
Sub-Constable Teskey, 1362
Parliament—Autumn Sitting, 1527, 1528
Royal Irish Constabulary, 2R. 930; Motion for Adjournment, 934; Comm. 1089, 1094, 1095, 1097; *cl.* 2, 1247; *cl.* 3, 1250; Amendt. 1252, 1253, 1254; Consid. *cl.* 3, 1485
Supply—Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 703, 704, 705
Constabulary Force in Ireland, 1452, 1455, 1456
County Court Officers, &c. in Ireland, 1448
Criminal Prosecutions, &c. in Ireland, 1062, 1066
Irish Land Commission, Motion for reporting Progress, 1070, 1222, 1223, 1224, 1228, 1238
Local Government Board, Ireland, 812, 815, 828
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Household, &c. 659, 664
Post Office Telegraphs, 1554
Public Works in Ireland, 845, 847
Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland, 1063

[cont.

HEALY, Mr. T. M.—*cont.*
Supreme Court of Judicature (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1612
Union Officers' Superannuation (Ireland), Nomination of Select Committee, 946

HENDERSON, Mr. F., *Dundee*
Citation Amendment (Scotland), Consid. 1855
Educational Endowments (Scotland) — The Commissioners, 372
Educational Endowments (Scotland), 3R. 542; Lords Amendts. Consid. 1860, 1865, 1874

HENRY, Mr. Mitchell, *Galway Co.*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Lords Amendts. Consid. 1174, 1182, 1185, 1187
Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions
Elementary Education—Improvement of Training of Elementary School Teachers, 1375
Irish Land Commission—Judicial Rents, 786, 788
Protection of Person and Property Act, 1881—Mr. Patrick J. Duffy, 1383
Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Gray—Commitment of a Member of this House, 2036
Supply—Temporary Commissions, 1534, 1536

HERSCHELL, Sir F. (*see* SOLICITOR GENERAL, The)

HIBBERT, Mr. J. T. (Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board), *Oldham*
Allotments, Re-comm. *cl.* 4, Amendt. 725; Motion for reporting Progress, 726; *cl.* 5, Amendt. 883; *cl.* 6, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 7, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 9, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 10, Amendt. 884
Expiring Laws Continuance, Comm. 1271
Lunacy Regulation Amendment, Comm. 920; *cl.* 4, 923; Amendt. 924, 925; Consid. 1271, 1272
Mines Regulation Acts — Sec. 26 — Ifton Colliery, 1370
Municipal Corporations, Consid. *cl.* 9, 378; *cl.* 11, 379; *cl.* 12, 380; *cl.* 46, *ib.*; Amendt. 381; *cl.* 59, *ib.*, 383; *cl.* 78, 384; *cl.* 122, 386; *cl.* 163, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 168, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 11, Amendt. 885; *cl.* 12, Amendt. *ib.*; *add. cl. ib.*, 886; Schedule, *ib*
"Princess Alice" Calamity—Inquest—Report, 1382
Supply—Local Government Board, &c. 116, 121, 123, 128, 130, 135
Lunacy Commission, England, 137, 140

HICKS, Mr. E., *Cambridgeshire*
Law and Justice—Judges and the Assizes, 43
National Expenditure, 79

HILL, Mr. A. S., *Staffordshire, W.*
Government Annuities and Assurance, Comm. *cl.* 6, 876
Supply—Chancery Division and Supreme Court generally, 860, 861

Holland, Sir H. T., *Midhurst*
Africa, South (Natal)—Native Subjects of the Crown, Res. 635
Army Estimates — Army (Indian Home Charges), 1045
Artizans' Dwellings, Comm. *cl.* 3, 718
Corrupt Practices (Suspension of Elections), 2R. 919
Customs and Inland Revenue, Re-comm. *cl.* 6, 242
East India (Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt), Res. 276
Fiji—The Land Commission, 748
Lunacy Regulation Amendment, Comm. 921
Malta—Administrative Reforms—British Rule, Res. 92
National Expenditure, 76
Navy and Army Expenditure, 1880-81, Comm. 1265
Prison Charities, Comm. 1269
Supply—Africa (South) and St. Helena, 1479
  Board of Trade, 99, 102
  Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum, 870
  Chancery Division and Supreme Court generally, 859, 860
  Colonies—Grants in Aid, 1477
  Convict Establishments in England and the Colonies, 868, 869
  County Courts, 864
  Deep Sea Exploring Expedition, 1474
  Diplomatic and Consular Buildings, &c. 1571
  Foreign Office, 97, 99
  Land Registry, 865
  Law Charges, 855
  Non-Effective and Charitable Services, Motion for reporting Progress, 1481, 1482
  Post Office Packet Service, 1551
  Prisons, Ireland, 1460
  Public Prosecutor's Office, 857, 858
  Register House Department, Edinburgh, 1050
  Relief of Distressed British Seamen Abroad, 1482
  Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens—Supplementary Sum, 1567
  Stationery and Printing, 311
  Suppression of Slave Trade, 1477
Standing Orders, Res. 1509

Holms, Mr. J. (Lord Commissioner of the Treasury), *Hackney*
Merchant Shipping (Mercantile Marine Fund), Comm. 1104
Merchant Shipping (Mercantile Marine Fund) [Payments to Fund, &c.], Comm. 882

Hope, Right Hon. A. J. B. Beresford, *Cambridge University*
Ancient Monuments, Comm. 1847
Cathedral Statutes, 2R. 1918
Imprisonment for Contumacy, 2R. 1966

Hopwood, Mr. C. H., *Stockport*
Egypt (Military Expedition)—Services of the Marines—Turkish Military Intervention, 956
Standing Orders, Res. 1505
Vaccination—Alleged Death of Children at Norwich from Effects of Operation, Report of Medical Inspector, 2048

Houghton, Lord
Egypt (Political Affairs), Motion for Papers, 732

Howard, Mr. J., *Bedfordshire*
Beer—Abolition of Malt Tax, Res. 51

Hubbard, Right Hon. J. G., *London*
Africa (South)—Cetewayo, Ex-King of Zululand—Probable Restoration, 1836
Customs and Inland Revenue, Re-comm. *cl.* 5, 227; *cl.* 6, 234, 242; *cl.* 11, 246, 248
Imprisonment for Contumacy, 2R. 1967
Standing Orders, Res. 1505
Supply, Report, 1645

Huntly, Marquess of
Fishery Board (Scotland), Comm. 1975

Illingworth, Mr. A., *Bradford*
Supply—Africa (South) and St. Helena, 1480

Imprisonment for Contumacy Bill [H.L.]
(*Mr. J. G. Talbot*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *Aug* 16, 1962; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Dillwyn*); after short debate, [House counted out]

Inchiquin, Lord
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 179

India
Miscellaneous Questions
Bengal—Flogging of Prisoners, Observations, Mr. O'Donnell; Reply, The Marquess of Hartington; short debate thereon *Aug* 10, 1408
Bombay—Reduction of the Export Duty on Opium, Question, Mr. Cropper; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *Aug* 1, 376
Madras—Administration of Justice in Chingleput, Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *Aug* 3, 604;—*Mining Concessions in Mysore*, Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *Aug* 14, 1681;—*The Ranees of Baroda*, Question, Mr. M'Laren; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *Aug* 10, 1370
Consuls at the Native States—The Case of Mr. Silbiger, Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *July* 31, 210
Law and Justice—Salaries of Indian Judges, Question, Mr. Pugh; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *July* 28, 33
Mortality in Indian Gaols, Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *Aug* 14, 1690

India—East India (*Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt*)
Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [27th July], "That, Her Majesty having directed a Military Expedition of Her Forces charged upon the Revenues of India to be despatched for service in Egypt, this

[*cont.*

India—East India (*Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt*)—cont.

House consents that the Revenues of India shall be applied to defray the expenses of the Military operations which may be carried on by such Forces beyond the external frontiers of Her Majesty's Indian Possessions" (*Secretary Sir William Harcourt*); Question again proposed; Debate resumed *July* 31, 255

Amendt. To leave out from "That," and add "the whole charges which may be thrown upon the Revenues of India by the Military operations proposed to be undertaken in Egypt should be repaid out of the Revenues of this Country" (*Mr. Onslow*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Amendt. after "shall," to insert "subject to any future decision of Parliament" (*Mr. Secretary Childers*); Question, "That those words, &c." put, and agreed to

Main Question, as amended, put; A. 140, N. 23; M. 117 (D. L. 303)

Resolved, That, Her Majesty having directed a Military Expedition of Her Forces charged upon the Revenues of India to be despatched for service in Egypt, this House consents that the Revenues of India shall, subject to any future decision of Parliament, be applied to defray the expenses of the Military operations which may be carried on by such Forces beyond the external frontiers of Her Majesty's Indian Possessions

[See title *Army—Expenses of Indian Contingent*]

India (*Finance, &c.*)—*The Indian Budget*

Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *Aug* 3, 606

India—East India Revenue Accounts—The Annual Financial Statement

Ordered, That the several Accounts and Papers which have been presented to the House in this Session of Parliament relating to the Revenues of India be referred to the Consideration of a Committee of the whole House; Committee thereupon upon Monday next (*The Marquess of Hartington*) *Aug* 11

Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *Aug* 14, 1701; after long debate, Question, "That Mr. Speaker, &c.," put, and agreed to; Matter considered in Committee, 1778

Moved, "That it appears by the Accounts laid before this House, that the Ordinary Revenue of India for the year ending the 31st day of March 1880 was £63,178,192; the Revenue from Productive Public Works, including the Net Traffic Receipts from Guaranteed Companies, was £9,381,786, making the total Revenue of India for that year £72,559,978; that the Ordinary Expenditure in India and in England, including Charges for the Collection of the Revenue, for Ordinary Public Works, and for Interest on Debt, exclusive of that for Productive Public Works, was £67,344,896; the Expenditure on Productive Public Works (Working Expenses and Interest), including the payments to Guaranteed Companies for Interest and Surplus

[*cont.*

India—East India Revenue Accounts—The Annual Financial Statement—cont.

Profits, was £9,259,437, making a total Charge for that year of £76,604,333; that there was an excess of Expenditure over Income in that year of £2,044,355; that the Capital Expenditure on Productive Public Works in the same year was £3,238,070; and that there was also an outlay on the East Indian Railway of £418,435" (*The Marquess of Hartington*); after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

Resolution reported, and, after short debate, agreed to *Aug* 15, 1918

India—Suchait Singh

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for correspondence with the India Office in June and July last respecting Suchait Singh" (*The Lord Stanley of Alderley*) *Aug* 7, 950; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

India (Home Charges Arrears) Bill

(*Mr. Courtney*, *The Marquess of Hartington*)

c. Resolution considered in Committee, and agreed to *Aug* 10, 1488

Resolution reported, and agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1° * *Aug* 11 [Bill 272]

Read 2°, after short debate *Aug* 12, 1649

Committee *; Report; read 3° *Aug* 14

l. Read 1ª * (*Viscount Enfield*) *Aug* 15, (No. 256)

Read 2ª *; Committee negatived *Aug* 16

Read 3ª * *Aug* 17

Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 79]

Intermediate Education (Ireland) Bill

[H.L.]

c. Read 1° * *Aug* 1 [Bill 258]

Read 2° * *Aug* 3

Committee; Report *Aug* 4, 887

Considered *; read 3° *Aug* 7

l. Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 69]

IRELAND

MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS

Agricultural Labourers of Ireland — The, Labourers' League, Question, Earl Fortescue; Answer, Lord Carlingford *Aug* 4, 740;—*Appointment of a Royal Commission*, Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Aug* 4, 751

Cork Butter Market—Agricultural Commission Question, Mr. Moore; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 10, 1379

Irish Lights—Strangford Lough, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Aug* 10, 1360

Seed Rate—Swinford Union, Question, Mr. O'Connor Power; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 4, 746

The Assistant Under Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 1, 376;—*Appointment of Mr. E. G. Jenkinson*, Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Gibson, Mr. J. Lowther; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 3, 600

[*cont.*

IRELAND—cont.

The Keeper of the Freeman's Roll, Galway, Questions, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, The Attorney General for Ireland *Aug* 3, 594

Fisheries

Ballyshannon Board of Fishery Conservators, Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland *Aug* 15, 1828
Employment of a Gunboat, Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 4, 754
Irish Sea Fisheries—Reproductive Loan Fund Act, Question, Mr. Blake; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 10, 1381

Piers and Harbours

Rosslare Harbour, Question, Mr. Beresford; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Aug* 11, 1521

National Education

Elementary Education—Training of Elementary School Teachers, Question, Mr. Mitchell Henry; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 10, 1375

Poor Law

Belfast Board of Guardians, Questions, Mr. Biggar; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 28, 32; *Aug* 3, 591; *Aug* 10, 1363
Carrick-on-Suir Board of Guardians, Questions, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 3, 594; *Aug* 10, 1380
Election of a Guardian for Belhubet, Cavan Union, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 8, 1141
Oldcastle Union, Co. Meath—The Board of Guardians, Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland *Aug* 14, 1676
Rathdrum Union—Election of a Guardian, Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 10, 1373
The Chairman of the Carlow Board of Guardians, Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 31, 206
Guardians of Tubbercurry Union, Co. Sligo—Repayment of Instalments of the Seed Rate, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 10, 1381
Collection of Rates in Manorhamilton Union, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 8, 1140

Post Office

Belfast Letter Carriers, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Aug* 8, 1144
Mail Service in Waterford Co., Question, Mr. Leamy; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Aug* 11, 1520
Postmaster of the Cleggan Post Office, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *July* 28, 29
Postmasters at Ballyfarnon, Co. Roscommon, and Cleggan, Co. Galway, Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Aug* 15, 1827

Prisons

Convict Prisons—Unofficial Inspection, Question, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 31, 208

[*cont.*

IRELAND—*cont.*

Criminal Law

Case of Mary Keane, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 8, 1142
Case of Michael Larkin, Question, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 8, 1142
Cases of Patrick Reilly and James Young, Questions, Mr. Tottenham; Answers, The Attorney General for Ireland *Aug* 3, 610
"The Tuam Herald"—Case of Richard J. Kelly, Questions, Colonel Nolan; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan, The Attorney General for Ireland *Aug* 8, 1145

Law and Justice

Contempt of Court—"The Queen v. Hynes"—The "Freeman's Journal," Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland *Aug* 15, 1834; Question, Mr. Callan; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland, 1837; Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Mr. Callan*); after short debate, Question put; A. 2, N. 88; M. 86 (D. L. 333)
See title *Parliament—Privilege* (*Mr. Gray*)
Dublin Crown Prosecutor, Question, Mr. Warton; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland *Aug* 3, 611

Law and Police

Dublin Metropolitan Police, Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland *Aug* 14, 1677
Galway Races, Question, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 10, 1376
Police Station at Mullaghmore, Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland *Aug* 15, 1831
The Marines, Question, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 10, 1377
The O'Connell Statue—Circular to the Police, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 7, 961

The Royal Irish Constabulary

Question, Observations, The Earl of Milltown; Reply, Lord Carlingford *Aug* 4, 741
Alleged Discontent, Question, Mr. Callan; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 4, 754; Questions, Sir R. Assheton Cross, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Callan; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 7, 963; Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 8, 1147; Question, Lord Ellenborough; Answer, Lord Carlingford *Aug* 11, 1489; Question, Mr. Tottenham; Answer, Mr. Gladstone, 1528; Question, Mr. Tottenham; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Aug* 12, 1626;—*The Lord Lieutenant's Circular,* Question, Mr. Tottenham; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland *Aug* 15, 1832
Special Grant for Extra Services, Questions, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 7, 965
False Charge of Attack upon Sub-Constable Finney, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 3, 582
Sub-Inspector O'Callaghan, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 3, 586
Sub-Constable Teskey, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 10, 1362

[*cont.*

IRELAND—*The Royal Irish Constabulary*—cont.
- *Moville, Co. Donegal*, Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Aug* 11, 1516
- *Police Barracks in Armagh*, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 10, 1364; Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Aug* 11, 1515
- *Removal of Placards*, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 1, 377
- *The Police in Belfast*, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 10, 1365

The Magistracy
- *Mr. Hill, R.M.*, Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 31, 213
- *Mr. W. M. Miller, R.M.*, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 3, 584
- *Mr. Garnett-Tatlow, J.P.*, Question, Mr. Molloy; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland *Aug* 14, 1685
- *Dromod and Drumsna Petty Sessions—Mr. Ruthven, J.P.*, Question, Colonel O'Beirne; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 10, 1371
- *Resignations of Resident Magistrates*, Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 28, 28
- *Allowances to Resident Magistrates*, Question, Mr. Lewis; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 10, 1363
- *Legal Appointments*, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland *Aug* 14, 1687
- *Orange Meeting at Rossmore*, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 3, 583
- *The Bench at Listowel*, Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 3, 603

State of Ireland
Ejectments
- *Earl of Annesley's Estate at Glan, Co. Cavan*, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 1, 377
- *The Lissonure Estate*, Question, Mr. Molloy; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland *Aug* 15, 1829

- *Alleged Molestation at Hillyon, Co. Meath*, Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 7, 955
- *Altar Denunciations—The Rev. P. Briody*, Question, Sir Henry Tyler; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 8, 1145
- *Employment of Soldiers and Marines*, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 3, 584
- *Extra Police at Pallas Green—Extra Police Penalty*, Question, Mr. Redmond; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 28, 40
- *Orange Demonstration at Lurgan*, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 4, 744
- *Proclamation of County Wicklow*, Question, Mr. M'Coan; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan; short debate thereon *Aug* 3, 588

Crime and Outrage
- *Affray at Ballina — Sub-Inspector Ball of the Constabulary*, Question, Mr. O'Connor Power; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 4, 745

IRELAND—*Crime and Outrage*—cont.
- *Alleged Outrage in Sligo*, Questions, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 4, 747
- *Alleged Agrarian Murder in West Clare*, Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 4, 757
- *Nocturnal Attacks—Return*, Question, Mr. Bellingham; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 1, 369
- *Robberies in Dublin Castle*, Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 3, 604

Protection of Person and Property Act, 1881
Detention of Persons arrested under the Act
- *Release of Persons detained under the Act*, Observations, Mr. Sexton; Reply, Mr. Trevelyan; short debate thereon *Aug* 3, 638
- *Patrick Curley and others*, Questions, Mr. Redmond; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 7, 953

Cases of
- *Mr. James Murphy*, Question, Mr. O'Kelly; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 31, 206
- *Mr. Denis Mulligan*, Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 31, 210
- *Cornelius Doyle*, Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 3, 592
- *Mr. John Kavanagh*, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 3, 603
- *Mr. Geoffrey Power*, Questions, Mr. Redmond; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 4, 745
- *Mr. Patrick J. Duffy*, Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. O'Donnell, Mr. Healy, Mr. Mitchell Henry; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 10, 1383
- *James and Thomas Coen and J. E. Hazel*, Questions, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Aug* 11, 1518
- *Mr. Lawrence Daly*, Question, Mr. T. D. Sullivan; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland *Aug* 14, 1680

Peace Preservation Act, 1881
- *Alleged Searches for Arms*, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 7, 952; —*Search for Arms in Roscommon*, Question, Mr. Molloy; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland *Aug* 14, 1685
- *Arms Licence—Mr. John Sullivan*, Question, Mr. Molloy; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland *Aug* 15, 1829;—*Mr. James Biglen*, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland *Aug* 17, 2042

Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act, 1882
- *Michael Wallace*, Question, Mr. Synan; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 28, 40
- *Miss Mary Keane*, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 3, 601
- *The Misses Buckley*, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 7, 959
- *Re-arrest of Mr. George*, Questions, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. O'Donnell, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Healy; Answers, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Gladstone *Aug* 11, 1529

[*cont.*

IRELAND—*Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act*—cont.

Guisborough Special Petty Sessions, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 4, 747

Proclamation of Ematris, Co. Monaghan, Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland *Aug* 15, 1830

Prosecutions under the Act, Question, Mr. Sexton, Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 7, 955

The Alien Clauses, Question, Mr. Salt; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *Aug* 4, 753

Relief of Distress (Ireland) Act, 1880

Loans and Grants, Question, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Aug* 10, 1362

Seed Loans, Question, Colonel O'Beirne; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Aug* 11, 1514

Irish Land Commission

MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS

Expenses, Questions, Mr. Gibson; Answers, Mr. Courtney *Aug* 3, 608

Judicial Rents, Observations, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Reply, Mr. Trevelyan; short debate thereon *Aug* 4, 784

Official Valuators—Mr. James Butler, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 8, 1142

Proceedings in Co. Sligo, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland *Aug* 17, 2042

The Hon. Robert White, J.P., Questions, Mr. Healy, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Aug* 10, 1367

The Sub-Commissioners

Mr. John George M'Carthy, Question, Mr. Warton; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland *Aug* 14, 1678

Mr. Meek, Question, Mr. Brodrick; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 10, 1374

Isle of Man (Officers) Bill

(*Mr. Courtney, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)

c. Committee*; Report; read 3° *Aug* 5 [Bill 238]

l. Read 1ª* (*Lord Thurlow*) *Aug* 7 (No. 227)

Read 2ª* *Aug* 10

Committee*; Report *Aug* 11

Read 3ª* *Aug* 14

Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 46]

JAMES, Sir H. (*see* ATTORNEY GENERAL, The)

JAMES, Mr. W. H., *Gateshead*

Supply—Registrar General's Office, England, 146

JENKINS, Sir J., *Carmarthen, &c.*

Electric Lighting, Lords Amendts. Consid. 1779

JENKINS, Mr. D. J., *Penryn*

Navy Estimates—Coast Guard Service, Royal Naval Reserve, &c. 400

JOHNSON, Right Hon. W. M. (Attorney General for Ireland), *Mallow*

Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Lords Amendts. Consid. 1175; Amendt. 1180, 1181, 1182, 1189, 1192, 1194, 1195, 1196

Consolidated Fund (Appropriation), Comm. Schedule B, 1916, 1917

Intermediate Education (Ireland), Comm. *add. cl.* 888

Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions

Ejectments—Lissonure Estate, 1829

Fisheries—Ballyshannon Board of Fishery Conservators, 1828

Irish Land Commission — Sub-Commissioners—Mr. John G. M'Carthy, 1678

Keeper of the Freeman's Roll, Galway, 595

Law and Justice—Contempt of Court—"Queen *v.* Hynes," 1834, 1842; —Dublin Crown Prosecutor, 611

Law and Police—Dublin Metropolitan Police, 1677;—Police Station at Mullaghmore, 1831

Magistracy—Legal Appointments, 1687;—Mr. Garnett-Tatlow, 1685

Peace Preservation Act, 1881 — Arms Licences, 1829, 2042;—Search for Arms, 1685

Poor Law—Oldcastle Union, Co. Meath—Constitution of the Board of Guardians, 1676

Prevention of Crime Act—Proclamation of Ematris, Co. Monaghan, 1830

Protection of Person and Property Act, 1881—Daly, Mr. Lawrence, 1680

Royal Irish Constabulary—Alleged Discontent—The Lord Lieutenant's Circular, 1832

Ireland—Criminal Law—Miscellaneous Questions

Co. Sligo, Proceedings in, 2043

Patrick Reilly and James Young, Cases of, 610, 611

"The Tuam Herald"—Case of Richard J. Kelly, 1146

Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Gray—Commitment of a Member of this House, 2001, 2006, 2008, 2009, 2022, 2023, 2039

Supply—Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 675, 678

Criminal Prosecutions, &c. in Ireland, 1056, 1059, 1060, 1066

Public Works in Ireland, 851

Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland, 1068

KENMARE, Earl of (Lord Chamberlain of the Household)

Army Reserve Force—Queen's Answer to the Address, 150

KENSINGTON, Right Hon. Lord (Comptroller of the Household), *Haverfordwest*

Army Reserve Force—Queen's Answer to the Address, 218

KILMOREY, Earl of

Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 5, Amendt. 194

KIMBERLEY, Earl of (Secretary of State for the Colonies)
- Africa (South)—Cetewayo, Ex-King of Zululand—Visit to this Country—Official Reception, 734, 736, 737, 738
  - Restoration, 1803, 1805
- Army—Officers in Cyprus, 1977
- Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 186
- Cyprus—Arrival of Refugees from Alexandria, Motion for Papers, 18, 21, 25
- Electric Lighting, 2R. 574, 575

LABOUCHERE, Mr. H., *Northampton*
- Customs and Inland Revenue, Re-comm. *cl.* 5, 229; *cl.* 6, 232, 238, 239
- Education Department—Hall of Science, Old Street, E.C. 1406
- Egypt—The Porte and the Revenues of Egypt, 609
- Metropolitan Improvements — Hyde Park Corner, 214
- Municipal Corporations, Consid. *cl.* 78, 385
- Supply—County Court Officers, &c. in Ireland, 1445
  - Cyprus—Grant in Aid of the Revenue, 1594, 1596
  - Diplomatic and Consular Buildings, &c. 1567, 1572, 1574
  - Post Office Telegrams, 1555

Labourers' Cottages and Allotments (Ireland) Bill
(*The Lord O'Hagan*)
- *l.* Read 2ª, after debate *Aug* 10, 1343 (No. 210)
- Committee *; Report; read 3ª *Aug* 11
- Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 60]

LAMINGTON, Lord
- Egypt (Political Affairs), Motion for Papers, 727, 734

Land Law (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1881
- *Judge O'Hagan's Memorandum*, Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan; Question, Mr. Gibson; [no reply] *Aug* 10, 1366
- *The Leases Clauses—Mr. Justice O'Hagan*, Question, Mr. Gibson; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Aug* 11, 1521

LANSDOWNE, Marquess of
- Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 164, 187, 190, 191; Report, *cl.* 1, 341

Law and Justice
- *Criminal Lunatics — Report of the Departmental Committee*, Question, Mr. Ramsay; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *Aug* 7, 962; Question, Mr. R. H. Paget; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *Aug* 8, 1140
- *The Judges and the Assizes*, Question, Mr. Hicks; Answer, The Attorney General *July* 28, 43

Law and Police
- *Alleged Mormon Riots at Hackney*, Question, Mr. Puleston; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *Aug* 3, 596
- *Insecurity of Life and Property*, Observations, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Reply, Mr. Courtney; Observations, Mr. Arthur O'Connor *Aug* 3, 646

Law and Police—The late Mysterious Disappearances at West Ham
- Amendt. on Committee of Supply *July* 31, To leave out from "That," and add "as the population of West Ham and the adjacent parishes has been and is rapidly increasing, it is desirable that the police force should also be increased, so as to maintain its relative proportion to the population" (*Colonel Makins*) *v*, 307; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn

LAWRENCE, Mr. Alderman W., *London*
- Customs and Inland Revenue, Re-comm. *cl.* 6, 236, 244
- Municipal Corporations, Consid. *cl.* 78, 384
- Post Office—Mail Carts (Metropolis), 1682
- Supply—Diplomatic and Consular Buildings, &c. 1574
  - Post Office Telegraphs, 1557
  - Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens, Supplementary sum, 1562

LAWSON, Sir W., *Carlisle*
- Egypt—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Egyptian Budget—The Chamber of Notables, 1145;—Right of Voting the Budget, 1835
  - Military Expedition — Administration of Military Law, 598, 599;—Services of the Marines—Turkish Military Intervention, 959
  - Military Operations — Treatment of Prisoners, 966
- Egypt (Political Affairs)—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Conference—Letter of Arabi Pasha, &c. 216
  - Egyptian Budget, &c. 1523
  - Suez Canal, &c. 1144
- Egyptian Budget—Policy of H.M. Government, Res. 1929, 1931, 1942
- Parliament — Business of the House — New Rules of Procedure, Ministerial Statement, 1701
- Supply, Report, 1647

LEAMY, Mr. E., *Waterford*
- Post Office (Ireland)—Mail Service in Waterford Co. 1520
- Supply—County Court Officers, &c. in Ireland, 1447
  - Post Office Packet Service, 1544

LEATHAM, Mr. W. H., *York, W. R., S. Div.*
- National Expenditure, 82

LEFEVRE, Right Hon. G. J. Shaw (Chief Commissioner of Works), *Reading*
- Ancient Monuments, 1278; 2R. 1599, 1627; Comm. *cl.* 2, Amendt. 1848; *cl.* 5, *ib.*; *cl.* 8, Amendt. 1849; *cl.* 9, Amendt. *ib.*; *add. cl.* 1850, 1851; Schedule, 1852; 3R. *ib.*
- Artizans' Dwellings, Comm. 716; *cl.* 3, 718; *cl.* 6, 719, 720; *cl.* 8, 721; *cl.* 11, 722; Consid. *cl.* 8, 1102, 1103

[*cont.*

LEFEVRE, Right Hon. G. J. Shaw—*cont.*
  Metropolitan Improvements—Hyde Park Corner, 215
  Ordnance Survey—Cadastral Survey of Warwickshire, 602
  Parks (Metropolis)—Sunday Bands, 596
    Trees in Kensington Gardens, 1372
  Supply—Diplomatic and Consular Buildings, &c. 1572
    Report, 1638, 1639, 1640, 1643
    Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens, Supplementary sum, 1562, 1566

LEIGHTON, Sir B., *Shropshire, S.*
  Army—Vacancies in Cavalry Regiments, 41
  Beer—Abolition of the Malt Tax, Res. 53
  National Expenditure, 81
  Supply—Disturnpiked Roads, 1578, 1579, 1580, 1585

LEIGHTON, Mr. S., *Shropshire, N.*
  Law and Police (England)—Insecurity of Life and Property, 646
  Lunacy Regulation Amendment, Comm. 922; *cl.* 4, 923

LENNOX, Right Hon. Lord H. G., *Chichester*
  Navy Estimates—Coast Guard Service, Royal Naval Reserves, &c. 397, 400
    Dockyards, Naval Yards, &c. 438

LEWIS, Mr. C. E., *Londonderry*
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Lords Amendts. Consid. 1181, 1183, 1191
  Ireland—Magistracy—Allowances to Resident Magistrates, 1363
  Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Gray—Commitment of a Member of this House, 2028
  Royal Irish Constabulary, 2R. 931; Comm. 1095; *cl.* 3, 1255; *add. cl.* 1260
  Supply—Irish Land Commission, 1215, 1216

LIFFORD, Viscount
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 164; Report, *cl.* 5, Amendt. 343

LIMERICK, Earl of
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 5, 194; Report, *cl.* 5, 347; Commons Amendts. to Lords Amendts. Consid. 1339
  Labourers' Cottages and Allotments (Ireland), 2R. 1345
  Wellesley Bridge (Limerick), 2R. 741

LINDSAY, Colonel Sir R. J. Loyd, *Berkshire*
  Army Estimates—Army Reserve Force, 1000
  Egypt (Military Expedition)—Officers holding Staff Appointments, 982

LLOYD, Mr. M., *Beaumaris*
  Cathedral Statutes, 2R. 1920
  Consolidated Fund (Appropriation), Comm. Schedule B, 1913

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill (*Lord Carrington*)
l. Committee * *July* 31 (No. 162)
  Report * *Aug* 1
  Read 3ª * *Aug* 3
  Royal Assent *Aug* 10 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. clxx]

Local Government (Gas) Provisional Orders Bill (*Lord Carrington*)
l. Report * *July* 28 (No. 144)
  Committee * *Aug* 1
  Report * *Aug* 3
  Read 3ª * *Aug* 4
  Royal Assent *Aug* 10 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. clxix]

LONGFORD, Earl of
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 165; Report, *cl.* 1, 340; 3R. 348
  Labourers' Cottages and Allotments (Ireland), 2R. 1345

LOPES, Sir M., *Devonshire, S.*
  Navy Estimates—Coast Guard Service, Royal Naval Reserves, &c. 399
    Dockyards, &c. 452
    Greenwich Hospital and School, 498

LOTHIAN, Marquess of
  Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Militia Act, 1875, 579
  Educational Endowments (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 7, 1351
  Navy (Ship-Building), Motion for Returns, 367

LOWTHER, Right Hon. J., *Lincoln, N.*
  Egypt (Political Affairs)—Conference—Meeting of Ulemas, &c. at Cairo, 370
  Ireland—Assistant Under Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant—Appointment of Mr. E. G. Jenkinson, 601
  Parliament—Miscellaneous Questions
    Arrangement of Public Business, 375
    Business of the House—Saturday Sitting, 751, 752
    Public Business, 615, 616
  Supply—Local Government Board, Ireland, 829

LUBBOCK, Sir J., *London University*
  Ancient Monuments, 2R. 1600; Comm. *add. cl.* 1850, 1851; Schedule, Amendt. 1852
  Customs and Inland Revenue, Consid. *cl.* 11, 560
  Electric Lighting, Lords Amendts. Consid. 1782
  Supply—Cyprus—Grant in Aid of the Revenue, 1597
    Local Government Board, &c. 133
    Mint, &c. 143
    Record Office, 145

Lunacy Districts (Scotland) Bill [H.L.] (*The Lord Advocate*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *Aug* 4 [Bill 224]

Lunacy Regulation Amendment Bill [H.L.]
(*Mr. Hibbert*)
c. Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *Aug* 5, 920; after short debate, Question put; A. 53, N. 3; M. 50 (D. L. 316); Committee; Report [Bill 230]
Considered; read 3°, after short debate *Aug* 8, 1271
Lords Amendt. to Commons Amendts. considered, and agreed to *Aug* 14, 1783
l. Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 82]

LYMINGTON, Viscount, *Barnstaple*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Lords Amendts. Consid. 1182; Amendt. 1183

M'CARTHY, Mr. Justin, *Longford*
Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions
Agricultural Labourers—A Royal Commission, 751
Irish Land Commission—Judicial Rents, 784
Protection of Person and Property Act, 1881—Mulligan, Mr. Denis, 210
Parliament—Privilege—Suspension of Irish Members (July 1), Res. 1319
Royal Irish Constabulary, Comm. *cl.* 5, Amendt. 1259
Royal Irish Constabulary (Pay, &c.), Comm. 556
Supply—Criminal Prosecutions, &c. in Ireland, Amendt. 1051
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Household, &c. 657
Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in Exchequer, Scotland, &c. 319

M'COAN, Mr. J. C., *Wicklow*
Brazil—St. John del Rey Mining Company—Slave-holding by English Subjects, 581
Egypt (Political Affairs)—Letter of Arabi Pasha, &c. 216, 619
Ireland—State of—Proclamation of County Wicklow, Motion for Adjournment, 588

MACFARLANE, Mr. D. H., *Carlow Co.*
Army (India)—Roman Catholic Chaplains, 972
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Lords Amendts. to Commons Amendts. Consid. 1513
Customs and Inland Revenue, Re-comm. *cl.* 2, 83, 218; *cl.* 6, 240
East India (Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt), Res. 299
Law and Police (Ireland)—Dublin Metropolitan Police, 1677
Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Gray—Commitment of a Member of this House, 2014, 2015
Public Business, 616
Scotland—Crofters in the Island of Skye—A Royal Commission, 766, 780, 783

MCGAREL-HOGG, Sir J. M., *Truro*
Metropolis—Water Supply, 1359

MCKENNA, Sir J. N., *Youghal*
Imprisonment for Contumacy, 2R. 1967

MCLAREN, Mr. C. B. B., *Stafford*
India (Madras)—Ranees of Baroda, 1370

MACLIVER, Mr. P. S., *Plymouth*
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—The Militia, 611
Customs and Inland Revenue, Re-comm. *cl.* 5, 230

MAGNIAC, Mr. C., *Bedford*
Customs and Inland Revenue, Re-comm. *cl.* 5, 224; *cl.* 6, Amendt. 230, 235; *cl.* 11, Amendt. 246, 249, 254
Imprisonment for Contumacy, 2R. 1967
Revenue, Friendly Societies, and National Debt, Consid. 1783, 1786; 3R. 1788
Supply—British Museum, 1473
Chancery Division and Supreme Court generally, 860
Consular Services, 1476
Convict Establishments in England and the Colonies, 868
Deep Sea Exploring Expedition, Report, 1474
Friendly Societies Deficiency, 1484
London Bankruptcy Court, 864
National Gallery, &c., Scotland, 1475
National Portrait Gallery, 1473
Pauper Lunatics, England, 1483
Police, Counties and Boroughs, Great Britain, 866
Post Office Packet Services, 1549
Post Office Telegraphs, 1552, 1553
Prisons, England, 868

MAKINS, Colonel W. T., *Essex, S.*
Law and Police—Late Mysterious Disappearances at West Ham, Res. 307, 310
Navy—Royal Marines—Brevet Promotion, 209

Malta
Executive Council, The, Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *Aug* 3, 612
Refugees from Egypt, Question, Sir Henry Fletcher; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Aug* 14, 1679

Malta—Administrative Reforms—British Rule
Amendt. on Committee of Supply *July* 28, To leave out from "That," and add "it is the opinion of this House that the long tried loyalty of the people of Malta to British rule deserves more consideration than it has received; that the several reports of Mr. Rowsell, Sir Penrose Julyan, and Mr. Keenan, as well as the numerously signed Petitions of the people, prove that great changes in the civil administration of the island are urgently required, and that Her Majesty's Government ought to be doing more than they have been doing to carry out the needed reforms, and so to promote the prosperity and secure the contentment of the Maltese people" (*Mr. Anderson*) *v.*, 84; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

MANNERS, Right Hon. Lord J. J. R., *Leicestershire, N.*
Parliament — Business of the House — New Rules of Procedure, Ministerial Statement, 1700

MARJORIBANKS, Hon. E., *Berwickshire*
Fishery Board (Scotland), 2R. 1615
Parliament—Business of the House—Saturday Sitting, 751

Married Women's Property Bill [H.L.]
(*Mr. Osborne Morgan*)
c. Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *Aug* 11, 1603
Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "this House will, upon this day three months, resolve itself into the said Committee" (*Sir George Campbell*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn
Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker, &c.," put, and agreed to; Committee; Report
Considered; read 3°, after short debate *Aug* 15, 1844
l. Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 75]

Mercantile Marine—Pouring Oil upon the Sea
Question, Observations, The Earl of Carnarvon, The Earl of Aberdeen, Lord Cottesloe; Replies, Lord Sudeley, The Earl of Northbrook *July* 28, 6

Merchant Shipping Acts
Collision between the "Mayfly" and "Valhalla" off Dungeness, Question, Lord Colville of Culross; Answer, Lord Sudeley *Aug* 1, 367; Question, Mr. Birkbeck; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain, 371
Emigrant and Passenger Ships, Question, Mr. Moore, Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Aug* 3, 602;—*Canada*, Question, Observations, Lord Emly; Reply, Lord Sudeley *Aug* 4, 738;—*Wreck of the "Mosel,"* Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Aug* 11, 1521; Question, Mr. Dillwyn; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Aug* 15, 1830

Merchant Shipping (Colonial Inquiries) Bill [H.L.]
c. Committee; Report *Aug* 11, 1621 [Bill 235]
Considered *; read 3° *Aug* 14
l. Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 76]

Merchant Shipping (Mercantile Marine Fund) Bill—*Formerly*
Mercantile Marine Fund (Charges) Bill
(*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. John Holms*)
c. Ordered * *July* 31
Read 1° * *Aug* 1 [Bill 256]
Read 2°, after short debate *Aug* 3, 723
Committee *—R.P. *Aug* 4
Committee; Report *Aug* 7, 1104
Considered *; read 3° *Aug* 8
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Sudeley*) *Aug* 10 (No. 241)
Read 2ª * *Aug* 11
Committee *; Report *Aug* 14
Read 3ª * *Aug* 15
Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 55]

Merchant Shipping (*Mercantile Marine Fund*) [*Payments to Fund, &c.*]
Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *Aug* 4, 881; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to; Matter considered in Committee
Resolved, That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of an annual sum of £40,000 to the Mercantile Marine Fund; and of authorising the repayment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of charges paid out of rates in respect of costs incurred in prosecutions for offences committed at sea, and of expenses connected therewith, which may become payable under the provisions of any Act of the present Session to amend the Law with respect to the charges on and payments to the Mercantile Marine Fund, and to expenses of prosecutions for offences committed at sea
Resolution reported *Aug* 5

METROPOLIS
MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS
Metropolitan Improvements—Hyde Park Corner, Questions, Mr. Labouchere, Lord Elcho; Answers, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *July* 31, 214; Question, Observations, The Marquess of Ailesbury; Reply, Lord Sudeley; short debate thereon *Aug* 15, 1798

The Parks
Enclosure in Regent's Park, Question, Mr. D. Grant; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Aug* 15, 1832
New Park for Paddington—The Ecclesiastical Commissioners, Question, Mr. Bryce; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *Aug* 8, 1148
Sunday Bands, Questions, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *Aug* 3, 595
The Trees in Kensington Gardens, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *Aug* 10, 1372

Water Supply, Question, Mr. Ritchie; Answer' Sir James M'Garel-Hogg *Aug* 10, 1358

Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) Bill (*The Lord Thurlow*)
l. Royal Assent *Aug* 10 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 33]

Militia Acts Consolidation Bill
(*Mr. Secretary Childers, The Judge Advocate General, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman*)
c. Committee; Report *Aug* 3, 625 [Bill 123]
Considered *; read 3° *Aug* 4
l. Read 1ª * (*Earl of Morley*) *Aug* 7 (No. 225)
Read 2ª * *Aug* 11
Committee *; Report *Aug* 14
Read 3ª * *Aug* 16
Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 49]

MILLTOWN, Earl of
Africa (South)—Cetewayo, Ex-King of Zululand—Restoration, 1803
Electric Lighting, 2R. 576
Endowed Schools—Dulwich College Scheme, Motion for an Address, 26
Fishery Board (Scotland), Comm. 1973

[*cont.*

MILLTOWN, Earl of—*cont.*
Metropolitan Improvements — Hyde Park Corner, 1799
Royal Irish Constabulary, 741

Mines Regulation Act, Sec. 26—Ifton Colliery
Question, Mr. Burt; Answer, Mr. Hibbert *Aug* 10, 1369

MOLLOY, Mr. B. C., *King's Co.*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Lords Amendts. to Commons Amendts. Consid. 1512
Consolidated Fund (Appropriation), Comm. Schedule B, 1916, 1917
Egypt — Chamber of Notables — Voting the Budget, 1524
European Control, 1691
Egypt (Political Affairs)—Egyptian Budget, &c. 1522
Egyptian Budget—Policy of H.M. Government, Res. 1959
Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions
Ejectments—The Lissonure Estate, 1829
Magistracy—Mr. Garnett-Tatlow, 1685
Peace Preservation Act, 1881 — Arms Licence, 1829;—Search for Arms, 1685
New Zealand—Case of Roderick Mannion, 1686
Post Office (Savings Bank Department)—Promotions, 1833

MONCK, Viscount
Egypt (Military Expedition)—Postal Communication with the Army, 1127

MONK, Mr. C. J., *Gloucester City*
Bills of Sale Act (1878) Amendment, Lords Amendts. Consid. 1272; Amendt. 1273
Cathedral Statutes, 2R. 1920
Corrupt Practices (Suspension of Elections), 2R. 915, 918; Comm. 1601
National Expenditure, 64
Regent's Canal, City, and Docks Railway, Lords Amendts. Consid. 1808, 1811
Trade and Commerce — Spanish Duties on British Goods— British Duties on Spanish Wines, 1695

MOORE, Mr. A. J., *Clonmel*
Agricultural Commission—Cork Butter Market, 1379
Army—Roman Catholic Chaplains, 608
Army (India)— Roman Catholic Chaplains, 966
Merchant Shipping Acts—Emigrant and Passenger Ships, 602
Navy—Mediterranean Fleet—Roman Catholic Clergymen, 956
Navy Estimates—Miscellaneous Services, 490, 491, 493
Passenger Acts—Emigrant Ships, Res. 758, 765
Passenger Acts—Royal Netherlands Steamship Company—Ill-treatment of Emigrants, 752
Poor Law (England)—Alleged Proselytism in a Workhouse School, 757
Royal Irish Constabulary (Pay, &c.), Comm. 555
Supply—Board of Trade, 99, 101, 104
Local Government Board, &c. 118, 124

MORGAN, Right Hon. G. Osborne (Judge Advocate General), *Denbighshire*
Army—Drunkenness at Aldershot, 1150
Army Reserve—Fraudulent Enlistments, 1138, 1695
Married Women's Property, Comm. 1606; *cl.* 1, 1607; *cl.* 4, 1608; *cl.* 6, Amendt. 1609; *cl.* 7, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 9, Amendt. 1610; *cl.* 10, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 11, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 24, Amendt. *ib.*; *add. cl.* 1612; Consid. *add. cl.* 1845; *cl.* 1, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 2, *ib.*; *cl.* 6, Amendt. 1846; *cl.* 7, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 8, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 9, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 10, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 17, Amendt. 1847; *cl.* 18, *ib*
Militia Acts Consolidation, Comm. *cl.* 3, 627; *cl.* 4, *ib.*; *cl.* 6, 628; *cl.* 7, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 10, 629; Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 14, Amendt. 631; *cl.* 26, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 28, Amendt. 632; *cl.* 31, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 43, Amendt. *ib.*
Reserve Forces Acts Consolidation, Comm. *cl.* 5, 619, 620, 622; *cl.* 7, *ib.*; *cl.* 13, 623; *cl.* 17, Amendt. *ib.* 624; *cl.* 25, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 29, Amendt. 625

MORLEY, Earl of (Under Secretary of State for War)
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Militia Act, 1875, 579
Army Reserves, 1
Egypt (Military Expedition)—Postal Communication with the Army, 1128
Military Operations—Alleged Misconduct of a Picket of the 60th Rifles, 563

MOSS, Mr. R., *Winchester*
Army (Auxiliary Forces)— Examination of Volunteer Officers, 611

MUNDELLA, Right Hon. A. J. (Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education), *Sheffield*
Allotments, 3R. 1488
Charity Commissioners—Continuance of the Endowed Schools Commission, 585
Education Department—Miscellaneous Questions
Hall of Science, Old Street, E.C. 1406 1407
Instructions to H.M. Inspectors of Schools, 1378
Victoria University (Manchester)—Power, to Grant Degrees in Medicine, 1136
Educational Endowments (Scotland) — The Commissioners, 372
Educational Endowments (Scotland), Consid. 506, 508; *cl.* 1, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 5, Amendt. 509; *cl.* 6, 512; Amendt. 514, 515, 516; *cl.* 7, Amendt. *ib*; *cl.* 8, Amendt. 517, 518; *cl.* 12, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 13, 519, 521, 524; Amendt. 525; *cl.* 15, 527; *cl.* 17, Amendt. 529; *cl.* 19, Amendt. 530; *cl.* 20, *ib.*; *cl.* 23, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 25, 531; Amendt. 533; *cl.* 31, 535; *cl.* 32, Amendt. *ib.*; 3R. 536; Lords Amendts. Consid. 1859; Amendt. 1860, 1861, 1866, 1867, 1870
Patent Museum (South Kensington), 1404
Supply—Charity Commission, 111
Science and Art Department, 1471, 1472

Municipal Corporations Bill
(*Mr. Hibbert, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)
c. Considered; read 3° *Aug* 1, 378 [Bill 113]
l. Read 1^{a} * (*Lord Rosebery*) *Aug* 1 (No. 214)
Read 2^{a} *Aug* 7, 951
Committee * *Aug* 10
Report * *Aug* 11
Read 3^{a} * *Aug* 14
Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 50]

Municipal Corporations (Unreformed) Bill [H.L.]
c. Bill withdrawn * *Aug* 7 [Bill 220]

National Expenditure
Observations, Mr. H. H. Fowler; debate thereon *July* 28, 54

National Gallery (Loan) Bill [H.L.]
(*The Earl Granville*)
l. Presented; read 1^{a} * *Aug* 15 (No. 261)
Read 2^{a}, after short debate *Aug* 17, 1975

Navy
Miscellaneous Questions
Armaments for Merchant Steamers, Question, Sir Edward Watkin; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Aug* 14, 1675
Dockyard Employés, Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Aug* 11, 1525
Re-Engagements, Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Aug* 4, 749
The Mediterranean Fleet — Roman Catholic Clergymen, Question, Mr. Moore; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Aug* 7, 956
The Naval Reserve, Observations, Mr. Gourley, General Sir George Balfour; Reply, Sir Thomas Brassey; Observations, Captain Price *Aug* 1, 387
The Naval Sick Berth Staff, Question, Mr. Gorst; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Aug* 1, 373
The Royal Marines — Brevet Promotion, Question, Colonel Makins; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *July* 31, 209
Valuation Statements, Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Aug* 11, 1519

Navy (Ship-Building)
Moved for Return, "1. Steam ships (ironclad) now building, &c.; 2. Swift cruisers now building, &c.; 3. The number of vessels to be laid down during the present year" (*Viscount Sidmouth*) *Aug* 1, 362; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

Navy and Army Expenditure, 1880-81
Matter considered in Committee *Aug* 8, 1263; Resolutions moved and agreed to
Resolutions reported *Aug* 9

Newdegate, Mr. C. N., *Warwickshire, N.*
Channel Tunnel Railway, 2R. 1825
Customs and Inland Revenue, Re-comm. *cl.* 11, 250

[cont.

Newdegate, Mr. C. N.—*cont.*
National Expenditure, 81
Ordnance Survey—Cadastral Survey of Warwickshire, 602
Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Gray—Commitment of a Member of this House, 2034, 2039
Supply—Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in Exchequer, Scotland, &c. 322

New Zealand—Case of Roderick Mannion
Question, Mr. Molloy; Answer, Mr. Childers *Aug* 14, 1686

Noel, Mr. G., *Rutland*
Ordnance Survey—Cadastral Survey of Warwickshire, 602

Nolan, Colonel J. P., *Galway Co.*
Army—Expeditionary Force—Promotion from the Ranks, 1379
Army (India)—Roman Catholic Chaplains, 971
Army Estimates—Commissariat, Transport, &c. Establishments, 1012, 1018
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Lords Amendts. Consid. 1174
Consolidated Fund (Appropriation), Comm. Schedule B, 1916
Egypt (Military Expedition)—Indian Contingent—Roman Catholic Chaplains, 1517
Emigrant Ships — Wreck of the "Mosel," 1521
Ireland—Criminal Law—"The Tuam Herald" —Richard J. Kelly, 1145, 1146
Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Gray—Commitment of a Member of this House, 1962, 2023
Parliament—Public Business, 616
Supply—County Court Officers, &c. in Ireland, 1425, 1437
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Household, &c. 654; Amendt. 656, 657, 664
Public Works in Ireland, 831

North, Colonel J. S., *Oxfordshire*
Egypt (Military Operations)—Newspaper Correspondents—Regulations, 1139

Northbrook, Earl of (First Lord of the Admiralty)
India—Suchait Singh, Motion for an Address, 951
Mercantile Marine—Pouring Oil upon the Sea, 14
Navy (Ship-Building), Motion for Returns, 364

Northcote, Right Hon. Sir S. H., *Devon, N.*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Lords Amendts. Consid. 1162, 1175
Egypt — Conference — Intervention of the Porte, 36
Military Operations—Alleged Misconduct of a Picket of the 60th Rifles, 504
National Expenditure, 57
Parliament—Miscellaneous Questions
Arrangement of Public Business, 216, 374, 375, 376
Autumn Sitting, 1526, 1527, 1528
Business of the House, 39

[cont.

Northcote, Right Hon. Sir S. H.—*cont.*
- Parliament — Business of the House — New Rules of Procedure, Ministerial Statement, 1698, 1699
- Parliament—Privilege—Suspension of Irish Members (July 1), Res. 1321

Norton, Lord
- Africa (South)—Cetewayo, Ex-King of Zululand—Visit to this Country—Official Reception, 734, 736, 737

Norwood, Mr. C. M., *Kingston-upon-Hull*
- Trade and Commerce—Wine Imports, 1881

O'Beirne, Colonel F., *Leitrim*
- Army—Garrison at Malta—Married Soldiers' Families, 1519
- Ireland—Relief of Distress Act—Seed Loans, 1514

O'Brien, Sir P., *King's Co.*
- Egyptian Budget—Policy of H.M. Government, Res. 1954
- Ireland—Magistracy—Dromod and Drumsna Petty Sessions—Mr. Ruthven, J.P. 1371
- Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Gray—Commitment of a Member of this House, 2016
- Supply—Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Household, &c. 665, 666

O'Connor, Mr. A., *Queen's Co.*
- Army—Appointments to the Staff, 43
- Army Estimates — Army (Indian Home Charges), 1044
  - Commissariat, Transport, &c. Establishments, 1010, 1014
- Bombay Civil Fund, 2R. 147; Comm. 710; *cl.* 3, 714
- Customs and Inland Revenue, Re-comm. *cl.* 11, 253, 254
- Egypt (Military Operations)—Treatment of Prisoners, 966
- Gibraltar—Newspaper Press, 606
- Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Fisheries—Employment of a Gunboat, 754
  - Magistracy—Listowel, The Bench at, 603; —Resignations of Resident Magistrates, 28
  - Poor Law—Chairman of the Carlow Board of Guardians, 206
  - Protection of Person and Property Act, 1881—Cornelius Doyle, 592
  - State of—Hillyon, Co. Meath—Alleged Molestation, 955
- Law and Police (England)—Insecurity of Life and Property, 649
- Navy Estimates—Miscellaneous Services, 496
  - Scientific Branch, 405, 408
- Reserve Forces Acts Consolidation, Comm. *cl.* 5, 619, 620; *cl.* 17, 624
- Royal Irish Constabulary, Comm. Motion for Adjournment, 1097
- Supply—Chancery Division and Supreme Court generally, 860, 861
  - Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 704, 705
  - Convict Establishments in England and the Colonies, 867

[cont.

O'Connor, Mr. A.—*cont.*
  - Fishery Board in Scotland, &c. 324, 326
  - Law Charges, 854
  - Local Government Board, &c. 134, 135
  - Lunacy Commission, England, 138
  - Mint, &c. Amendt. 142, 143
  - Patent Office, 144
  - Police, Counties and Boroughs, Great Britain, 865, 866
  - Public Works in Ireland, Amendt. 833, 843, 844, 853
  - Public Works Loan Commission, 144, 145
  - Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in Exchequer, Scotland, &c. Amendt. 319
  - Record Office, 145
  - Report, 499
  - Secret Services, 315
  - Supreme Court of Judicature—Central Office, 862, 863
  - Wreck Commission, 864

O'Connor, Mr. T. P., *Galway*
- India (Bengal)—Flogging of Prisoners, 1414
- Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Irish Land Commissioners—Hon. Robert White, J.P. 1369
  - Keeper of the Freeman's Roll, Galway, 594, 595
  - Law and Police—Galway Races, 1376, 1377;—Marines, The, 1377
  - Prevention of Crime Act—Re-arrest of Mr. George, 1530
  - Protection of Person and Property Act, 1881—Coen, James and Thomas, and F. E. Hazel, 1518
  - Royal Irish Constabulary—Alleged Discontent, 963, 964, 1148
- Parks (Metropolis)—Sunday Bands, 595, 596
- Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Gray—Commitment of a Member of this House, 2018, 2022
- Parliament—Privilege—Suspension of Irish Members (July 1), Res. 1304, 1311
- Royal Irish Constabulary (Pay, &c.), Comm. 555
- Royal Irish Constabulary, 2R, 931; Comm. 1079; *cl.* 2, Amendt. 1243; *cl.* 3, Amendt. 1248
- Supply—Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 679, 680
  - County Court Officers, &c. in Ireland, 1443
  - Criminal Prosecutions, &c. in Ireland, 1059, 1060
  - Irish Land Commission, 1231
  - Local Government Board, Ireland, 792, 810
  - Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Household of, 653, 654
  - Prisons, Ireland, 1470
  - Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in Exchequer, Scotland, &c. 320
  - Record Office, 145, 146
  - Secret Services, Amendt. 311, 318

O'Donnell, Mr. F. H., *Dungarvan*
- Africa, South (Natal)—Native Subjects of the Crown, Res. 638
- Channel Tunnel Railway, 2R. 1820
- Consolidated Fund (Appropriation), Comm. Schedule B, 1910, 1911, 1913, 1917

[cont.

O'Donnell, Mr. F. H.—*cont.*
- Egypt—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Conference, 605
  - "Convicts" at Alexandria, 585
  - Egyptian Loans, 1862 and 1864, 1688, 1689, 1690, 1834
  - Law of Liquidation, 1683, 1684
  - Military Expedition — Administration of Military Law, 599
  - Political Affairs, 1395, 1397;—Egyptian Budget, &c. 1523
- Egyptian Budget—Policy of H.M. Government, Res. 1958
- India—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Bengal—Flogging of Prisoners, 1408, 1413
  - Finance, &c.—Indian Budget, 606
  - Madras — Administration of Justice in Chingleput, 604; — Mining Concessions in Mysore, 1681
  - Mortality in Indian Gaols, 1690
- India (Finance, &c.) — East India Revenue Accounts, Comm.—Annual Financial Statement, 1740; Report, 1918
- Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Crime—Robberies at Dublin Castle, 604
  - Criminal Law—Juvenile Depravity, 1837
  - Fisheries—Ballyshannon Board of Fishery Conservators, 1828
  - Law and Justice—Contempt of Court—"Queen *v.* Hynes," 1834, 1841
  - Law and Police—Galway Races, 1377;—Police Station at Mullaghmore, 1831
  - Poor Law—Oldcastle Union, Co. Meath—Constitution of the Board of Guardians, 1676
  - Post Office—Postmasters at Ballyfarnon, Co. Roscommon, and Gleggan, Co. Galway, 1827
  - Prevention of Crime Act—Re-arrest of Mr. George, 1529;—Proclamation of Ematris, Co. Monaghan, 1830
  - Protection of Person and Property Act, 1881—Mr. Patrick J. Duffy, 1383
- Municipal Corporations, Consid. *cl.* 9, 379; *cl.* 59, 383
- Parliament — Business of the House — New Rules of Procedure, Ministerial Statement, 1700
  - Privilege—Mr. Gray—Commitment of a Member of this House, 2031
- Parliament—Privilege—Suspension of Irish Members (July 1), Res. 1310, 1320
- Supply—Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 683, 684, 685, 693, 695, 696, 698
  - Constabulary Force in Ireland, 1456
- Trade and Commerce — Spanish Duties on British Goods—British Duties on Spanish Wines, 1692
- Turkey and Egypt—Action of H.M. Consuls, 1896, 1902

O'Hagan, Lord
- Arrears of Rent (Ireland), 3R. 354
- Labourers' Cottages and Allotments (Ireland), 2R. 1313

O'Kelly, Mr. J., *Roscommon*
- Brazil — Province of Minas Geraes — Slave-holding by English Subjects, 744
- Ireland—Protection of Person and Property Act, 1881—Murphy, Mr. James, 206

Onslow, Mr. D. R., *Guildford*
- Army Estimates—Army Reserve Force, 1007
- Burmah—Mission to the Viceroy of India, 1687
- Customs and Inland Revenue, Re-comm. *cl.* 6, 243
- East India (Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt), Res. 263; Amendt. 265, 267, 268, 307
- Egypt—Conference—Intervention of the Porte, 37, 39
- India—Bengal—Flogging of Prisoners, 1413
  - Consuls at the Native States — Case of Mr. Silbiger, 210
- India (Finance, &c.) — East India Revenue Accounts, Comm. 1713
- Parliament — Business of the House — New Rules of Procedure, Ministerial Statement, 1701
- Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall), 2R. 1654, 1659

Ordnance Survey—Cadastral Survey of Warwickshire
- Questions, Mr. Newdegate, Mr. Gerard Noel; Answers, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *Aug* 3, 602

O'Shaughnessy, Mr. R., *Limerick*
- Royal Irish Constabulary (Pay, &c.), Comm. 557
- Royal Irish Constabulary, Comm. 1077

O'Shea, Mr. W. H., *Clare*
- Army—Allowances to Families of Soldiers on Active Service, 33
  - Army Medical Department — Surgeon M'Gann and others, 2014
- Channel Tunnel Scheme, 1522
- Consolidated Fund (Appropriation), Comm. Schedule B, 1915
- Ireland—Crime—Alleged Agrarian Murder in West Clare, 757
- Navy Estimates—Miscellaneous Services, 493
- Poor Law (England)—Proselytism in a Workhouse School, 756, 1520
- Supply—County Court Officers, &c. in Ireland, 1447
  - Local Government Board, &c. 120, 124

Pacific, The Islands of the—Treaty of 1847
- Question, Mr. Salt; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Aug* 11, 1517

Paget, Mr. R. H., *Somersetshire, Mid*
- Law and Justice—Criminal Lunatics—Commission of 1881, Report, 1140
- Post Office—Reply Post Cards and Telegrams, 583

Palmer, Mr. C. M., *Durham, N.*
- Danube Commission—Navigation of the Danube, 1688

Palmer, Mr. J. H., *Lincoln*
- Municipal Corporations, Consid. *cl.* 59, 382
- Patent Museum (South Kensington), 1401

[*cont.*

Palmer, Mr. J. H.—*cont.*
  Supply—Charity Commission, 110
    Local Government Board, &c. 132
  Trade and Commerce—Treaty with Corea, 1360

Parcel Post Bill
(*Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Courtney*)
c. Committee*—R.P. *Aug* 2 [Bill 254]
  Committee; Report *Aug* 3, 707
  Considered; read 3°, after short debate *Aug* 4, 871
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Thurlow*) *Aug* 7 (No. 223)
  Read 2ª, after short debate *Aug* 10, 1346
  Committee * *Aug* 11
  Report * *Aug* 14 (No. 249)
  Read 3ª * *Aug* 15
  Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 74]

Parker, Mr. C. S., *Perth*
  Educational Endowments (Scotland), Consid. *cl.* 6, 513; *cl.* 13, 520; *cl.* 15, 528; 3R. 544; Lords Amendts. Consid. 1872
  Fishery Board (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 4, 1789, 1790; *cl.* 5, 1793

Parliament
LORDS—
  Public Business—The Autumn Sitting, Moved, "That this House adjourn during pleasure" (*The Lord Privy Seal*) *Aug* 14, 1673; after short debate, Motion agreed to
  The Adjournment—Business of the House, Ministerial Statement, Earl Granville; Observations, The Marquess of Salisbury *Aug* 15, 1795
  House adjourned to Tuesday, 24th October

COMMONS—
  Committee for Privileges, Sessional Order amended *July* 31, 150

  Business of the House, and Public Business
  A Saturday Sitting, Questions, Mr. Carbutt, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Joseph Cowen; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *July* 28, 39
  A Saturday Sitting, Questions, Mr. J. Lowther, Mr. Marjoribanks, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Childers *Aug* 4, 751
  Arrangement of Public Business, Questions, Sir John Hay, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *July* 31, 215; Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. J. Lowther, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Childers *Aug* 1, 374;—*Government Annuities and Assurance Bill*, Question, Mr. Repton; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Aug* 1, 369;—*Royal Irish Constabulary Bill*, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Aug* 1, 504; — *Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill*, Questions, Sir R. Assheton Cross, Mr. J. Lowther, Mr. Gibson, Mr. Macfarlane, Colonel Nolan; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *Aug* 3, 614;—*Scotch Business*, Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, The Lord Advocate *Aug* 14, 1674;—*Ballot Act Continuance and Amendment Bill*, Question, Mr. Craig;

[*cont.*

Parliament—Commons—*Business of the House, and Public Business*—cont.
  Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Aug* 15, 1835; —Moved, "That the Standing Orders of the House respecting Wednesday's sittings be suspended this day" (*Mr. Gladstone*) *Aug* 16, 1929; Motion agreed to
  Parliamentary Elections—Voting Papers, Observations, Mr. Warton *Aug* 4, 791
  The Autumn Sitting, Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Healy, Mr. Warton; Answers Mr. Gladstone *Aug* 11, 1526
  Adjournment of the House, Resolved, That this House will, at the rising of the House Tomorrow, adjourn till Tuesday the 24th day of October next (*Mr. Gladstone*) *Aug* 17, 2049
  Moved, "That the House do adjourn till Tuesday 24th October" (*The Marquess of Hartington*) *Aug* 18; Motion agreed to

Parliament—Business of the House—The New Rules of Procedure—First Rule (Putting the Question)
  Question, Mr. Ritchie; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Aug* 1, 376; Ministerial Statement, Mr. Gladstone; short debate thereon *Aug* 14, 1695

Parliament—Consolidated Fund Appropriation Bill—Committee Aug. 15
  Mr. Callan, Member for the County of Louth, having been Named by the Chairman for having disregarded the authority of the Chair
  Motion made, and Question put, "That Mr. Callan be suspended from the service of the House during the remainder of this day's sitting" (*Mr. Gladstone*); A. 58, N. 3; M. 55
  Whereupon the Chairman left the Chair in order to report the said Resolution to the House
  Mr. Speaker resumed the Chair, and Mr. Playfair reported to Mr. Speaker that Mr. Callan had been Named by him to the Committee as disregarding the authority of the Chair, and that the Committee had resolved that Mr. Callan be suspended from the service of the House during the remainder of this day's sitting
  Mr. Speaker thereupon forthwith put the Question, "That Mr. Callan be suspended from the service of the House for the remainder of this day's sitting;" A. 60, N. 3; M. 57
  Mr. Callan withdrew accordingly

Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Gray (Commitment of a Member of this House)
  Question, Observations, Colonel Nolan, Mr. Speaker *Aug* 16, 1962
  Mr. Speaker acquainted the House that he had received a Letter from the Right Hon. James Lawson, which Letter Mr. Speaker read to the House *Aug* 17, 1978
  Moved, "That the Letter of Mr. Justice Lawson do lie upon the Table" (*Mr. Gladstone*); after long debate, Debate adjourned (6.50)
  Debate resumed *Aug* 17, 2019; Question put, and agreed to

Parliament — Privilege — Suspension of Irish Members (*July* 1)
Amendt. on Committee of Supply *Aug* 9, To leave out from "That," and add "the record of the suspension of John Dillon, Member for Tipperary, Dr. Commins, Member for Roscommon, Joseph G. Biggar, Member for Cavan, and Frank H. O'Donnell, Member for Dungarvan, be erased from the Minutes of Proceedings, on the ground that the suspended Members were not in the House during the proceedings for the obstruction of which they were so reported" (*Mr. Joseph Cowen*) *v.* 1279; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Debate adjourned (5.45)
Debate resumed *Aug* 10, 1400; Question put, and agreed to

Private Bills
Ordered, That Standing Order No. 144. be suspended for the remainder of the Session *Aug* 8
Standing Orders Nos. 3, 4, 26, 62, 63, 65, 67, 72, and the Appendix, considered and amended *Aug* 10, 1327

Provisional Orders and Certificates
Ordered, That Standing Order 39 be suspended, and that the time for depositing duplicates of any Documents relating to any Bill to confirm any Provisional Order, or Provisional Certificate, be extended to Tuesday 24th October (*The Chairman of Ways and Means*) *Aug* 16

Standing Orders
New Standing Order to follow Standing Order 173 (*Mr. Sclater-Booth*) *Aug* 8, 1129; after short debate, Debate adjourned
Debate resumed *Aug* 11, 1498
Amendt. proposed, after "Bill presented by," insert "or conferring powers on" (*Mr. Lyon Playfair*); after debate, Question put, and agreed to
Amendt. proposed, in Section (a), after "conflict with," insert "deviation from" (*Mr. Lyon Playfair*); Question put, and agreed to
Amendt. proposed, at end, add "And the Report of the Committee shall be printed and shall be circulated with the Votes" (*Mr. Lyon Playfair*); Question put, and agreed to
Moved, "That the said Order be a Standing Order of the House;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to
Other New Standing Orders moved, and agreed to; other Standing Orders amended

PARLIAMENT—HOUSE OF COMMONS
New Writs Issued
Aug 11—*For* Haddington Burghs, *v.* Sir David Wedderburn, baronet, Manor of Northstead
Aug 15—*For* Halifax Borough, *v.* John Dyson Hutchinson, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds

Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill
(*Mr. Attorney General, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Solicitor General*)
c. Order for Committee discharged; Bill withdrawn, after debate *July* 28, 83 [Bill 21]

PARNELL, Mr. C. S., *Cork City*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Lords Amendts. Consid. 1165, 1174, 1190
Parliament — Privilege — Suspension of Irish Members (July 1), Res. 1309
Supply—County Court Officers, &c. in Ireland, 1427, 1441
Irish Land Commission, 1210
Prisons, Ireland, 1462

Passenger Acts—Emigrant Ships
Amendt. on Committee of Supply *Aug* 4, To leave out from "That," and add "in the opinion of this House, the Passenger Acts require revision and reform" (*Mr. Moore*) *v.*, 758; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to
[See title *Merchant Shipping Acts*]

Passenger Acts—Royal Netherlands Steamship Company—Ill-Treatment of Emigrants
Question, Mr. Moore; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Aug* 4, 752

Passenger Vessels Licences (Scotland) Bill
(*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland*)
c. Read 2° * *Aug* 4 [Bill 76]
Committee *; Report; read 3° *Aug* 11 [Bill 234]
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Rosebery*) *Aug* 14 (No. 252)
Read 2ª; Committee negatived *Aug* 15, 1797
Read 3ª * *Aug* 16
Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 66]

Patent Museum, The (*South Kensington*)
Observations, Mr. Hinde Palmer; Reply, Mr. Chamberlain; short debate thereon *Aug* 10, 1401

PATRICK, Mr. R. W. COCHRAN-, *Ayrshire, N.*
Educational Endowments (Scotland), Consid. *cl.* 25, 532

Payment of Wages in Public-houses Prohibition Bill [H.L.] (*Mr. Morley*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" (*Mr. Broadhurst*) *Aug* 17, 2049
Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day three months" (*Mr. Warton*)
[The Amendt., not being seconded, could not be put]
Original Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2° [Bill 185]

Pease, Mr. A., *Whitby*
Africa (South)—Transvaal—Boers and Native Tribes, 593
Portugal—Native Emigration from Mozambique, 618

Peddie, Mr. J. Dick-, *Kilmarnock, &c.*
Army Estimates—Chelsea and Kilmainham Hospitals, 1043
Citation Amendment (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 3, 1618
Contagious Diseases Acts — Report of the Metropolitan Police for 1881—Withdrawal of Licence from Public-houses and Beer-houses, 1279
Educational Endowments (Scotland), Consid. *cl.* 6, 511, 514; *cl.* 13, Amendt. 519, 521; *cl.* 15, Amendt. 526, 529; 3R. 547; Lords Amendts. Consid. 1860, 1863, 1873
Scotland—Crofters in the Island of Skye—A Royal Commission, 768
  Sasine Office (Edinburgh)—Results of the Lord Clerk Register Act, 1879, 1375
Supply—Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum, 870
  Diplomatic and Consular Buildings, &c. 1571, 1574
  Local Government Board, &c. 129
  National Gallery, &c. Scotland, 1475
  Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in Exchequer, Scotland, &c. 322
  Register House Department, Edinburgh, 1045, 1051
  Report, 1645
  Science and Art Department, 1471

Pender, Mr. J., *Wick, &c.*
Parcel Post, Comm. *cl.* 13, Amendt. 708

Pensions Commutation Bill

(*Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Mr. Courtney*)
c. Read 2° * *Aug* 5 [Bill 252]
Committee *; Report; read 3° *Aug* 7
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Thurlow*) *Aug* 8 (No. 230)
Read 2ª * *Aug* 10
Committee *; Report *Aug* 11
Read 3ª * *Aug* 14
Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 44]

Peru—Murder of Mr. Rose
Question, Colonel Alexander; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Aug* 15, 1826

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders Bill

(*The Lord Sudeley*)
Royal Assent *Aug* 10 [45 & 45 *Vict.* c. clxviii]

Playfair, Right Hon. Mr. Lyon (Chairman of Committees of Ways and Means and Deputy Speaker), *Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities*
Ancient Monuments, Comm. *add. cl.* 1851
Army Estimates—Army Reserve Force, 1000
Consolidated Fund (Appropriation), Comm. 1904, 1905; Schedule B, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913

[*cont.*

Playfair, Right Hon. Mr. Lyon—*cont.*
Customs and Inland Revenue, Comm. *cl.* 5, 226; *cl.* 6, 230; *cl.* 11, 246, 254
Educational Endowments (Scotland), Consid. *cl.* 15, 528; 3R. 540; Lords Amendts. Consid. 1871
Entail (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 6, 901; *cl.* 14, 907; *cl.* 18, 909; *cl.* 27, 911
Fishery Board (Scotland), Comm. 1858
India (Finance, &c.) — East India Revenue Accounts, Comm.—Annual Financial Statement, 1745
Lunacy Regulation Amendment, Comm. Preamble, 926
Navy Estimates—Coast Guard Service, Royal Naval Reserves, &c. 399
Regent's Canal, City, and Docks Railway, Lords Amendts. Consid. 1815
Reserve Forces Acts Consolidation, Comm. *cl.* 5, 622
Royal Irish Constabulary, Comm. *cl.* 2, 1247, 1248; *cl.* 3, 1254, 1256; *cl.* 4, 1258
Standing Orders, Res. Amendt. 1502, 1506, 1507, 1508, 1509
Supply—Chancery Division and Supreme Court generally, 862
  Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 680, 684, 696, 699
  Colonies—Grants in Aid, 1478
  County Court Officers, &c. in Ireland, 1432
  Local Government Board, Ireland, 827
  Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Household of, 654, 655, 657
  Lunacy Commission, England, 137
  Post Office Packet Service, 1544
  Report, 1598

Plunket, Right Hon. D. R., *Dublin University*
Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Gray—Commitment of a Member of this House, 2010

Police Bill

(*Mr. Hibbert, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, The Lord Advocate*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *Aug* 3 [Bill 197]

Poor Law Amendment Bill

(*Mr. Dodson, Mr. Hibbert*)
c. Read 2° * *July* 31 [Bill 251]
Committee; Report; read 3° *Aug* 1, 500
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Carrington*) *Aug* 3 (No. 221)
Read 2ª * *Aug* 8
Committee * *Aug* 10
Report * *Aug* 11
Read 3ª * *Aug* 14
Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 58]

Poor Law (England)—Proselytism in a Workhouse School
Questions, Mr. O'Shea; Answers, Mr. Dodson *Aug* 4, 756; *Aug* 11, 1520

Porter, Mr. A. M. (Solicitor General for Ireland), *Londonderry Co.*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Lords Amendts. to Commons Amendts. Consid. 1510, 1624

[*cont.*

Porter, Mr. A. M.—*cont.*
  Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions
    Irish Land Commissioners—Hon. Robert White, J.P., 1368, 1369
    Land Law Act, 1881—Leases Clauses—Mr. Justice O'Hagan, 1521
    Piers and Harbours—Rosslare Harbour, 1521
    Protection of Person and Property Act, 1881—Coen, James and Thomas, and J. E. Hazel, 1518
    Relief of Distress Act—Seed Loans, 1514
  Ireland—Royal Irish Constabulary—Miscellaneous Questions
    Alleged Discontent, 1626, 1627
    Armagh Police Barracks, 1515
    Moville, Co. Donegal, 1516, 1517
  Supply—Constabulary Force in Ireland, 1455
  Supreme Court of Judicature (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1612

Portugal
  Native Emigration from Mozambique, Question, Mr. Arthur Pease; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Aug* 3, 618
  The " City of Mecca," Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Aug* 3, 607

Post Office
  Miscellaneous Questions
  Female Clerks, Question, Mr. W. S. Allen; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Aug* 10, 1374; Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Aug* 14, 1680
  Mail Carts (Metropolis), Question, Mr. Alderman W. Lawrence; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Aug* 14, 1682
  Reply Post Cards and Telegrams, Question, Mr. R. H. Paget; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Aug* 3, 583
  The Letter Carriers—The New Scale, Question, Mr. Callan; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *July* 31, 213; Question, Mr. Broadhurst; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Aug* 17, 2048
  Provincial Letter Carriers, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Aug* 10, 1378
  Savings Bank Department
  Female Clerks, Questions, Mr. J. G. Talbot; Answers, Mr. Fawcett *Aug* 15, 1826; *Aug* 17, 2047
  Promotions, Question, Mr. Molloy; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Aug* 15, 1833

Power, Mr. J. O'Connor, *Mayo*
  Ireland—Crime and Outrage—Affray at Ballina—Sub-Inspector Ball of the Constabulary, 745
    Seed Rate—Swinford Union, 746

Powerscourt, Viscount
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), 3R. 359, 360
  Channel Tunnel Scheme, 17

Price, Captain G. E., *Devonport*
  Navy—Naval Reserve, 394
  Navy Estimates—Coast Guard Service and Royal Naval Reserves, &c. 395
    Dockyards, &c. 448, 476, 484
    Martial Law, &c. 490
    Scientific Branch, 405

" Princess Alice" Calamity—The Inquest—Report
  Question, Mr. Montagu Scott; Answer, Mr. Hibbert *Aug* 10, 1832

Prison Charities Bill
(*Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Hibbert*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Aug* 5 [Bill 270]
  Read 2° * *Aug* 7
  Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *Aug* 8, 1267; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. J. G. Talbot*); after short debate, Motion withdrawn
  Original Question put, and agreed to; Committee; Report; read 3°
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Rosebery*) *Aug* 10 (No. 242)
  Read 2ª *; Committee negatived *Aug* 15
  Read 3ª * *Aug* 16
  Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 65]

Public Departments—Vacancies at the War Office
  Questions, Lord Eustace Cecil, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answers, Mr. Childers *July* 28, 29

Public Works Loans Bill
(*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Trevelyan*)
c. Resolutions considered in Committee, and agreed to *Aug* 4, 889
  Resolutions reported; Bill ordered; read 1° * *Aug* 5 [Bill 269]
  Read 2° * *Aug* 7
  Committee *; Report *Aug* 10
  Considered * *Aug* 11
  Read 3° * *Aug* 12
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Thurlow*) *Aug* 14 (No. 254)
  Read 2ª *; Committee negatived *Aug* 15
  Read 3ª * *Aug* 16
  Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 62]

Pugh, Mr. L. P., *Cardiganshire*
  East India (Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt), Res. 270
  Law and Justice (India)—Salaries of Indian Judges, 33
  Supply—Local Government Board, &c. 127

Puleston, Mr. J. H., *Devonport*
  Law and Police—Alleged Mormon Riots at Hackney, 596
  Navy Estimates—Dockyards, &c. 455, 479

Purchase of Railways (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Callan, Mr. Cowen, Mr. Daly, Mr. Thomas Dickson, Mr. O'Sullivan, Colonel Nolan, Mr. Beresford*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Aug* 14 [Bill 278]

Raikes, Right Hon. H. C., *Preston*
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Lords Amendts. Consid. 1173

Railways
Improved Couplings for Rolling Stock, Question, Sir Edward Reed; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Aug* 17, 2043
Printing Fares on Railway Tickets, Question, Mr. George Russell; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Aug* 14, 1676
Third Class Passenger Duty, Question, Mr. Buxton; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Aug* 11, 1525

Ramsay, Mr. J., *Falkirk, &c.*
Educational Endowments (Scotland), Consid. 507; *cl.* 6, 510, 515; *cl.* 13, 519, 524; *cl.* 25, Amendt. 530, 533; *cl.* 29, Amendt. 534, 535
Entail (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 26, 909; *add. cl.* 913
Law and Justice—Criminal Lunatics—Report of the Departmental Committee, 962
Parcel Post, Comm. *cl.* 8, Amendt. 707
Parliament—Privilege—Suspension of Irish Members (July 1), Res. 1317
Scotland—Crofters in the Island of Skye—A Royal Commission, 774
Medical Grant, 215
Supply—Board of Supervision for the Relief of the Poor, &c. Scotland, 327
Fishery Board in Scotland, &c. 325
Local Government Board, &c. 116, 119, 130, 131, 133
Report, 926

Rathbone, Mr. W., *Carnarvonshire*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland) — Emigration Clauses—General Emigration from Ireland, 212

Redesdale, Earl of (Chairman of Committees)
Allotments, 2R. 1672
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Report, *cl.* 17, 347; 3R. 360
Egypt (Political Affairs), Motion for Papers, 733
Fishery Board (Scotland), 2R. 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1927, 1928; Comm. Amendt. 1968
Metropolitan Improvements — Hyde Park Corner, 1800
Parliament—Committee for Privileges, 150
Public Business—Autumn Sitting, 1673
Wellesley Bridge (Limerick), 2R. 741

Redmond, Mr. J. E., *New Ross*
Ireland—Protection of Person and Property Act, 1881—Miscellaneous Questions
Detention of Persons arrested under the Act—Patrick Curley and others, 953, 954
Power, Mr. Geoffrey, 745
Release of Persons detained under the Act, 643
Ireland, State of—Extra Police at Pallas Green—Extra Police Penalty, 40
Royal Irish Constabulary, 2R. 945
Supply—Local Government Board, Ireland, 819, 821

Reed, Sir E. J., *Cardiff*
Egyptian Budget—Policy of H.M. Government, Res. 1955
Navy Estimates—Coast Guard Service and Royal Naval Reserves, &c. 398
Dockyards and Naval Yards, 425, 428
Scientific Branch, 402, 409
Railways—Improved Couplings for Rolling Stock, 2043
Supply, Report, 1645

Regent's Canal, City, and Docks Railway Bill (by Order)
c. Lords Amendts. considered and agreed to, after short debate [Special Entries] *Aug* 15, 1808

Registry of Deeds (Middlesex) Bill
(*Mr. Attorney General, Lord Frederick Cavendish*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *Aug* 11 [Bill 22]

Reid, Mr. R. T., *Hereford*
India (Finance, &c.)—East India Revenue Accounts—Comm.—Annual Financial Statement, 1774

Repton, Mr. G. W. J., *Warwick*
Parliament—Business of the House, 369

Reserve Forces Acts Consolidation Bill
(*Mr. Secretary Childers, The Judge Advocate General, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman*)
c. Committee; Report *Aug* 3, 619 [Bill 124]
Considered *; read 3° *Aug* 4
l. Read 1ª * (*Earl of Morley*) *Aug* 7 (No. 224)
Read 2ª * *Aug* 11
Committee *; Report *Aug* 14
Read 3ª * *Aug* 15
Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 48]

Revenue, Friendly Societies, and National Debt Bill
(*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Herbert Gladstone*)
c. Resolution considered in Committee and agreed to, after short debate *Aug* 1, 503
Resolution reported; Bill ordered; read 1° * *Aug* 1 [Bill 260]
Read 2°, after short debate *Aug* 3, 723
Committee; Report *Aug* 7, 1098
Moved, "That the Bill, as amended, be now considered" *Aug* 14, 1783; Motion agreed to; read 3°, after short debate
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Sudeley*) *Aug* 15 (No. 257)
Read 2ª *; Committee negatived *Aug* 16
Read 3ª * *Aug* 17
Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 72]

Revenue, Friendly Societies, and National Debt [Stamp Duty, Payments, and Advances]
c. Resolutions considered in Committee and agreed to *Aug* 4, 890

Richard, Mr. H., *Merthyr Tydvil*
Burial Boards—Burial Fees—20 and 21 Vic. c. 31, 1140

RICHMOND AND GORDON, Duke of
Educational Endowments (Scotland), 2R. 1114; Comm. *cl.* 6, Amendt. 1348; *cl.* 12, Amendt. 1351, 1352, 1353

RITCHIE, Captain C. T., *Tower Hamlets*
Artizans' Dwellings, Comm. Amendt. 714; *cl.* 6, Amendt. 719, 720; *cl.* 11, 722
Metropolis—Water Supply, 1358
National Expenditure, 80
Parliament—Business of the House (Putting the Question), 376

ROGERS, Mr. J. E. Thorold, *Southwark*
Artizans' Dwellings, Comm. 717; *cl.* 6, 720
Consolidated Fund (Appropriation), Comm. Schedule B, 1909
Married Women's Property, Comm. 1606
Revenue, Friendly Societies, and National Debt, Consid. 1787

ROSEBERY, Earl of (Under Secretary of State for the Home Department)
Artizans' Dwellings, 2R. 1489
Civil Imprisonment (Scotland), 2R. 566
Educational Endowments (Scotland), 2R. 1123; Comm. *cl.* 7, 1351; Report, 1496
Entail (Scotland), Commons Amendts. Consid. 1490, 1494, 1495
Fishery Board (Scotland), 2R. 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1926, 1927, 1928; Comm. 1971, 1974
Municipal Corporations, 2R. 951
Passenger Vessels Licences (Scotland), 2R. 1797

ROUND, Mr. J., *Essex, E.*
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall), 2R. 1663
Supply—Local Government Board, &c. 121

Royal Irish Constabulary (Pay &c.) Bill (*Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland*)
c. Moved, That this House will, To-morrow, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of authorising the increase of pay of certain officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary Force, and of amending the Acts regulating the same" (*Mr. Trevelyan*) *July* 31, 330; Question put (Queen's Recommendation signified); A. 25, N. None; M. 25 (D. L. 307)
Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *Aug* 2, 547; after debate, Question put, and agreed to; Matter considered in Committee
Moved, "That it is expedient to amend the Acts regulating the Pay, Pensions, and Retirement of certain Officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary Force;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to
Resolution reported, and agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1° * *Aug* 3 [Bill 264]
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *Aug* 5, 926
Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Healy*); after short debate, Question put; A. 8, N. 53; M. 45 (D. L. 317)
[*cont.*

Royal Irish Constabulary (Pay, &c.) Bill—cont.
Original Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2°
Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *Aug* 7, 1072; after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Callan*); after further short debate, Question put; A. 6, N. 64; M. 58 (D. L. 320)
Question again proposed, "That Mr. Speaker, &c." 1097; Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Mr. Arthur O'Connor*); after short debate, Motion withdrawn
Original Question put, and agreed to; Committee—R.P.
Committee; Report *Aug* 8, 1243
Considered *Aug* 10, 1484
Read 3° * *Aug* 11
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Privy Seal*) *Aug* 14 (No. 255)
Read 2ª; Committee negatived, after short debate *Aug* 15, 1797
Read 3ª * *Aug* 16
Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 63]

RUSSELL, Mr. C., *Dundalk*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Lords Amendts. Consid. 1171, 1183

RUSSELL, Mr. G. W. E., *Aylesbury*
Parliament—Privilege—Suspension of Irish Members (July 1), Res. 1303
Railways—Printing Fares on Railway Tickets 1676

Russia
The Postal Convention—Delivery of Newspapers, Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Aug* 17, 2044
The Russo-Turkish War Indemnity, Question, Baron Henry De Worms; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Aug* 4, 749

RYLANDS, Mr. P., *Burnley*
Corrupt Practices (Suspension of Elections), 2R. 915
Customs and Inland Revenue, Comm. *cl.* 5, 227
Lunacy Regulation Amendment, Comm. Preamble, 926

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday Bill (*Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Birley, Mr. William M'Arthur, Mr. Charles Wilson, Mr. Walter James, Mr. Charles Ross*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *Aug* 8 [Bill 182]

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall) Bill
(*Mr. Pendarves Vivian, Sir John St. Aubyn, Mr. Agar-Robartes, Mr. Borlase*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be read 2° To-morrow" *Aug* 11, 1622
Amendt. to leave out "To-morrow," and insert "upon Monday next" (*Mr. Warton*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That 'To-morrow,' &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 44, N. 8; M. 36 (D. L. 331)
Main Question put, and agreed to
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°;" *Aug* 12, 1650; after debate, Question put; A. 41, N. 8; M. 33 (D. L. 332); Bill read 2°
[*cont.*

Sale of Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Richardson, Mr. Ewart, Mr. Corry, Mr. Redmond, Mr. Thomas Dickson, Mr. Meldon, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Blake*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *Aug* 9 [Bill 148]

SALISBURY, Marquess of
Africa (South)—Cetewayo, Ex-King of Zululand—Restoration, 1804
Ancient Monuments, Comm. 15; Schedule, Amendt. 16
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 156, 158, 182; *cl.* 4, 193; *cl.* 5, 197; Report, *cl.* 1, 337, 342, 343; *cl.* 5, 345; *cl.* 17, 347; 3R. 352; Commons Amendts. to Lords Amendts. Consid. 1330, 1331
Cyprus—Arrival of Refugees from Alexandria, Motion for Papers, 21, 24
Educational Endowments (Scotland), 2R. 1126
Egypt (Military Expedition), Despatch of Troops from Turkey, 5, 6
Egypt (Political Affairs), Motion for Papers, 733
Electric Lighting, 2R. 575
Parliament—Business of the House—Adjournment, Ministerial Statement, 1796
Settled Land, Commons Amendts. Consid. 361

SALT, Mr. T., *Stafford*
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Issue of Commissions in the Cavalry to Yeomanry Corps Volunteering for Foreign Service, 1138
England and France—Islands of the Pacific—Treaty of 1847, 1517
Ireland — Prevention of Crime Act — Alien Clauses, 753

SCHREIBER, Mr. C., *Poole*
Egypt (Military Expedition)—Composition of the Force—Troops for Egypt, 207
Supply, Report, 1628

Science and Art—The Patent Museum (South Kensington)
Observations, Mr. Hinde Palmer; Reply, Mr. Chamberlain; short debate thereon *Aug* 10, 1401

SCLATER-BOOTH, Right Hon. G., *Hants, N.*
Customs and Inland Revenue, Re-comm., Report, 255
National Expenditure, 76
Standing Orders, Res. 1129
Supply—Local Government Board, &c. 117, 131, 132
Register House Department, Edinburgh, 1049
Ways and Means — Financial Statement — Highway Expenditure—Grant in Aid, 1146
Woolmer Forest—Recent Fires, 1531

Scotland
Crofters in the Island of Skye—A Royal Commission, Observations, Mr. Macfarlane; Reply, The Lord Advocate; debate thereon *Aug* 4, 766

[*cont.*

SCOTLAND—*cont.*
Fishery Board—The Report, Questions, Mr. R. N. Fowler, Mr. Healy; Answers, The Lord Advocate *Aug* 11, 1525
Law and Justice—Cessio Fees in Hamilton Sheriff Court, Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, The Lord Advocate *Aug* 10, 1359
Poor Law—Illegal Removal of a Pauper from Glasgow to Londonderry, Question, Mr. Daly; Answer, The Lord Advocate *Aug* 14, 1674
The Ground Game Act, 1879—*Case of "Fraser v. Lawson*," Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, The Lord Advocate *Aug* 17, 2045
The Magistracy—The Provost of Dingwall, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Lord Advocate *Aug* 7, 952
The Medical Grant, Question, Mr. Ramsay; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 31, 215
The Sasine Office (Edinburgh)—Lord Clerk Register Act, 1879, Question, Mr. Dick-Peddie; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Aug* 10, 1375

SCOTT, Mr. M. D., *Sussex, E.*
Lunacy Regulation Amendment, Comm. 922; Preamble, 925
"Princess Alice" Calamity—Inquest—Report, 1382

Sea Fisheries (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Blake, Mr. Leamy, Mr. Sexton, Mr. O'Donnell, Mr. Barry, Mr. Healy, Mr. Corbet*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *Aug* 2 [Bill 158]

Settled Land Bill [H.L.]
(*The Earl Cairns*)
l. Commons Amendts. considered, and agreed to *Aug* 1, 360
Royal Assent *Aug* 10 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 38]

Settlement and Removal Law Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Dodson, Mr. Hibbert*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *Aug* 3 [Bill 194]

SEXTON, Mr. T., *Sligo*
Army Estimates—War Office, 1039, 1041
Army (India)—Conductor Bennett, 1831
Roman Catholic Chaplains, 972
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Lords Amendts. Consid. 1182, 1187; Lords Amendts. to Commons Amendts. Consid., Motion for Adjournment, 1511, 1513
Customs Consolidation Act, 1876—"Irish National Land League Flour"—Seizure at Liverpool, 750
Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions
Assistant Under Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, 376;—Appointment of Mr. E. G. Jenkinson, 600
Convict Prisons—Unofficial Inspection, 209
Crime—Alleged Outrage in Sligo, 747, 748
Irish Land Commission—Co. Sligo, Proceedings in, 2042;—Judicial Rents, 787, 788

[*cont.*

Sexton, Mr. T.—*cont.*
- Law and Police — O'Connell Statue — Circular to the Police, 961
- Magistracy—Resignation of Resident Magistrates, 28
- Peace Preservation Act, 1881 — Arms Licence, 2042
- Post Office—Postmaster of the Cleggan Post Office, 29
- State of—Orange Demonstration at Lurgan, 744
- Ireland—Poor Law—Dissolution of the Carrick-on-Suir Board of Guardians, 594, 1380
  - Guardians of Tubbercurry Union, Co. Sligo —Repayment of Instalments of the Seed Rate, 1381
- Ireland — Prevention of Crime Act, 1882 — Miscellaneous Questions
  - Guisborough Special Petty Sessions, 747
  - Misses Buckley, 959
  - Miss Mary Keane, 601, 1142
  - Prosecutions under the Act, 955
- Ireland—Protection of Person and Property Act, 1881—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Duffy, Mr. Patrick J. 1383
  - Kavanagh, Mr. John, 603
  - Release of Persons detained under the Act, 638, 641
- Ireland—Royal Irish Constabulary—Alleged Discontent, 964, 1147, 1148
  - False Charge of Attack upon Sub-Constable Finney, 582
- Municipal Corporations, Consid. *cl.* 59, 382
- Parliament—Adjournment of the House, 504
  - Privilege—Mr. Gray—Commitment of a Member of this House, 1984, 1987, 2003, 2006, 2009, 2037
- Parliament — Privilege—Suspension of Irish Members (July 1), Res. 1315
- Royal Irish Constabulary (Pay, &c.), Comm. 548, 554, 558
- Royal Irish Constabulary, 2R. 927, 928, 942, 944; Comm. 1072; *cl.* 2, Amendt. 1244, 1245, 1246, 1247; *cl.* 3, 1249, 1250
- Supply—Charitable Donations and Bequests, 706
  - Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 666, 675, 678
  - Constabulary Force in Ireland, 1450
  - County Court Officers, &c. in Ireland, 1242, 1243; Amendt. 1414, 1438, 1439, 1442
  - Criminal Prosecutions, &c. in Ireland, 1051, 1058, 1059
  - Irish Land Commission, 1072; Motion for reporting Progress, 1197, 1198, 1237
  - Local Government Board, Ireland, 795, 817, 818, 821
  - Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Household of, 651
  - Post Office Packet Service, 1543, 1544
  - Public Education, Ireland, 1476
  - Public Works in Ireland, 844, 848, 849
  - Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in Exchequer, Scotland, &c. 321
  - Registrar General's Office, Ireland, 853
  - Registry of Deeds, Ireland, 1069
  - Secret Services, 313, 317
  - Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland, 1066
- Union Officers' Superannuation (Ireland), Nomination of Select Committee, 946

Sidmouth, Viscount
- Navy (Ship-Building), Motion for Returns, 362

Simon, Mr. Serjeant J., *Dewsbury*
- Standing Orders, Res. 1135, 1499

Slagg, Mr. J., *Manchester*
- Customs and Inland Revenue, Comm. *cl.* 5, 229; *cl.* 6, 243

Smith, Right Hon. W. H., *Westminster*
- Army Estimates—Warlike Stores, 1020, 1025
- Navy Estimates—Coast Guard Service and Royal Naval Reserves, &c. 395, 396
  - Dockyards and Naval Yards, 412, 472
  - Greenwich Hospital and School, 499
  - New Works, Buildings, &c. 486, 487
  - Scientific Branch, 401, 408

Solicitor General, The (Sir Farrer Herschell), *Durham*
- Bankruptcy Act, 1869, 96
- Corrupt Practices (Suspension of Elections), 2R. 919
- Lunacy Regulation Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 4, 924, 925

Somerset, Duke of
- Egypt (Military Expedition)—Despatch of Troops from Turkey, 4

Somersham Rectory Bill (*Mr. Walpole*)
- *c.* Read 2° * *Aug* 2 [Bill 222]
  - Committee*; Report *Aug* 7
  - Considered*; read 3° *Aug* 8
- *l.* Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 81]

Speaker, The (Right Hon. Sir H. B. W. Brand), *Cambridgeshire*
- Bombay Civil Fund, 2R. 149
- Corrupt Practices (Suspension of Elections), 2R. 919
- County Courts (Advocates' Costs), Consid. 1272
- East India (Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt), Res. 284
- Educational Endowments (Scotland), Lords Amendts. 1863
- Egypt—Law of Liquidation, 1684
- Egypt (Political Affairs)—Policy of H.M. Government, Res. 1888
- Ireland—Law and Justice—Contempt of Court —"Queen *v.* Hynes," 1840
  - Royal Irish Constabulary—Alleged Discontent, 755, 756
- Married Women's Property, Comm. 1606
- Municipal Corporations, Consid. *cl.* 78, 385
- Parliament—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Adjournment of the House, 2049
  - Privilege—Mr. Gray—Commitment of a Member of this House, 1962, 1978, 1986, 2008, 2015
  - Public Business, 616
- Regent's Canal, City, and Docks Railway, Lords Amendts. Consid. 1811
- Royal Irish Constabulary, Res. 331
- Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall), 2R. 1654, 1658, 1664

Stanhope, Hon. E., *Lincolnshire, Mid*
- East India (Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt), Res. 287
- Egypt (Military Expedition)—Administration of Military Law, 597
- India (Finance, &c.)—East India Revenue Accounts—Comm.—Annual Financial Statement, 1729, 1754
- Supply—Cyprus—Grant in Aid of the Revenue, 1595, 1596

Stanley, Right Hon. Colonel F. A., *Lancashire, N.*
- Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Militia, 617, 1135
- Reserve Forces Acts Consolidation, Comm. *cl.* 7, 623

Stanley, Hon. E. L., *Oldham*
- Artizans' Dwellings, Comm. *cl.* 3, Amendt. 718; *cl.* 8, Amendt. 721
- Supply—Disturnpiked Roads, 1581

Stanley of Alderley, Lord
- Egypt (Political Affairs), Motion for Papers, 730
- India—Suchait Singh, Motion for an Address, 948, 951

Stevenson, Mr. J. C., *South Shields*
- Friendly Societies Acts—Issue of Contribution Tables, 1137

Storey, Mr. S., *Sunderland*
- Municipal Corporations, Consid. *cl.* 59, 382

Straits Settlements—The Spanish Consul at Singapore
- Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Aug* 10, 1360

Stuart, Mr. H. Villiers-, *Waterford Co.*
- Egyptian Budget—Policy of H.M. Government, Res. 1951

Sudeley, Lord
- Channel Tunnel Scheme, 17
- Electric Lighting, 2R. 567; Comm. 1105; *cl.* 2, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 3, Amendt. 1106; *cl.* 4, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 7, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 10, Amendt. 1107; *cl.* 15, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 16, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 18, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 20, Amendt. 1108; *cl.* 21, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 24, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 25, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 26, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 27, Amendt. 1109; *cl.* 32, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 36, Amendt. *ib.*
- Mercantile Marine—Pouring Oil upon the Sea, 9
- Merchant Shipping Acts—Collision between the "Mayfly" and "Valhalla" off Dungeness, 368
  - Emigrant Ships (Canada), 738, 740
- Metropolitan Improvements — Hyde Park Corner, 1799, 1800

Sullivan, Mr. T. D., *Westmeath*
- Ireland—Protection of Person and Property Act, 1881—Daly, Mr. Lawrence, 1680
- Supply—County Court Officers, &c. in Ireland, 1426, 1432
  - Irish Land Commission, 1241

SUPPLY
- Considered in Committee *July* 28, 97—Civil Service Estimates—Class II.—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments, Votes 1 to 24
- Resolutions reported *July* 31, 328
  - Resolutions 1 to 7, 9 to 15, 17 to 24, inclusive, agreed to
  - Resolution 8 read a second time; Moved, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution;" after short debate, Question put; A. 43, N. 19; M. 24 (D. L. 306)
  - Resolution 16 read a second time; after short debate, Resolution agreed to
- Considered in Committee *July* 31, 311—Civil Service Estimates—Class II.—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments, Votes 25 to 33
- Resolutions reported *Aug* 1, 499
  - Resolutions 1 to 5, 7 to 9, inclusive, agreed to
  - Resolution 6; after short debate, Resolution agreed to
- Considered in Committee *Aug* 1, 394—Navy Estimates, Votes 3 to 17
- Resolutions reported and agreed to *Aug* 2, 562
- Considered in Committee *Aug* 3, 650—Civil Service Estimates—Class II.—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments, Votes 34 to 36
- Resolutions reported *Aug* 4
- Considered in Committee *Aug* 4, 792—Civil Service Estimates—Class II.—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments, Votes 37 to 41—Class III.—Law and Justice, Votes 1 to 21 and 23
- Resolutions reported and, after short debate, agreed to *Aug* 5, 926
- Considered in Committee *Aug* 7, 983—Army Estimates, Votes 7 to 9, and 11 to 25—Civil Service Estimates—Class III.—Law and Justice, Votes 22, 24 to 29, 35 and 36
- Resolutions reported *Aug* 8
- Considered in Committee *Aug* 8, 1197—Civil Service Estimates—Class III.—Law and Justice, Vote 30
- Resolution reported *Aug* 9
- Considered in Committee *Aug* 10, 1414—Civil Service Estimates—Class III.—Law and Justice, Votes 31 to 34—Class IV.—Education, Science, and Art, Votes 2 to 8a, and 10 to 17—Class V.—Foreign and Colonial Services, Votes 1 to 8—Class VI.—Non-Effective and Charitable Services, Votes 1 to 10
- Resolutions reported *Aug* 11
- Considered in Committee *Aug* 11, 1533—Civil Service Estimates — Class VII.—Miscellaneous, Votes 1 and 2—Revenue Departments, Votes 1 to 5—Civil Service Estimates (Supplementary) — Class I.—Public Works and Buildings, Votes 3, 15, 19, 19a, and 23—Class V.—Foreign and Colonial Services
- Resolutions reported *Aug* 12, 1627
  - Resolutions 1 to 4, 6 and 7, agreed to
  - Resolution 5, £3,043,300, Salaries and Expenses of the Post Office Services; after short debate, Resolution agreed to

[*cont.*

SUPPLY—cont.
Resolution 8, £3,000, Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens, 1637; after short debate, Resolution agreed to
Remaining Resolutions agreed to

Supreme Court of Judicature (Ireland) Bill (*Mr. Herbert Gladstone*)
c. Read 2°* *Aug* 5 [Bill 250]
Committee; Report *Aug* 11, 1612
l. Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 70]

Surrey (Trial of Causes) Bill (*Mr. Warton, Mr. Henry H. Fowler*)
c. Bill withdrawn* *Aug* 9 [Bill 204]

SYNAN, Mr. E. J., *Limerick Co.*
Ireland—Prevention of Crime Act, 1882—Michael Wallace, 40

TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, Lord
Ancient Monuments, Comm. 15

TALBOT, Mr. J. G., *Oxford University*
Allotments, 3R. 1488
Charity Commissioners—Continuance of the Endowed Schools Commission, 585
Education Department—Instructions to H.M. Inspectors of Schools, 1378
Imprisonment for Contumacy, 2R. 1962
Lunacy Regulation Amendment, Consid. 1271, 1272
Parcel Post, Comm. Schedule 2, 708
Post Office (Savings Bank Department)—Female Clerks, 1826, 2047
Prison Charities, Comm. Motion for Adjournment, 1267
Supply, Comm. 707
  Local Government Board, &c. 115
  Prisons, Ireland, 1468

TAYLOR, Right Hon. Colonel T. E. *Dublin Co.*
Supply—Post Office Packet Service, 1544

TAYLOR, Mr. P. A., *Leicester*
Vaccination—Alleged Death of Children at Norwich from Effects of Operation—The Report, 609, 1139

THOMASSON, Mr. J. P., *Bolton*
Navy Estimates—Medicines, Medical Stores, &c. Amendt. 488, 490

THURLOW, Lord
Parcel Post, 2R. 1346, 1348
Wellesley Bridge (Limerick), 2R. 741

TOLLEMACHE, Mr. H. J., *Cheshire, W.*
Corrupt Practices (Suspension of Elections), 2R. 915

TORRENS, Mr. W. T. M'C., *Finsbury*
Government Annuities and Assurance, Comm. *cl.* 6, Amendt. 873
Parliament—Business of the House—New Rules of Procedure, Ministerial Statement, 1701
Regent's Canal, City, and Docks Railway, Lords Amendts. Consid. 1811

TOTTENHAM, Mr. A. L., *Leitrim*
Army—Appointments to the Staff, 42
Army (India)—Grievances of Cavalry Officers, 2046
Egypt (Military Expedition)—Alleged Misconduct of a Picket of the 60th Rifles, 612, 613
Ireland—Criminal Law—Patrick Reilly and James Young, Cases of, 610, 611
  Royal Irish Constabulary—Alleged Discontent, 1528, 1626, 1627;—Lord Lieutenant's Circular, 1832

Trade and Commerce
Adulteration of Food Act—Adulterated Butter and Milk, Question, Lord Eustace Cecil; Answer, Mr. Dodson *Aug* 3, 587
Butter and Butter Substitutes, Question, Viscount Folkestone; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Aug* 3, 603
The Spanish Tariff—Duty on Cured Fish, Question, Captain Aylmer; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Aug* 8, 1149
Spanish Duties on British Goods—British Duties on Spanish Wines, Questions, Mr. O'Donnell, Mr. Monk; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Aug* 14, 1692
Treaty with Corea, Question, Mr. Hinde Palmer; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Aug* 10, 1360
Wine Imports, 1881, Question, Mr. Norwood; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 31, 211

TREVELYAN, Right Hon. G. O. (Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland), *Hawick, &c.*
Canada, Dominion of—Emigration from Ireland, 1384
Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions
  Agricultural Commission — Cork Butter Market, 1380
  Arrears of Rent Bill—Emigration Clauses—General Emigration from Ireland, 213
  Assistant Under Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, 376;—Appointment of Mr. E. G. Jenkinson, 600, 601
  Convict Prisons — Unofficial Inspection, 208
  Elementary Education—Improvement of Training of Elementary School Teachers, 1375
  Evictions—Earl of Annesley's Estate at Glan, Co. Cavan, 378
  Fisheries—Employment of a Gunboat, 754
  Land Law Act, 1881—Judge O'Hagan's Memorandum, 1366, 1367
  Peace Preservation Act, 1881—Alleged Searches for Arms, 953
  Reproductive Loan Fund Act—Irish Sea Fisheries, 1381
  Seed Rate—Swinford Union, 746

[cont.

Trevelyan, Right Hon. G. O.—*cont.*
- Ireland—Crime—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Affray at Ballina—Sub-Inspector Ball of the Constabulary, 746
  - Nocturnal Attacks—Return, 369
  - Robberies in Dublin Castle, 604
  - Sligo, Alleged Outrage in, 748
  - West Clare, Alleged Agrarian Murder in, 757
- Ireland—Criminal Law—Michael Larkin, 1143
  - "The Tuam Herald"—Case of Richard J. Kelly, 1146
- Ireland—Irish Land Commission—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Judicial Rents, 785
  - Official Valuators—Mr. James Butler, 1142
  - Sub-Commissioners—Mr. Meek, 1375
- Ireland—Law and Police—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Galway Races, 1376, 1377
  - Marines, The, 1377
  - O'Connell Statue—Circular to the Police, 961
- Ireland—Magistracy—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Allowances to Resident Magistrates, 1363
  - Bench at Listowel, 604
  - Dromod and Drumsna Petty Sessions—Mr. Ruthven, J.P. 1371
  - Hill, Mr., R. M. 213
  - Miller, Mr. W. M., R.M.584
  - Orange Meeting at Rossmore, 583
  - Resignations of Resident Magistrates, 28
- Ireland—Poor Law—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Belfast Board of Guardians, 33, 591, 1364
  - Carrick-on-Suir Union, 1380
  - Chairman of the Carlow Board of Guardians, 206
  - Dissolution of the Carrick-on-Suir Board of Guardians, 594
  - Election of a Guardian for Belturbet, Cavan Union, 1142
  - Manorhamilton Union, Collection of Rates in, 1141
  - Rathdrum Union—Election of a Guardian, 1374
  - Tubbercurry Union, Co. Sligo—Guardians of—Repayment of Instalments of the Seed Rate, 1382
- Ireland—Prevention of Crime Act, 1882—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Guisborough Special Petty Sessions, 747
  - Michael Wallace, 41
  - Miss Mary Keane, 601, 1142
  - Misses Buckley, 960
  - Prosecutions under the Act, 956
- Ireland—Protection of Person and Property Act, 1881—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Cornelius Doyle, 592
  - Detention of Persons arrested under the Act—Patrick Curley and others, 953, 954
  - Duffy, Mr. Patrick J. 1383
  - Kavanagh, Mr. John, 603
  - Mulligan, Mr. Denis, 210
  - Murphy, Mr. James, 206
  - Power, Mr. Geoffrey, 745
  - Release of Persons detained under the Act, 640, 641

Trevelyan, Right Hon. G. O.—*cont.*
- Ireland—Royal Irish Constabulary—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Alleged Discontent, 754, 963, 964, 965, 1147, 1148
  - False Charge of Attack upon Sub-Constable Finney, 582
  - Police Barracks in Armagh, 1365
  - Police in Belfast, 1365
  - Removing Placards, 377
  - Sub-Constable Teskey, 1362
  - Sub-Inspector O'Callaghan, 586
  - Vote of Compensation, 965
- Ireland—State of—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Altar Denunciations—Rev. P. Briody, 1145
  - Employment of Soldiers and Marines, 584
  - Extra Police at Pallas Green—Extra Police Penalty, 40
  - Hillyon, Co Meath—Alleged Molestation, 955
  - Orange Demonstration at Lurgan, 745
  - Proclamation of Co. Wicklow, 588, 590
- Parliament—Adjournment of the House, 504
- Royal Irish Constabulary (Pay, &c.), Comm. 550, 554, 558
- Royal Irish Constabulary, 2R. 927, 928, 939, 941, 942, 944; Comm. 1074, 1082, 1095, 1097, 1098; *cl.* 2, 1244, 1245, 1246, 1247; *cl.* 3, 1249, 1250, 1251, 1253, 1255, 1256; *cl.* 4, 1258; *cl.* 5, 1259; *add. cl.* 1261; Consid. *cl.* 3, Amendt. 1484
- Supply—Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 684, 688, 694, 700, 701, 704, 705
  - Comm. Motion for reporting Progress, 707
  - Constabulary Force in Ireland, 1458
  - County Court Officers, &c. in Ireland, 1243, 1435, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1441, 1442
  - Irish Land Commission, 1071, 1219, 1223, 1224
  - Local Government Board, Ireland, 806, 810, 816, 818
  - Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Household of, 652
  - Prisons, Ireland, 1468, 1470
  - Registrar General's Office, Ireland, 853

Tripoli—Protection of British Subjects
Moved, "That Papers relating to the protection of British subjects in Tripoli be presented to the House" (*The Earl De La Warr*) *Aug* 15, 1800; after short debate, Motion agreed to

Truro, Lord
Electric Lighting, 2R. 577

Turkey and Egypt—[see title *Egypt*]

Turkey and Russia—The Russo-Turkish War Indemnity
Question, Baron Henry De Worms; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Aug* 4, 749

Turnpike Acts Continuance Bill
(*Lord Carrington*)
l. Read 2ᵃ* *Aug* 3 (No. 198)
Committee* *Aug* 4
Report* *Aug* 7
Read 3ᵃ* *Aug* 8
Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 52]

[*cont.*

Turnpike Roads (South Wales) Bill
(*Mr. Dodson, Mr. Hibbert*)
c. Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendt. proposed to Question [1st May], "That the Bill be now read 3°"
And which Amendt. was, to leave out "now read 3°," and add "re-committed" (*Sir Henry Hussey Vivian*) *v.*; Question again proposed, "That the words, &c."; Debate resumed *Aug* 5, 892; Question put, and negatived; words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to; Committee, Report; Considered; read 3° [Bill 101]
l. Read 1ª* (*Lord Carrington*) *Aug* 7 (No. 226)
Read 2ª* *Aug* 14
Committee*; Report *Aug* 15
Read 3ª* *Aug* 16
Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 67]

Tyler, Sir H. W., *Harwich*
Army Estimates—Army Reserve Force, 993, 1006
Education Department—Hall of Science, Old Street, E.C. 1405, 1406, 1407
Ireland, State of—Altar Denunciations—Rev. P. Briody, 1145

Union Officers' Superannuation (Ireland) Bill (*Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Mr. William Edward Forster, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland*)
c. Select Committee nominated *Aug* 5; List of the Committee, 946
Aug 8, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland *disch.*, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland *added*
Report of Select Comm.* *Aug* 11 [No. 353]

United Kingdom, Fisheries of the—Digest of Statutes and Regulations of Fishery Boards, with Index
Questions, General Sir George Balfour; Answers, The Lord Advocate *Aug* 7, 954

Vaccination Acts (Compulsory Clauses Repeal) Bill
(*Mr. P. A. Taylor, Mr. Burt, Mr. Hopwood, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. Samuelson*)
c. Bill withdrawn* *Aug* 2 [Bill 25]

Vaccination—Alleged Death of Children at Norwich from Effects of Operation—Report of the Medical Inspector
Questions, Mr. P. A. Taylor; Answers, Mr. Dodson *Aug* 3, 609; *Aug* 8, 1139; Question, Mr. Hopwood; Answer, Mr. Dodson *Aug* 17, 2048

Ventry, Lord
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 182; Report, *cl.* 1, Amendt. 341, 342

Verney, Sir H., *Buckingham*
Army Estimates—Army Reserve Force, 999, 1000

Vivian, Lord
Egypt (Military Operations)—Alleged Misconduct of a Picket of the 60th Rifles, 563

Vivian, Mr. A. P., *Cornwall, W.*
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall), 2R. 1650

Walpole, Right Hon. Spencer H., *Cambridge University*
Supply—British Museum, 1472

War Office, Vacancies at the
Questions, Lord Eustace Cecil, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answers, Mr. Childers *July* 28, 29

Warton, Mr. C. N., *Bridport*
Alkali, &c. Works Regulation Act, 1881—Inspectors, 587
Allotments, Comm. *cl.* 11, Motion for reporting Progress, 885
Ancient Monuments, 1278; 2R. Amendt. 1598; Comm. *add. cl.* 1851
Army—Army Pay Department—Value of Officers' former Commissions and Retirement, 1378
  Captains of the Royal Artillery—Royal Warrant, 1361
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Lords Amendts. to Commons Amendts. Consid. 1511, 1625
Artizans' Dwellings, Consid. *cl.* 8, 1103
Bills of Sale Act (1878) Amendment, Lords Amendts. Consid. 1273, 1274; *add. cl.* Amendt. 1275
Citation Amendment (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 3, Amendt. 1618; Consid. Amendt. 1853; *cl.* 3, Amendt. 1856
Corrupt Practices (Suspension of Elections), 2R. Amendt. 914, 919; Comm. *cl.* 2, Amendt. 1602
County Courts (Costs and Salaries), Consid. 1272; Lords Amendts. Consid. 1795
Cruelty to Animals, 2R. 888; Amendt. 889, 1623
Customs and Inland Revenue, Re-comm. *cl.* 5, 225; *cl.* 6, 235; Report, 255; Consid. *cl.* 11, Amendt. 559; 3R. Amendt. 709
Educational Endowments (Scotland), Consid. *cl.* 8, 518; *cl.* 15, Amendt. 525, 528
Egypt (Military Operations)—Naval Armoured Train, 2044, 2045
Electric Lighting, Lords Amendts. Consid. 1779
Government Annuities and Assurance, Comm. *cl.* 6, 877, 879
India (Finance, &c.)—East India Revenue Accounts—Comm.—Annual Financial Statement, 1778
Irish Land Commission—Sub-Commissioners—Mr. J. G. M'Carthy, 1678
Law and Justice (Ireland)—Dublin Crown Prosecutor, 611
Lunacy Regulation Amendment, Comm. 920; *cl.* 4, Amendt. 922, 923, 924, 925; Consid. Amendt. 1271; Lords Amendts. to Commons Amendts. Consid. 1783

[*cont.*

WARTON, Mr. C. N.—*cont.*
- Married Women's Property, Comm. 1605, 1606; *cl.* 1, Amendt. 1607, 1608; *cl.* 4, *ib.*; *cl.* 25, Amendt. 1610; Consid. *cl.* 2, Amendt. 1845
- Municipal Corporations, Consid. *cl.* 59, 382
- Parliament—Autumn Sitting, 1528
  - Parliamentary Elections—Voting Papers, 791
- Parliament—Privilege—Suspension of Irish Members (July 1), Res. 1302
- Payment of Wages in Public-houses Prohibition, 2R. Amendt. 2050
- Poor Law Amendment, Comm. 500; *cl.* 13, 501
- Revenue, Friendly Societies, and National Debt, Consid. 1788
- Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall), 2R. Amendt. 1622, 1651
- Supply—Africa (South) and St. Helena, 1478, 1481
  - Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum, Motion for reporting Progress, 870
  - Chancery Division and Supreme Court generally, 862
  - Criminal Prosecutions—Sheriffs' Expenses, &c. 859
  - Cyprus—Grant in Aid of the Revenue, 1589, 1598
  - Disturnpiked Roads, 1583, 1585
  - Fishery Board in Scotland, &c. 324
  - Law Charges, 856
  - Local Government Board, &c. 120, 123
  - Local Government Board, Ireland, 815, 822
  - Non-Effective and Charitable Services, 1481
  - Post Office Packet Service, 1543
  - Public Prosecutor's Office, 858
  - Public Works in Ireland, 832, 833
  - Report, 1631, 1647
- Union Officers' Superannuation (Ireland), Nomination of Select Committee, 946

WATERFORD, Marquess of
- Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 187; Amendt. 190, 191, 192; *cl.* 5, Amendt. 193; Report, *cl.* 1, 341; Amendt. 343; Commons Amendts. to Lords Amendts. Consid. 1339, 1341

WATKIN, Sir E. W., *Hythe*
- Channel Tunnel Railway, 2R. 1817, 1824
- Navy—Armaments for Merchant Steamers, 1675

WATSON, Lord
- Educational Endowments (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 6, 1350; *cl.* 13, 1354

WAVENEY, Lord
- Army—Officers in Cyprus, 1977
- Cyprus—Arrival of Refugees from Alexandria, Motion for Papers, 17, 26

WAYS AND MEANS

MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS
- *National Expenditure*, Observations, Mr. H. H. Fowler; debate thereon *July* 28, 54

WAYS AND MEANS—*cont.*
- *The Financial Statement—Highway Expenditure—The Grant in Aid*, Question, Mr. Sclater-Booth; Answer, Mr. Dodson *Aug* 8, 1146

WAYS AND MEANS
- Considered in Committee *Aug* 11
- Resolved, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, the sum of £34,357,774 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom
- Resolution reported *Aug* 12

WEBSTER, Mr. J., *Aberdeen*
- Educational Endowments (Scotland), Consid. *cl.* 6, 514, 515; *cl.* 8, 517; *cl.* 25, 532; *cl.* 29, 535

Wellesley Bridge (Limerick) Bill

(*Lord Thurlow*)

- *l.* Read 2ª, after short debate *Aug* 4, 740 (No. 207)
- Report* *Aug* 8 (No. 228)
- Committee* *Aug* 10
- Report* *Aug* 11
- Read 3ª* *Aug* 14
- Royal Assent *Aug* 18 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. ccxxi]

WHITLEY, Mr. E., *Liverpool*
- Artizans' Dwellings, Consid. *cl.* 8, 1102
- Bills of Sale Act (1878) Amendment, Lords Amendts. Consid., Amendt. 1274; *add. cl.* Amendt. 1276
- Cruelty to Animals, 2R. 1624
- Customs and Inland Revenue, Re-comm. *cl.* 6, 245
- Electric Lighting, Lords Amendts. Consid. 1783
- Government Annuities and Assurance, Comm. *cl.* 6, 877
- Lunacy Regulation Amendment, Comm. 921; *cl.* 4, Amendt. 923
- Married Women's Property, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1608
- Merchant Shipping (Colonial Inquiries), Comm. *cl.* 3, Amendt. 1621; *add. cl.* 1622
- Merchant Shipping (Mercantile Marine Fund), 2R. 723
- Merchant Shipping (Mercantile Marine Fund) [Payments to Fund, &c.], 881
- Municipal Corporations, Consid. *cl.* 59, 383
- Parcel Post, 3R. 871
- Supply—Lunacy Commission, England, 139

WHITWORTH, Mr. B., *Drogheda*
- Supply—County Court Officers, &c. in Ireland, 1430

WILLIAMSON, Mr. S., *St. Andrews, &c.*
- Educational Endowments (Scotland), Consid. *cl.* 15, 528

WILMOT, Sir J. E., *Warwickshire, S.*
- Municipal Corporations, Consid. *cl.* 59, 383
- Supply, Report, 1632

Wolff, Sir H. D., *Portsmouth*
  Civil Service Commissioners—Scale of Fees on Appointments in H.M. Dockyards, 212, 372
  Egypt—Miscellaneous Questions
    Military Affairs—Turkish Military Intervention, 961
    Military Expedition — Administration of Military Law, 596
    Political Affairs, 1387, 1391 ;—Suez Canal, &c. 1143
  Malta—Administrative Reforms—British Rule, Res. 93
  Navy—Dockyard Employés, 1525
  Navy Estimates—Dockyards, &c. 474
  Supply—Foreign Office, 98

Woolmer Forest—Recent Fires
  Observations, Mr. Sclater-Booth, Mr. Arthur Arnold, Mr. H. G. Allen ; Reply, Sir Arthur Hayter *Aug* 11, 1531

Wortley, Mr. C. B. Stuart-, *Sheffield*
  Bills of Sale Act (1878) Amendment, Lords Amendts. Consid. 1272
  Citation Amendment (Scotland), Comm. *c*. 3, Amendt. 1619
  Cruelty to Animals, 2R. 1624
  Expiring Laws Continuance, Comm. 127

END OF VOLUME CCLXXIII., AND EIGHTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1882.

BIBL.
LONDIN
UNIV.

LONDON: CORNELIUS BUCK, 22, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.